A MANUAL

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

OF

EUROPE AND ITS COLONIES,

FROM ITS FORMATION AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
TO ITS RE-ESTABLISHMENT UPON THE FALL
OF NAPOLEON.

BY A. H. L. HEEREN,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, AND MEMBER
OF NUMEROUS LEARNED SOCIETIES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FIFTH GERMAN EDITION.

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TO THE READER.

THE very satisfactory account which the author himself has given of the plan and execution of his work, renders it quite unnecessary for the translator to say any thing upon that head; and the very fact of the work having passed through five editions in Germany, and having been translated into French, Polish, Swedish, and Dutch, is quite a sufficient apology, if indeed any were necessary, for presenting it to the English reader. He has therefore only to notice two matters connected with the translation, which may seem to require some explanation. The first is the use of the word *States-System,* which has been adopted throughout the work, and which, though perhaps not strictly English, seemed to him the only term by which he could adequately express the author's meaning. The second matter refers to the work in general, which, not having been all translated or revised by the same hand, may, it is feared, present a somewhat motley appearance to the nice and critical reader. Should this be found to be the case, the publisher humbly hopes for his indulgence, the more especially as he verily believes the sense of the original is in all cases faithfully given.

Oxford, December, 1833.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

Among the remarkable phenomena which the general history of mankind presents to our notice, that of the European States-System, or confederation of states, during the last three centuries, is the greatest, and, at the same time, with reference to ourselves, the most important. The states-systems which were formed in ancient Greece, and in Italy during the middle ages, are far inferior, both as regards their power and their extent; and though the Macedonian system, which arose out of the division of Alexander's universal monarchy, may, perhaps, be compared with it in this respect as well as in some others, it still altogether failed to attain to such an exalted degree of maturity and refinement. But it possesses this superior importance for us, not merely on account of the personal interest we take in its transactions, but also because we have by far the best acquaintance with the mode of its formation, and the various changes and vicissitudes it has undergone.

Whoever undertakes to write the history of any particular states-system, (by which we mean the union of several contiguous states, resembling each other in their manners, religion, and degree of social improvement, and cemented together by a reciprocity of interests,) ought, above all things, to possess a right conception of its general character. In the system of European states, it is obvious this character must be sought for in its internal freedom, or, in other words, the mutual independence of its members, however disproportionate they may otherwise be in regard to physical power. It is this feature which distinguishes

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such a system from one of an opposite class, that is, where an acknowledged preponderance of one of the members exists.

An historian, therefore, who proposes to exhibit the various changes which have occurred in the reciprocal connexions of these states, must consequently regard them as a society of independent individuals, variously related to each other. A peculiar use of modern phrase, indeed, might designate such states by the name of mere machines (an application of the term, which, in Europe at least, is contradicted by the variety of the constitutions); but if it be impossible to discipline an army into a mere machine, (and if this could be done none would ever retreat,) can it be less difficult in the case of civil society?

By adopting these fundamental notions, as the point from which he was to set out, the field of the author's investigations was necessarily very much enlarged. He could not, therefore, limit his range to the mere external working of the machine; but was obliged rather to penetrate its hidden principles of action, in order to detect the secret springs which supplied a continuous motion to the whole. In every society of moral beings, and consequently, therefore, in every society or union of states, certain general ideas, from which the leading motives of conduct originate, will of necessity prevail, without there being any occasion to assume the fact of a generally adopted system of action. These ideas, however, agreeably to their nature, cannot possibly remain unaltered, for the very reason that the leading minds do not. For the same reason it is absurd to require that any cabinet should always act upon one uniform system, though undoubtedly every judicious government must act upon certain well established principles. To have a correct apprehension, therefore, of the ruling ideas of each age, and to exhibit the particular maxims arising from them, will be the first requisite of the historian. But further, all the members of such a system of states have, each of them, their peculiar character, and their own mode of existence and action, which again are subject to change; how then could a general history of the system be properly executed, without the revolutions in the most powerful of the separate states being noticed?

These remarks will serve to vindicate the plan adopted by the author. It was his intention not merely to furnish a sketch of the

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various revolutions brought about in the political relations of modern Europe, together with the several events springing out of them, though this would certainly form the most important part of his undertaking; but also to exhibit, at the same time, their foundation in the prevailing ideas of each age, and as well with regard to the particular leading states, considered as prominent actors in the system, to illustrate the formation of their respective characters and consequent modes of action. With this view the sections relating to the separate states have been introduced, which, however, it would be a total misapplication of the author's plan, to regard as an attempt to furnish a particular and special detail, while he merely proposed a general history of the states in question. The former very well-defined object was the one which he has principally kept in view. That the author, however, has also noticed the colonies, their progressive improvement, and their influence upon Europe itself, can scarcely require any justification. Considering their vast and increasing commercial and political importance, a general sketch like the present, which did not also comprise some account of the colonies, would be extremely limited and imperfect. The sections relating to this portion of the work will, it is apprehended, be the more favourably received, owing to the absence of any other satisfactory treatise on the subject.

From what has been already said, it will be evident that the author has not spared considerable pains in the execution of his design; and a minute examination of each section will, it is hoped, supply additional proofs of his care. It has been his constant endeavour, as well to preserve the general view of the whole, as to represent each individual subject in the light in which, after deliberate study, it appeared to his own mind; in fact, he wished to exhibit on each subject the results of his own reflection, with the greatest brevity consistent with the nature of his work, and thus to supply the lovers of history with a general outline. That this attempt, owing not merely to the great number, but also the great variety of the subjects treated of, required a long and varied course of preliminary study, he may confidently venture to assert. Who indeed, without an intimate acquaintance with the whole circle of political sciences, can engage to write the history of modern Europe? The author is not ignorant of the objections com-

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monly urged against the mere scholar's presuming to decide upon the policy of cabinets; he has himself felt the necessity of preserving a lively sense for practical politics, by keeping entirely remote from all speculation; and while he has not denied himself that proper degree of freedom which a judgment upon past events requires, he at the same time believes that he has not been wanting in that proper respect, which is due to the memory of those great men who have played the chief parts in this enlarged drama.

While the author was thus employed in elaborating the history of the European states-system, he himself saw it overthrown in its most essential parts. Its history was in fact written upon its ruins. When was such a work ever executed under similar circumstances? While, however, he has confined the range of his history so as to exclude the times immediately past, and not yet ripe for historical narration,[1] he yet hopes to have preserved a full view of the whole; in doing which he was perhaps favoured by his personal situation. Having been brought up in a very small, but happy free state, he passed the years of his manhood under a mild monarchical form of government, and was thus enabled to bring to the study of history, some practical ideas, simple in their nature, but the result of his own observation; which, though perhaps dim for others, have served him as loadstars in his voyage through its territory. It only remains for him to say, that while he does not disown a certain degree of respect for the country to which he belongs, yet as he has never been a citizen of any of the principal states of Europe, he could never entertain a partiality for any one of them in particular.

It was therefore the author's endeavour to pass nothing more than a human judgment upon human affairs. He never contemplated raising himself to that more elevated point of view from which our speculative historians, looking down upon the European system of states as constituting merely a link in the great chain of events, affect to measure the progress of mankind by referring to this standard. Those who have looked from this lofty point of view, have assured him that they could discover little more than what might already be seen from below; that

[1] The two first editions only reach down to the establishment of the French imperial throne, in 1804, see p. 390.

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their prospect in one direction, that is, towards the past, was equally confined; while in the other, that is, when they attempted to penetrate the future, they could see nothing but clouds, through which some doubtful forms were with difficulty to be discerned. It was, they thought, a place of visions. The author, however, considered it his first duty to remain on the firm ground of history, and owing to the vast extent of his subject, he regarded the possibility of his being able to do so, as a most essential advantage.

A numerous society of states, subsisting together under long and varied forms of relationship, improves and degenerates just as any great mass of individuals would do under similar circumstances. The evils, which brought with them the downfal of the European States-System, chiefly proceeded, as in fact its advantages also did, from the very circumstance of its being a system. To lay before the reader the causes which prepared the final catastrophe, certainly formed a part of the author's design; he has not however the arrogance to pretend that the results must necessarily have been just as they are here described. No eye, indeed, but that of the Eternal, can see through the whole maze of history. But perhaps the modest inquirer, in the representation here given of the past, at the same time that it may serve to illustrate the present, will also be able to discover the prospect of a greater and more glorious future; when, instead of the confined European States-System of the last centuries, he beholds, in consequence of the diffusion of European culture over remote quarters of the globe, and the flourishing colonies beyond the ocean, the elements of a more free and comprehensive system, which shall include the states of the whole earth, and is even now rising in its strength.—The fertile theme for the historian of future generations!

Göttingen, Feb. 5, 1809.

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POSTSCRIPT TO THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH EDITIONS.

When the two former editions of the present work appeared, in the years 1809 and 1811, the re-establishment of order in Europe, such as we have now lived to see, was so far beyond the bounds of probability, that the most sanguine could scarcely venture to hope for such an event. In those gloomy days, the remembrance of happier times, and of the principles on which the policy of Europe rested, was not perhaps without advantage; and that to preserve this was the author's aim, his work itself will best show. He would venture to hope that he has not altogether failed in attaining this object; and accordingly, as in the first instance he was obliged to end his labours with the overthrow of the European States-System, so now he is fortunate in being able to subjoin the history of its restoration. In the third and fourth editions, not only was every thing, contained in the two former, thoroughly revised, but also, owing to the disclosure of additional sources of information, certain parts, as for example, those relating to the British East India Company, and the free states of South America, etc., were completely re-written. In what way indeed could the writer earn additional praise, placed as he is in a situation which the approbation of his contemporaries has conferred upon him, than by endeavouring to perfect his work to the utmost of his ability. His earnest request therefore is, that it may be received in the same sense which he has intended it should be, namely, as a History of the European States-System, founded upon one great principle, that is, its internal freedom, (as is clearly and definitively expressed in the very commencement of the Introduction,) and consequently, notwithstanding all its internal variety, as one intimate, though unconstrained and connected whole, it is only when contemplated in this light, that it can be properly estimated. He makes this remark with particular reference to the continuation, and last period, which can only be appreciated, when read and examined in connexion with the

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earlier parts of the work, and as forming a continuation of them. The author had already, in what had gone before, expressed his own principles and sentiments so plainly, that no other mode of treating the subject could have been expected. He believed it to be the most correct way of viewing that extraordinary man, who requires to be so often mentioned in this part of the work, and who, in fact, now belongs to general history, to consider him simply as an instrument in the hands of Providence, employed for other and higher purposes than his own; and for this reason alone it was incumbent upon the author, when speaking of him and the nation which suffered itself to be so abused, not to lose sight of that becoming and dignified tone which, independently of the motive assigned, is also the imperious duty of an historian.

Of the third edition, with the continuation, only one solitary review has come to the author's knowledge.[2] The suggestions there made with respect to certain points in his work, have not been disregarded; two or three others are of a general nature, and in reply to these it will be necessary to enter into some explanation. It is objected, that a sufficient degree of attention has not been paid to the 'domestic life of the people.' The expression here used is somewhat indefinite; it includes constitution, laws, customs, etc. Now in writing a history of the European States-System, these subjects could only so far come under consideration, as they exercised an influence upon it. And, in fact, it is precisely for this reason that the author has inserted occasional sections relating to the individual states, in which he believes he has noticed every thing that was absolutely necessary, without descending into particular details. He is fully sensible that in this case, the great difficulty consists in knowing how much and how little to say; but still, as the work now stands, he is not without hopes of having succeeded in preserving a just mean between the two. He must leave the reader to decide whether he has not

[2] In the HERMES, part iv. for the year 1819, p. 259—285.—The fact of the author's work having been translated into the several languages of France, Holland, Sweden, Poland, and the United States, would seem to furnish a satisfactory proof that the principles of practical politics set forth by him, are regarded as correct by those nations. He is also informed that a new translation is in progress in England. [The present one.]

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given with sufficient clearness and precision, as far indeed as it was possible to do so in a Manual like the present, the prevailing ideas at the different periods, which determined the character of their practical policy; as well as the great moral causes which co-operated to the same end. He was as little obliged to write a general history of modern times, as to detail that of particular states; on the contrary, he has merely fulfilled the engagement implied in the title-page, of giving what he calls a history of the European States-System, of which so few persons seem to have formed any clear and adequate notion.—Another fault which the reviewer finds with the work, respects its division. According to his view of the subject, it should have been divided into two periods only, that is to say, into 'modern, and very recent, history,' the latter period commencing with the French Revolution. In reply to this objection, the author might perhaps rest his justification on the bare fact, that it is a matter of perfect indifference whether he divided his work, as he has done, into three, or into two periods; because the last actually does commence with the very point of time suggested by the Reviewer. But he willingly confesses that the proposed alteration is entirely at variance with his plan, and the particular views he has adopted. It is unnecessary to remind the reader that the work must be considered as a whole. The third leading period is as intimately connected with the second, as the second is with the first. To separate the most modern time from that which is less so, appears much too premature; such a distinction may perhaps be allowed to the writers of the twentieth century, but would be just as improper in those of the first quarter of the nineteenth, as it would be to commence the history of modern times with the Reformation. A third objection still remains to be considered, which is, that the last period has not been executed with the same degree of success as the two first. Upon this point, however, it certainly does not become the author to express any opinion; he can only observe, that he has anticipated the probability of such an objection being made. That it is impossible to write the history of one's own times as satisfactorily as that of the past, the author has most sensibly felt during the course of his labours; for what reader does not bring to the perusal his own views, his own opinions,

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his own feelings? and what writer can expect to satisfy them all? The author, therefore, must rest contented with having exhibited the events which came under review, according to the political principles which he regards as immutable, and which predominate from the first to the last page of his work. This, in fact, is the impartiality he has endeavoured to attain, and no other.

In preparing the present edition, nothing has been overlooked, which, in addition to the continuation, might give it that degree of correctness, as well in regard to the impression, as the determination of the several dates, which legitimate criticism can possibly require. Both indeed have been submitted to the most scrupulous revision. The author considered it to be so much the more incumbent on him, because, as he is now in the seventieth year of his age, the present edition is, in all probability, the last that will ever proceed from his hands.

Let him then express a hope, that the dearly bought experience of recent times may not be without its use for the future! May no possessor of arbitrary power again seek to fetter the liberties of Europe! May the nations show themselves worthy of recovered freedom; and their rulers not be surprised when they see that its enjoyment is not altogether free from abuse!

GÖTTINGEN,
April 10, 1819 *and* 1822, *and Feb.* 5, 1830.

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A MANUAL

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE AND ITS COLONIES.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Bibliography of sources and authorities.

De Martens, *Guide Diplomatique, ou Répertoire des principaux Lois, des Traités, et autres Actes publics jusqu' à la fin du 18me siècle;* à Berlin, 1801, tom. I. II.: a catalogue raisonné of public documents, with references to the collections in which they may be found. These two volumes form the first two parts of the *Cours Diplomatique;* and are indispensable to the historian.

II. Collections of sources and authorities.

A. *State Papers.* A critical notice of these collections is given in De Martens, *Discours sur les Recueils des Traités,* prefixed to *Supplément au Recueil des Traités,* vol. I. The most important general collections, necessary to be mentioned here, are—

Recueil des Traités de Paix, de Trêve, de Neutralité, d'Alliance, de Commerce, etc., depuis la naissance de J. C. jusqu' à présent; à Amsterdam et à la Haye, 1700, tom. I.—IV., fol.; commonly called the collection of Moetjens, the name of one of the booksellers who undertook it.

Corps Universel Diplomatique de Droit des Gens, contenant un Recueil des Traités d'Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, de Commerce, etc., depuis le règne de l'Empereur Charlemagne jusqu' à présent; par J. du Mont, à Amsterdam et à la Haye, 1726—1731. 8 vols. fol. This is the principal collection. It contains the state papers from 800—1731. Those for the last three centuries, from 1501, begin with the fourth volume. *Supplémens au Corps universel Diplomatique,* par M. Rousset, à Amsterdam, tom. I.—V., 1739, was afterwards published as a supplement and continuation of this collection; so that the whole work consists of thirteen volumes. The first three volumes of this supplement are composed of state papers previous to the year 800, of matter strictly supplementary, and of a continuation to 1738. The last two volumes contain, *Le Cérémonial Politique des Cours de l'Europe;* with the documents connected with it.

A convenient selection for common use was published by Schmauss, *Corpus Juris Gentium Academicum,* Lips. 1730, 2 vols. 4to. This collection comprises the period from 1100—1730.

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The following may be regarded as a continuation of these collections: Ferd. Aug. Wilh. Wenkii *Codex Juris Gentium recentissimi, e tabulariorum examplariumque fide dignorum monumentis compositus;* Lipsiæ, tom. i., 1781; tom. ii., 1788; tom. iii., 1795, 8vo. This includes the period from 1735—1772.

A collection of those of still more recent date has been compiled by Von Martens.

Recueil des principaux Traités d'Alliance, de Paix, de Trêve, de Neutralité, de Commerce, etc., conclus par les Puissances de l'Europe, tant entre elles qu'avec les Puissances, et les Etats dans d'autres parties du Monde, depuis 1761 *jusqu' à présent,* par M. de Martens, à Gottingue, 1791—1802, 7 vols. 8vo. Seconde édition revue et augmentée, 1818. (This at present has only proceeded as far as vol. i.—iv.)

This collection reaches from 1761 to the peace of Luneville, 1801. There has since appeared:

Supplément au Recueil des principaux Traités depuis 1761, *jusqu' à présent, précédé de Traités du* 18me *siècle antérieurs à cette époque, et qui ne se trouvent pas dans le Corps universel Diplomatique de M. Dumont et Rousset et autres Recueils généraux de Traités,* par. M. de Martens, vol. i. ii., 8vo, à Gottingue, 1802; vol. iii. iv. and last, 1808. Beside the supplements the collection was continued to the end of the year 1807. There again followed in addition to this, vol. v., 1808—1814, April, inclusive, 1817; vol. vi., to the end of 1816; vol. vii., 1808—1818 inclusive, with copious indexes; vol. viii., 1818, 1819 inclusive. The four last parts also under the title of *Nouveau Recueil des principaux Traités d'Alliance, etc.,* à Gottingue, 1817—1820, vol. i—iv., 8vo.

B. *Memoirs.* The accounts given by statesmen and generals themselves, of the transactions in which they took a part, unquestionably form one of the most important sources; and it is one of the essential advantages of modern history to be particularly rich in them. We owe the great number we possess, to the fashion which prevailed in certain periods for courtiers to write memoirs of their life and times; particularly in France, where Philippe de Comines set the first example, and stands at the head of the series. His *Mémoires* reach from 1464—1498. They reveal the secret causes of events, and unfold the nature of their connexion, and consequently offer the best school for the formation of statesmen. The critical inquirer, however, must never forget, that their authors always brought to the work their own prejudices, often their own passions; and not unfrequently were bewildered themselves. The chief collections are,

Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France; à Londres, et se trouve à Paris, vol. i.—lxv., 1785—1791; with a continuation, vol. lxvi.—lxx., Paris, 1806. This only comes down to the end of the sixteenth century.

Allgemeine Sammlung historischer Memoirs vom 12 *Jahrhundert bis auf die neuesten Zeiten, durch mehrere Verfasser übersetzt, mit den nöthigen Anmerkungen und jedesmal mit einer Universel-historischen,* Uebersicht versehen von Fr. Schiller. I. Abth. B. 1—4. II. Abth. B. 1—26. Jena, 1790—1806. This contains a selection of the more important memoirs, down to the Duke of Orleans' regency.

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III. Works on the general history of Modern Europe.

J. J. SCHMAUSS, *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft*, I. II. Theil, Leipzig, 1741 and 1747. The first part contains The History of the Balance of Power in Europe, or the State Affairs of Western Europe, from 1484—1740. The second, An Account of the Treaties concluded between the Northern Powers, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Prussia. This work is executed in a careful and methodical manner, and will always be found useful.

Le Droit Public de l'Europe, fondé sur les Traités ; précédé de Principes des Négociations pour servir d'Introduction, par M. L'ABBE DE MABLY ; *nouvelle édition continuée jusqu' à la Paix de* 1763 ; *avec des Remarques historiques, politiques, et critiques*, par M. ROUSSET ; à Amsterdam et Leipsic, 1773, 3 vols. 8vo. From the assertions of Mably, and the refutations of Rousset, a tolerably correct account may be gathered of the views of the French and of their opponents, with regard to the practical politics of Europe at that period.

Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, par M. C. W. KOCH, 1790. *Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée*, 3 vols. Paris, 1813. Of the three volumes, vol. I. extends to 1300 ; vol. II. to 1713 ; vol. III. to 1800. Attached to it are, *Tables généalogiques des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe.* A useful work, written with much care, and with judicious criticisms upon the authorities made use of, as indeed may be said of all the writings of this diplomatic historian.[1]

Tableau des Relations extérieurs des Puissances de l'Europe, tant entre elles qu' avec d'autres Etats dans les diverses parties du Globe, par G. FR. DE MARTENS, à Berlin, 1801. This work forms the third part of the *Cours Diplomatique ;* and is particularly valuable on account of the attention it bestows on commerce and the colonies.

Histoire générale et raisonnée de la diplomatie Française, depuis la fondation de la Monarchie jusqu' à la fin du règne de Louis XVI., par M. DE FLASSAN, à Paris, 1809 ; 2nd edition, 1811, 7 vols. 8vo. A history of French diplomacy is not much less than a history of the European political system. The use of the most important diplomatic authorities, the fidelity and preciseness of the accounts, and a rare impartiality of judgment, give to this work a classic value. Part of modern history is found in the first volume.

Grundriss einer Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Welthändel neuerer Zeit in einem erzählenden Vortrage von JOH. G. BUSCH, third edition, 1796, beginning with 1440, and extending, in the latest edition, to 1795. This is not a regular historical narration, but is useful to beginners, by making them acquainted with the materials of modern history.

Geschichte der drei letzten Jahrhunderte von JOH. GOTTFR. EICHHORN, Göttingen, 6 Th. 8vo, third edition, 1817. The first volume, which gives a view of general history, comes under this head ; and the last two, as containing a history of the colonies.

Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe; depuis la fin du quinzième siècle, par M. ANCILLON, à Berlin, vol. I. II., 1803 ;

[1] [A catchpenny translation of KOCH's *Sketch of the Revolutions of Europe* has been published in CONSTABLE's *Miscellany*, wanting all its essential advantages, and with a preface containing one or two palpable falsehoods. TR.]

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vol. III. IV., 1805. This is a valuable work, the completion of which is much desired. The fourth volume comes down to the peace of Utrecht.

Of compendiums, ACHENWALL'S *Entwurf der allgemeinen Europäischen Staatshändel des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts*, Götting. 1756, and frequently reprinted, merits all the reputation it enjoys. It comprises, however, only the period from 1600 to 1748.

Grundriss einer diplomatischen Geschichte der Europäischen Staatshändel und Friedensschlüsse, seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrhunderts bis zum Frieden von Amiens. Zum Gebrauch academischer Vorlesungen von G. FR. VON MARTENS, Berlin, 1807.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. The history of the Political System of Europe must not be confounded with the history of the separate states of which it is composed. It is rather a history of their mutual relations, and more especially those of the higher powers, so far as they can be deduced from the peculiar nature of the separate states, the character of the rulers, and the prevailing opinions of the times. But a necessary condition of the interchange of these relations, and therefore an essential property of this states-system, is its *internal freedom;* that is, the stability and mutual independence of its members. To set forth how this was formed, endangered, and preserved, is therefore the great object of the historian. This, however, can only be done by a detail of the whole series of internal relations, and the causes which produced them.

2. The history of this states-system, comprising the last three centuries, forms an important part of modern history, as distinguished from ancient and that of the middle ages. For, notwithstanding there is no striking event here to form a strict boundary line, as there is between ancient history and that of the middle ages, yet the concurrence of several great events prepared a change sufficient to justify this division.

These events are: 1. The conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Turkish empire in Europe, 1453: 2. The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, 1492: 3. The discovery of the new passage to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, made by Vasco de Gama, 1497; and the effects of these two discoveries in changing the great commercial routes: 4. The changes in the art of war in consequence of the invention and use of gunpowder.—To show the effects which these circumstances had upon the politics of Europe, is the purpose of the following work.

3. Europe acquired, during this period, an importance in universal history such as it had never before possessed.

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Neither Africa nor America contained any state of general importance previous to the independence of the Colonies; and of the three great kingdoms of Asia, that of Persia under the Sophis, India under the Moguls, and China, the latter alone continued to exist, and that only under a foreign dynasty.

The Persian empire of the Sophis was founded by Ishmael Sophi about 1500; attained its greatest power under Shah Abbas, 1585—1628; was overthrown by the Afghans, 1722; and, on the murder of the succeeding tyrant, Kouli Chan or Nadir Shah, 1747, fell into anarchy.—The Mogul empire in India was established by the Sultan Babour, a descendant of Timour, about 1526. It gradually acquired the countries of the Indus and Ganges, and the peninsula; and attained the height of its power from the reign of Acbar the Great, 1556—1605, to the death of Aureng Zebe, † 1707, after which it fell to pieces, and was almost entirely annihilated by the conquest of Nadir Shah, 1739, and the policy of the Europeans.—The revolution in China by the conquest of the Mantchew Tartars, whose dominion still continues, took place in 1644.

4. In Europe, on the contrary, most of the old states still continued to exist; and the Europeans besides, during this period, founded extensive colonies on the other continents, where with their dominion they introduced their religion and civilization. Notwithstanding, however, all the efforts of the parent states to preserve a strict authority over these establishments, some have already grown to independence, and others appear to be fast ripening towards it. The history of these colonies is of itself an essential part of the history of the European system, and is becoming still more so by the vast and constantly increasing influence which they have had, not only on the general commerce, but on the practical politics of the leading states of Europe. The historian, therefore, has to set forth, not merely the history of these several establishments, but must explain their various influences upon Europe.

5. Though the ancient states of Europe still continued, closer, more numerous, and more varied relations were formed amongst them than had hitherto existed; and by these the states of Europe became, as it were, one great Political States-system, whose vicissitudes may be moulded into one general history.

These relations were brought about by the progress of civilization, which necessarily increases the points of contact between neighbouring

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states; still they presuppose certain general points in which the common interest was concerned. Of this nature were: *a.* the Italian wars; *b.* the affairs of religion after the Reformation; *c.* the necessity of opposing the advances of the Turks; *d.* the commerce of the colonies, which was constantly increasing in value, and the commercial interests to which it gave rise.—As to all this there remains to be added, *e.* the facility of communication which printing and the establishment of posts afford, the Christian nations of Europe became, in a manner, morally united into one community, which was only politically divided.

6. The European political system, notwithstanding its internal variety, was, till within these few years, a system of predominant monarchies; where republics, with the exception of the United Netherlands, which alone attained to any great degree of power, were merely tolerated. This predominance of monarchies had a considerable influence on general politics. It was this, in the first place, that kept back the people from taking a more active part in public affairs. Powerful popular parties, and the disorders to which they gave rise, such as are met with in the great republics of antiquity, would have been wholly unknown, if religious dissensions had not produced effects which nearly resembled them. A second consequence of this predominance was, that the management of public affairs became more and more concentrated in the hands of princes and their ministers, and thus led to that cabinet policy which particularly characterizes the European states-system.

7. Notwithstanding this uniformity, which renders modern history so unlike the ancient, it yet displays all the variety of which it is susceptible. Every form of monarchical government—hereditary and elective, unlimited, constitutional, and so on, till the kingly authority dwindles to a mere shadow—existed in Europe. Again, in its few republics, what a wide difference between the severe aristocracy of Venice, and the pure democracy of the shepherd-cantons! It is undoubtedly to this practical variety that Europe is chiefly indebted for her enlightened and enlarged views in general politics; to which must be attributed not only her superior policy, but, in a great measure, her rapid advancement in civilization.

8. The European states-system also acquired firmer stability, from the fortunate circumstance of having its centre composed of a state, the form of which, imperfect as it was

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in itself, was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to the whole system. This was the German empire. Without such a central state, important to all, but dangerous to none, this system could scarcely have grown up as it has. Enlightened policy soon perceived, that on the preservation of this empire, the welfare of the existing order of things in Europe mainly depended.

9. The principles which held this system together, and guaranteed the security and independence of the weak against the strong, were of various kinds. A just and perfect condition among the several states, such as might be projected in theory, was certainly, at all times, far from being established. Still, however, a law of nations, one of the fruits of advancing civilization, became gradually developed, resting not merely upon express treaties, but upon general tacit convention. This enjoined the observance of certain usages in peace, but more particularly in war; and though its maxims were often violated, its influence was eminently beneficial. Even the strict, and sometimes excessive ceremonial mutually observed by the states towards one another, will appear by no means a matter of indifference, if considered as a mutual acknowledgment of independence on the part of states often the most unlike in power and constitution.[1]

10. The first and most important fruit of this law of nations, and at the same time the chief support of the whole system, was the sacredness of a recognised legitimate possession, without which no such system could exist. Its preservation was secured by most of the governments being hereditary. It was by the illegal division of an elective monarchy that this principle was virtually destroyed. The previous usurpations of individuals had only tended to confirm it.

[1] SAM. PUFFENDORF, Jus Naturæ et Gentium. Lugd. 1672.

BOURLAMAQUI, Droit de la Nature et des Gens. 1766.

DE VATTEL, Le Droit des Gens, ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des Nations et des Souverains. Lond. 1758, 4to. à Bâle, 1777. 3 vols. 8vo. This work has obtained the highest authority among practical statesmen.

Précis du Droit des Gens fondé sur les Traités et l'Usage, par M. DE MARTENS, troisième édition, revue et augmentée. à Gottingue, 1821. The last literary labour of the author, who has done so much for political science.

Grundriss eines Systems des Europäischen Völkerrecht von FR. SAALFELD. Göttingen, 1809.

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In this respect the influence of the German body politic was highly beneficial, by the example it afforded of the continuance of small states, and even cities, by the side of large ones.

11. Another important support of this system was the adoption and maintenance of the principle of a *balance of power;* that is, the attention paid by the different states to the preservation of their mutual independence, by preventing any particular one from rising to such a degree of power as should seem inconsistent with the general liberty. This explanation will show the great value of this principle. What is necessary to its preservation, has at all times been a question for the highest political wisdom; (and this question has necessarily been ever varying;) nothing, however, but the most short-sighted policy would ever seek for its final settlement by an equal division of the physical force of the different states. The maintenance of this principle led to the following consequences: *a.* to a vigilant attention of the states to the affairs of each other; and to a multitude of new and various relations between them, by means of alliances and counter-alliances, especially among the more distant ones. *b.* It gave a greater importance in the political system to states of the second and third order. *c.* It promoted a general feeling of respect for independence, and a system of politics of a higher order than that arising from individual gratification.

The idea of a political balance of power has always existed, to a certain extent, in every system of free civilized states,—e. g. in Greece and Italy,—for it essentially belongs to all such systems. It is a natural fruit of the advance of political science; and the neglect of it leads to the annihilation or subjugation of the weaker powers. As it may be both abused and destroyed, it cannot afford *perfect* security; but it gives the greatest that it is possible to obtain.

12. The European political system found a third support in the establishment of maritime states, which, more than all others, have contributed to maintain the balance of power. The rise of maritime states, and the peculiar nature of their influence in the political balance of Europe, prevented land forces from alone deciding every thing, which, as they depend almost entirely upon the number of men which can be got together, are always most easily formed.

13. In a system of states most of which were hereditary,

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the family connexions of the ruling houses obtained an importance which might increase or diminish, but could never wholly cease. The principle generally adopted, that princes could marry none but the daughters of princes, became a security against the evils to which marriages with subjects always lead. The dangers, equally great, which follow the connexion of many powerful ruling families, Europe happily escaped from by the fortunate circumstance, that Germany contained many little principalities, which furnished queens to most of the European states. Thus there grew up a relationship between most of the ruling houses, which was neither so near as to exercise a direct controlling influence on politics, nor yet so distant but that its natural force was felt, and it proved an important bond of union when all other ties seemed nearly dissolved.

14. The constitutions of most of the kingdoms of Europe, and particularly those of German origin, were not founded upon written documents, but had grown up out of the feudal system; though perhaps in some of them a few fundamental laws existed. They could not therefore well fail to bear a resemblance to one another in their principal features. At the beginning of this period, the monarchs were every where surrounded by a nobility, subdivided into a higher and lower noblesse, who had hitherto yielded little more obedience to their sovereigns than temporary circumstances or personal relations demanded. The clergy also had as generally obtained an important influence in all affairs of state. These two bodies composed the higher or privileged class: they enjoyed great immunities in exemption from taxes, and occupied the first seats in the assemblies of the nation. Besides these, another order, wholly foreign to the strict feudal system, had gradually been formed, a fruit of the institutions of free cities and boroughs which had grown up by commerce: we mean citizens, or freemen. The representatives of this order were likewise summoned to the national assemblies, in order to grant taxes, of which it had to bear the chief burden. The great mass of the peasantry still remained more or less under the yoke of bondage, as villains or serfs; but however modified their servitude, they were entirely destitute of all political rights. In the situation in which these two latter

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classes stood towards the two first, there seems to have lain the elements of revolutions, which would necessarily take place, either suddenly or by degrees; for, unfortunately, in none of the continental states did the existing assembly form itself into a well-organized representation of the nation, by which alone the government could have acquired an internal stability, and which would alike have protected it from anarchy and despotism.

15. At first, therefore, the royal authority in these kingdoms was every where much limited. Without the aid of the nobility no important war could be carried on; without the consent of the cities no taxes could be levied. Without standing armies, (a small beginning excepted,) without political economy, (for no art was known but that of getting money,) there existed, in reality, at this time no power, in the present acceptation of the word. The royal authority, however, was almost every where increasing: Ferdinand the Catholic, Louis XI., and Henry VII., laid the foundation of it, which they well understood how to do; and their successors, Philip II., Louis XIV., and others, enlarged it till it became absolute, without dreaming that they were thereby preparing its overthrow.

16. The history of modern Europe is divided into three periods, of which the first two occupy nearly an equal space of time: we stand, as it were, at the commencement of the third. The first extends from the end of the fifteenth century to the accession of Louis XIV., 1492—1661. The second, from 1661 to the death of Frederic the Great and the commencement of the political changes in Europe, 1661—1786. The third, from the latter period to the present times. The principle upon which this division has been made, is the different form which practical politics assumed in each period; and from the various characters of these the first may be called the *political-religious;* the second, the *mercantile-military;* and the third, the *political-revolutionary* and *constitutional.* The first was the period of the *rise;* the second, that of the *establishment;* and the last, that of the *dissolution* of the *balance of power.*

17. The course of affairs requires, that in the two first, and in the early part of the last period, the history of the Northern European system should be separated from that

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of the Southern. The former of these comprises Russia, Sweden, Poland, and Denmark; the latter, the remaining states. The Prussian monarchy, forming, since its aggrandizement, the connecting link of the two systems, belongs to both. Even earlier, on particular occasions, the North may be found taking an active share in the affairs of the South; but previous to the division of Poland this was always of a transitory nature. Still the constant influence which the two systems had upon one another must not be overlooked.

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FIRST PERIOD.

From the end of the Fifteenth Century to the time of Louis XIV. 1492—1661.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES SYSTEM.

1. The peculiar character of this period is determined by the Reformation which broke out at its commencement. For as the religious interests which thus arose acquired the prevailing influence in politics, the disputes and parties of the former became identical with those of the latter. This union doubtless varied in strength at various times, but still to it must be referred the spirit and direction of the age.

2. Although the Southern political system embraces all the states of the south of Europe, yet Spain, France, England, Austria, the German empire, the Papal and Turkish powers, must be considered its most important members. By them its political relations were determined; and they, in comparison with the passiveness of the others, may be said to have been the active limbs of the system.

Of these powers Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella, commanded the most brilliant prospects of the future. The union of Arragon, with its dependencies, Sicily and Sardinia, to Castile, which had been effected by their marriage, (1469,) laid the foundation of its internal vigour; while the discovery of America had opened for it the most boundless views abroad. The conquest of Grenada was, however, the great event which roused the spirit of the nation, although it at the same time destroyed its liberty by opening the way, principally by the establishment of the inquisition, to the despotic power of the crown; without, however, immediately causing any change, at least in the form of the constitutional assembly (the *Cortes*).

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With the exception of the American discoveries, FRANCE possessed equal advantages, although then much more limited in extent. The acquisition of Bretagne by the marriage of Charles VIII. had considerably enlarged it; while the policy of Louis XI. and the fall of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, (1477,) the last of its vassals possessed of any dangerous power, had established the royal authority as firmly as in any other quarter, and had caused the power of the constitutional assembly (*états généraux*) visibly to decline. The incalculable advantage afforded to France, as a chief member of the European System, by her geographical position, cannot escape notice.

In ENGLAND, as elsewhere, the kingly power was gradually increased in the reign of Henry VII., (1483—1509,) after the termination of the wars of the white and red roses. Although the parliament had already received its distinguishing and most important features, it was still, and long continued to be, a body without a soul; but by its organization it was more capable of life than any other national assemblage. Not yet united to Scotland, her authority doubtful in Ireland, without any naval force, England could hardly have shared in the continental disputes, had not the possession of Calais opened to her a road into France; a road, however, by which she could no longer penetrate far.

The AUSTRIAN MONARCHY was yet in a state of formation; the greater part of its possessions being scattered and of uncertain tenure. To the ancient dominions of Austria, (dating from 1276,) the Netherlands (from the year 1477) were added, by the marriage of Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy; and although the claims of the Hapsburg family to Hungary and Bohemia terminated in 1527 in permanent possession, its power was still weakened, not only by the factions peculiar to elective states, but also, and especially in Hungary, by Turkish wars. The imperial crown added but little to its strength, although largely to its splendour. In fact, without the opening prospect of succession to the Spanish throne (see below) the power of Austria would have been very limited.

The GERMAN EMPIRE appears to have attained a more perfect organization, by the establishment of order and recognition of rights, the election of imperial courts, the provincial divisions, and embodying of police throughout the empire, which it owed to Maximilian I. between the years 1492 and 1519. Unfortunately the foreign disputes, in which he was for ever engaged, checked his course and impeded the career of improvement. Thus the empire remained dead as a whole, though pregnant with life in its separate members, till the Reformation awoke its energies only to waste them upon internal dissension. Still, however, amid all the evils of internal disunion and external defencelessness, this wonderful state bore up and kept its rank among the nations; partly sustained by its own strength, partly by good fortune in some of its connexions, and partly, nor that the least, by the general and growing opinion, that upon its maintenance and freedom that of the whole political system of Europe depended.

The POPES appeared in a double capacity, as rulers of the States of the Church, (see below,) and as heads of the Christian community. Nor did the interests of the one character always agree with those of the other; for what might not the paternal authority of the Popes have

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wrought for the well-being of Europe, had the passions of our nature kept aloof and spared the sanctity of their office! And yet their policy remains a rare example of elasticity and firmness. Haughty of tone, although without arms to support it; resting merely upon public opinion, yet in continual and growing opposition to it; they never resigned any thing, even when virtually lost, but maintained a regular and consistent course, grounded upon the assurance that they were indispensable, and would in the end be recognised as such.

The PORTE (at this time essentially a conquering power) had reached the summit of its greatness under Solyman II. (1520—1566). Its regular infantry (the Janizaries) had already made it formidable by land, while its navy, by which the Mediterranean with its coasts might have been secured, threatened the same superiority by sea. Standing in direct and hostile opposition to the Christian part of Europe, Turkey remained a foreign power: and to the danger which thereby overhung Christendom, the Popes had for a long time looked as a remedy against the disunion of its supporters. This hope was frustrated by an early alliance between France and the Porte, by which the latter became a member, although an incongruous one, of the European political system.

Of the other states of Southern Europe PORTUGAL was wholly occupied by its discoveries and its conquests (see below); SWITZERLAND, at first formidable from its mercenaries, soon sank into a happy inactivity; while VENICE gradually assumed the appearance of a rich commercial establishment, which resigns the chief burden of its affairs in order to enjoy its hard-earned repose.

PERIOD THE FIRST.

I. *History of the Negotiations and Wars respecting Italy, from* 1494 *to* 1515.

Istoria d'Italia di FRANCISCO GUICCIARDINI. 2 vols. fol. Venezia, 1738. (The edition of *Friburgo*, 1775, 4 vols. 4to, although pretending to greater completeness, has only a few unimportant additions.) This is the principal authority, as the writer was both contemporary with, and engaged in, the affairs of which he treats; and at the same time an impartial historian and critic. The work extends from 1490 to 1532.

Mémoires de Philippe de Comines. Paris, 1747. 4 vols. These close with 1498.

The works of MEZERAY, DANIEL, MEUZEL, and others, on French affairs in general. The history of Charles VIII., by GODEFROI, (*Histoire de Charles VIII.* Paris, 1684,) that of Louis XII., by VARILLAS, (*Histoire de Louis XII.* Paris, 1688,) and the Lives of Louis XII., (*Vies de Louis XII.*,) published by GODEFROI, Paris, 1615—1620, embrace an account of these events, although naturally more with reference to France.

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3. Italy, towards the end of the fifteenth century, was the general mark of conquest, and therefore the central point of European politics. Its internal condition was such as at once to invite the conqueror, and to delay his progress by plunging him into endless debate. In a country so divided materials were never wanting for internal strife; and thus foreigners, once engaged in the quarrel, never failed of opportunities for interference. Unimportant, therefore, as the Italian feuds may at first appear, they are by no means so in reality, since it was upon the action of these meaner wheels that the greater machinery of European politics, at this period, depended for the impulse and continuance of its motion.

4. Modern Italy was now in the Augustan age of arts and knowledge; for more than a century it had formed a world by itself, alike in politics and refinement. In the full enjoyment of independence, the Italian states constituted a system in which the desire of maintaining the balance of power gave rise to a more subtle policy, which, especially after the death of the great Lorenzo de Medici,
1492. degenerated into a mere crafty selfishness, and soon wrought its own destruction. The chief members of this system were the duchy of Milan and the republic of Venice in the north; the republic of Florence and the states of the Church in the centre; and the kingdom of Naples in the south.

1. The duchy of MILAN, to which at that time not only Parma and Placentia, but Genoa also belonged, was a German fief, held under the emperor. Upon the failure of male issue in the house of Visconti (1450) it had passed into the family of Sforza; and upon the death of the founder Francis Sforza, (1466,) and the murder of his son Galeazzo Maria, (1476,) the son of the latter, the weak John Galeazzo succeeded to the government, under the guardianship of his uncle Ludovico Sforza, by whom he was ultimately expelled (1494).

2. The republic of VENICE had already acquired all that it was ever to possess upon the continent, yet without renouncing the hope of acquiring more. Its hereditary plans of aggrandizement were directed against Romagna, (the greater portion of which she had gained,) and against Milan. To the entire possession of the latter even the boldest hopes of the senate could hardly aspire; but the projects once adopted were followed up with all the cunning and perseverance which an aristocratical system of policy, such as that of Venice, is alone capable of exhibiting. The republic was in fact considered the diplomatic model of its day.

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3. The PAPAL DOMINIONS had not only a very uncertain frontier in the north, but the power of the great families, in several states as yet unbroken, rendered their government still more unstable. The Popes not unfrequently stood in the way of their own advancement, and the practice of nepotism merged the interests of the holy see in that of their several families. In this the reigning Pope, Alexander VI., (1492—1503,) was hardly surpassed by any that came either before or after him.

4. The republic of FLORENCE still adhered to its democratical form, although now, for near a century, under the dominion of the Medici. Pietro was at this time head of the family, having succeeded to the principality of his father, the great Lorenzo, but not to his virtues or ability. Although its territory had been increased by the conquest of Pisa, (1407,) yet the spirit of the Pisanese was far from being subdued; and in this, as well as in the nature of the authority of the Medici, which being wholly built upon superior talent could not be expected to survive its failure, lay those seeds of revolution which bore only too abundant a harvest.

5. The kingdom of NAPLES was subject to a collateral branch of the house of Arragon, without, however, the appendage of Sicily, which was attached to Arragon itself. Alfonso V. of Arragon and first of Naples, († 1458,) had bequeathed it to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I., who was succeeded in 1494, by Alfonso II., elder son of the former; by him it was given up in 1395 to his son Ferdinand II., who, dying in 1496, was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, and he again (in 1501) lost this kingdom to Ferdinand the Catholic. The largest state in Italy was the least powerful, from the unpopularity of its kings and the want of character among its people.

5. Expedition of Charles VIII. from France to Naples, in order to make good the claims of the younger branch of Anjou to that kingdom. These he had inherited from his father, and was more immediately induced to follow up by the urgency of some malcontent emigrants, and the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, who hoped thereby to maintain himself in the duchy of Milan; but with the establishment of these was connected another and much greater project, the overthrow of the Turkish empire. Such a scheme could only have been formed in the infancy of politics, which loves to dwell upon extensive plans, without bestowing a thought upon the difficulties which surround them, or the means by which they may be accomplished. 1494.

Italy and Naples were subdued easily and without bloodshed, between Sept., 1494, and May, 1495. Ferdinand II. fled to Ischia, and both Rome and Florence opened their gates to the conqueror. On February 22, Charles VIII. made his entry into Naples, and the submission of the whole country followed; but although an array of thirty thousand men and one hundred and forty pieces of cannon had been sufficient to awe Italy into obedience, it did not prove ample enough to maintain it.

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6. Nay, during the very progress of this expedition, negotiations were on foot for the formation of a league, whose object should be the expulsion of the foreigners from Italy. Of this league Venice was the moving power; in it the Pope, and even Ludovico Sforza, were actually associated. Ferdinand of Spain and Maximilian were well inclined to join it, and so determined were its views, that its partisans scrupled not to make overtures to the hereditary foe of Christendom. As early as May, Charles VIII. was obliged to evacuate Naples and fight his way home.

Retreat of the king from Naples with the one half of his army, 20th of May, 1495. His engagement with, and victory over the Venetians and their allies at Fornua, 6th of July. The half of his force which had been left in Naples was obliged to capitulate, and Ferdinand II. was thus again in possession of his kingdom.

7. Nevertheless this attempt, unsuccessful as it proved, was not without its consequences to Europe. Italy became a fair mark for plans of conquest; a spirit of intrigue was raised; and, more efficient than all, men's passions were awakened, for Charles VIII. was bent on vengeance. The struggle between Pisa and Florence left Italy no rest, (for both Milan and Venice hoped to profit thereby,) and made it easier for foreigners to find allies among its states. The vengeance which Charles VIII. so much coveted, he did not, however, live to exact; a sudden death snatched him from it.

April 7, 1498.

8. Louis XII. extended and followed up the scheme of his predecessor, for beside the old claim upon Naples which attached to his throne, he brought a new one of his own upon Milan, which he derived from his grandmother Valentina, a daughter of the house of Visconti. A share in the booty was promised to Venice and the Pope, and the conquest, thus made easy, was accomplished while the victims of it were yet in treaty for foreign assistance.

Capture of Milan, August, 1499. Flight, and, after fruitless attempts to re-establish himself, captivity of Ludovico Sforza; a captivity which ends only with his life, April 10, 1500. Cremona and Ghirar d'Adda become the portion of Venice, and Alexander VI. appears to be on the eve of accomplishing his favourite project, of bestowing an independent principality in Romagna upon his son Cæsar Borgia.

9. The conquest of Milan would have led to an immedi-

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ate attack upon Naples, had this been possible without some previous intelligence with Spain. Ferdinand the Catholic was ready for the part he had to play, and formed a double alliance with his cousin Frederic of Naples on the one hand, and Louis XII. on the other, a difference of time being the only distinction in his intended betrayal of both. The Pope was prepared to ratify his success.

Secret treaty of partition between Ferdinand and Louis XII., Nov. 11, 1500. Bloodless overthrow of the dupe Frederic, followed by his imprisonment for life and the conquest of his kingdom, July, 1501.

10. Angry disputes, followed by a war between the parties, arose on the partition of the spoil. Each would fain have taken the whole to himself, and thus the inner wheel of Ferdinand's intrigue acquired its motion. More extensive alliances in the country which was the scene of debate; greater cunning, and the services of such a general as Gonsalvo of Cordova, turned the scale for Ferdinand, and put him in undisputed possession of Naples. The conqueror's right was cemented by marriage, and thus did two foreign powers, that of France in Milan, and that of Spain in Naples, acquire a firm footing in Italy.

The French defeated at Seminara the 21st of April, and on the Garigliano, 27th of Dec., 1508. The truce of the 31st of March, 1504, was followed by a total cessation of hostilities on the marriage of Ferdinand to Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII., with whom, on the receipt of a million of ducats, he gave his claim upon Naples as a dowry, 12th of Oct., 1505.

11. While Italy was thus the common prey of political intrigue, its relations became more complicated than ever by the election of a new Pope. Having bought
the papal chair, Julius II. grasped with a bold 1503.
and practised hand the reins of European politics, and for ten years guided them at will. Weakness has seldom been played against strength with such boldness, such cunning, and with so much success! It was not however a dominion of peace, for with such a Pope in Christendom peace was impossible.

The first project of Julius II. was to attach to the papal see the dominion of Cæsar Borgia, which embraced Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara, and which, since the death of Alexander, had partly fallen to pieces of itself, and partly been appropriated by Venice. The wars thus set

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afoot made way for this second and greater project, for the expulsion of the foreigners, more especially the French, from Italy.

12. The contests with Venice respecting Romagna led to the scheme of a more extensive alliance; this could not however be immediately arranged, owing chiefly to the internal
1504. circumstances of Spain, consequent on the death of
Isabella. Their external result was the league of
1508. Cambray, which bore the character of a secret alliance against Venice, between Louis XII., Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and the Pope. This combination, at once unjust and contradictory, found such ready advocates in the passions and interests of the parties, that the Pope almost repented of having set afoot a business, the easy conduct of which yielded no opportunity for taking the direction on himself. At all events, it was no fault of his that the Venetians were not better on their guard; but the proud citizens seemed not to know that kings are rarely the friends of a republic.

The league, as far as regarded Louis XII. and Maximilian I., was concluded Dec. 10, 1508. The others subsequently joined it with the common object of humiliating the republic, and taking possession of its continental territory, the allotment of which was previously arranged.

13. Powerful as this league appears, it was not so much by its strength as by the passionate impetuosity of the mightiest of its members, that the safety of Venice was endangered. Even the breaking up of the alliance could hardly have warded off the assault of Louis XII. Her policy, and not her armies, preserved the republic; for it was no difficult matter to dissolve a connexion which had so little internal stability.

The Venetians were conquered at Agnadello, April 15, 1509, and obliged to relinquish their possessions on the main-land, under the twofold oppression of the Pope, who in his temporal capacity had seized on Romagna, and in his spiritual had laid the republic under ban. The quarrel of Louis and Maximilian now began, and Venice, after retaking Padua, concluded a treaty and reconciliation with the Pope, Feb. 25, 1510, which left the latter in possession of the cities of Romagna; while Ferdinand retained the ports of Apulia.

14. Julius II., who well knew that there are no such enemies as former friends, arranged from the fragments of the late league a second and still stronger one against

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France. This was styled the holy league, from its avowed object of protecting the Roman see 1511. from the ambition of France; its further design was the total expulsion of the French from Italy, an event in which the Pope and the Venetians took much interest; and the conquest of Spanish Navarre for the advantage of Ferdinand, who won Henry VIII. of England to his purpose. Even Maximilian I. was rendered neutral by a truce with Venice; but the master-stroke of the Pope's policy was, to win over the Swiss, since through their means alone could Milan be torn from France.

The holy league was concluded between the Pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, Oct. 5, 1511. The Emperor and Henry VIII. had a free invitation to join it. The Swiss had been gained over in 1510.

15. The contest which ensued (and which from the unsuccessful attempt of Louis to convoke a council at Pisa, for the deposition of the Pope, had 1511. fairly assumed the character of a struggle with the hierarchy) might perhaps have terminated in favour of France, had not the battle of Ravenna closed the career of the young and heroic Gaston de Foix. Attacked on every side, driven from Milan by the Swiss, labouring under the papal ban, Louis XII. would have found it a hard matter to draw himself from this difficult posture, had not the death of the Pope come to his relief.

France maintained the advantage as long as Gaston de Foix was with her. His death, at the battle of Ravenna, put a period to his success, which extended from Nov., 1511, to April 11, 1512. The Swiss made an irruption into Milan, May, 1512, and restored it to Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Ludovico Sforza. The attempt of Louis XII. to recover it frustrated by the battle of Novara, June 6, 1513. The expulsion of the French from Italy brought as its consequence the return of the Medici into Florence, from their exile of 1495. This was effected by the power of the league, and by an insurrection, August 31, 1512, and in so violent a manner that the name of Republic was all that remained to Florence. It now became a formal member of the league. About the same time in the year 1512 took place the conquest of Spanish Navarre, under plea of its alliance with France. The invasion of Artois by Henry VIII., and that of Burgundy by the Swiss, 1513. In the midst of these troubles, so congenial to his life, occurred the death of Julius II., Feb. 21, 1513, and to him Leo X., of the family of the Medici, became successor.

16. Dissolution of the holy league upon the reconciliation of the new Pope with France; Louis having consented

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to give up the council of Pisa. Peace was easily concluded with Ferdinand at the price of his booty, Navarre. His son-in-law Henry VIII. was appeased by money and marriage; and the Swiss were—duped. Thus France retained nothing of all its conquests, but the claims which led to them.

1515. These Louis XII. might perhaps have again endeavoured to establish had not death prevented him.

Treaty with Leo X. concluded Oct. 6, 1513—that with Ferdinand of Arragon, Dec. 1, 1513—with the Swiss, who were meantime deceived by false securities, an engagement was made, Sept. 13, 1513; but afterwards revoked by Louis XII.—with Maximilian I. also a truce was agreed on for the benefit of Milan, whose new duke he had acknowledged. The peace purchased of England was ratified by the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, sister to Henry VIII., Aug. 7, 1514; but it led to nothing, for as early as Jan. 1, 1515, Louis XII. died.

17. Notwithstanding its busy character, political science remained during the whole of this period still in its infancy. The treachery and craft of Ferdinand, the vague and unconcentrated activity of Maximilian, the blind lust for aggrandizement of Louis, rendered it a web of intricacy and confusion. There was no great interest, no great character, to become the moving spring in politics. Affairs were determined, not for the lasting benefit of the people, but for the momentary advantage of the ruler. On such principles no permanent alliance could be formed, but all was perpetual change. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, where the contracting parties scarcely attempted to conceal their design of overreaching one another?

18. On political economy, indeed, the good example of Louis XII. and his minister, Cardinal Amboise, appeared to have some effect. But even in France, new and great ideas were not yet awakened; and the good example found no imitators. To procure money for the wars remained the sole object of the science, and it was Louis of France alone who had reached the point (nor was it a small advance) of considering the interests of those on whom it was levied. Even the discovery of the new world, and the prospects thereby revealed, had narrowed rather than expanded the horizon.

19. The art of war, too, made less progress than might have been expected from its frequent employment, nor was there much likelihood of its doing so, as long as good in-

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fantry was to be had only of the Swiss, and that for hire; or, as long as the German "Lanzkneckts" supplied the place of native and regular cavalry. Besides, among the princes of this period, there was no one who displayed any great military genius.

II. *Account of the Origin of Colonial Establishments, from 1492 till* 1515.

Histoire des Etablissements des Européens dans les deux Indes, par M. L'ABBE RAYNAL. à Geneve, 1781. 10 vols. A work abounding alike in sophistical declamations, in researches at one time superficial, at another deep and erudite, and in statistical documents of the first importance.

Les Trois Ages des Colonies, ou de leur état passé, présent, et à venir, par M. DE PRADT. 1801. 3 vols. This author mars his defence of the freedom of the colonies by clothing it in the visions of a political theorist.

An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers, by HENRY BROUGHAM. Edinburgh, 1803. 2 vols. It gives evidence of much study, but is deficient in practical knowledge.

A. ANDERSON'S *Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce from the earliest accounts to the present time.* London, 1789. 4 vols. 4to. It extends to the year of its publication; and forms an incalculably rich collection of materials in chronological order; its chief bearing is upon British commerce.

A copious relation of such parts of colonial history as relate to the East Indies, to the middle of the eighteenth century, may be found in the *Geschichte der Ostindischen Handelsgesellschaften, in der Hallischen Allgemeinen Weltgeschichte,* Bd. 25, 26. 1763. 4to.

The best general historical view of the Colonies of the several nations is contained in EICHHORN'S *Geschichte des neuern Europas:* those of Asia form the 5th, those of Africa and America the 6th Book.

1. The term *colony* embraces all the possessions and establishments of Europeans in foreign quarters of the world. They may, however, be divided according to their object and nature into four classes. Of these the first is that of *Agricultural Colonies,* whose object is the cultivation of the soil. The colonists, who form them, become landed proprietors, are formally naturalized, and in process of time become a nation, properly so called. The second, that of *Plantation Colonies,* whose end is the supply of certain natural productions for Europe. The colonists in these, although possessors of land, are less permanently fixed than those of the former, nor does the smallness of their number

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permit any approach to a nation. Slavery belongs peculiarly to this kind of colony. The third consist of *Mining Colonies*, whose object is expressed in their name. The colonists of these become naturalized, but although sometimes extensively spread, they cannot as mere mining colonies ever attain to much population. The fourth, of *Trading Colonies*, whose object is a traffic in the natural productions, whether of the land or of the sea, (as fisheries,) and the native manufactures of the country. These consist at first of nothing more than factories and staples for the convenience of trade; but force or fraud soon enlarge them, and the colonists become conquerors, without, however, losing sight of the original object of their settlement. Though masters of the country, they are too little attached to it to become naturalized.

These are the chief colonial divisions, and although several of these objects may have been embraced by one colony, we shall find that there is always some feature distinct from, and more important than the rest, which determines to which it belongs.

2. Time and experience were required to ascertain the relations in which the colonies might be placed most advantageously for the mother country. Without any consideration of their true value and proper use, the first and prevalent idea was in favour of an absolute possession and total exclusion of strangers. The propagation of Christianity formed a convenient pretext, and none thought of inquiring either into the justice or the utility of their treatment. In truth, we know not how other views could have been acquired, and yet we must needs lament that the European system of colonization should so early have taken a direction as unalterable as it was destructive to the interests both of the colonies and their mother states. In spite, however, of this original error, the different nature of the soils, and of their occupiers, in the Eastern and Western Indies, begot, from the first, an essential distinction in the manner of turning them, severally, to advantage.

3. But, however limited may have been the notions of the colonists, the consequences of the system were of incalculable importance, for they led to a total change in the direction and order of commerce throughout the world.

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Traffic (forsaking its hitherto necessary and essential character) passed from the land to the ocean, and by its change established a very different standard of the geographical importance of countries for the purposes of trade. Its first and natural effect was to transfer the site of universal commerce from the shores of the Mediterranean to the western coasts of Europe. Thus the Spaniards and the Portuguese were the earliest to profit by the change, although at this period Spain had only just laid the foundation, while Portugal had completed the whole system of her colonies. The claims of both rested on the grants of the Pope, who, as supreme and general master, had intrusted to them the conversion of the heathen.

Bull of Pope Alexander VI., 1493; by it a meridian of one hundred leagues west of the Azores was fixed as the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal. By the treaty of Tordesillas, 1494, and a confirmatory bull, 1506, this line was extended to the coast of Brazil, and embraced three hundred and seventy-five leagues from those islands. We should observe, that it was the general principle to consider the inland countries, under the same latitude, as possessed in right of the coast.

4. This period is alike famous and infamous by the discoveries and the conquests of Spain. These latter were confined to the islands in the Gulf of Mexico, among which Hispaniola (subsequently St. Domingo, and now, as originally, Hayti) was, in consequence of the gold mines of the Cibao mountains, by far the most important. As the new world did not immediately present any other produce of value, the discovery of gold and silver became, unfortunately for its inhabitants, the sole object of the colonists.

Discovery of America, at least of the island of St. Salvador, (Guanahaini,) by Christopher Columbus, 11th Oct., 1492. He was then on a voyage to discover a western passage to India, that being in the opinion of the men of science in his day the nearest land in that direction; to this mistake we owe the name of West Indies applied to those islands. His three subsequent voyages produced, besides the discovery of the West Indian maze of islands, that of a part of the coasts of the (southern) continent. Nor was Hispaniola, although the chief, the only settlement, for colonies were attempted in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica, between the years 1508—1510; as for the minor islands, a casual plundering of the natives sufficed. The great ocean discovered and taken possession of by Bilboa, 1513, by whom also some knowledge was gained of Peru. The revenue drawn by the Spanish government from the West Indies still remained inconsiderable, and the principles of their colonial system were far from being developed.

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History of America, by ROBERTSON. London, 1777. 2 vols. 4to. The beginning of a third vol. was published by his son, 1796. There have been abundant reprints.

[*A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, by WASHINGTON IRVING. Abridged by himself and reprinted in vol. xi. of the Family Library.]

5. Discoveries and settlements of the Portuguese in the East Indies. The way in which these were made, and the state of the countries discovered, caused, from the beginning, the colonial affairs of Portugal to differ very widely from those of Spain. As the Portuguese discovery of the East Indies was the result of a long series of hardy adventures, carried on in a uniform manner, and made by slow but sure degrees, experience had in some measure matured their judgment; and as from the nature of these countries the establishment of mining colonies was out of the question, they naturally turned their attention to the founding of settlements for general commerce. For this reason, notwithstanding much ambition and much tyranny, we never find the Portuguese in direct possession of any large extent of country. They were content with fixing themselves firmly in the most eligible stations, around which, by the subjection of the native princes, they managed to collect and monopolize the traffic.

The naval expeditions of the Portuguese date from 1410. They owed their rise to the Moorish wars in Africa, and were much encouraged by Prince Henry, surnamed the Navigator († 1463). Discovery of Madeira, 1419. Cape Bojador doubled, 1439; and Cape Verd, 1446. Discovery of the Azores, 1448; the Cape Verd islands, 1449; St. Thomas and Annobon, 1471; Congo, 1484. From these discoveries resulted the experimental journey of Covillam over land to India and Ethiopia. The Cape of Good Hope reached by Barth. Diaz, 1486; and finally doubled by Vasco de Gama, 1498, in the reign of Emanuel the Great. This navigator proceeded by Mozambique to India, landed in Calicut, and made the first settlement in Cochin.—All the countries which Portugal might discover beyond Cape Bojador had been made over to the crown by a bull of Sixtus IV. in 1481.

6. The Portuguese dominion in India, comprising the eastern coast of Africa, and extending to the peninsula of Malacca and the Moluccas, was surrounded and organized by a chain of fortresses and factories; it found, however, a still better protection in the divided state of the country, for the native princes being at once numerous and disunited, it was easy to keep them dependent by embroiling them with

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each other. But though such advantages were doubtless of importance, it was to the noble spirit and to the immense authority, both military and civil, of the first viceroys—of Almeida, and still more of the great Albuquerque,—that the possibility of founding such an empire must be attributed. From 1505 till 1509. † 1515.

The central point of their dominion after the year 1510, was Goa, and there the regency was fixed. The other principal stations were Mozambique, Sofala, and Melinda on the coast of Africa, from 1508; Muscat and Ormus in the Persian Gulf, 1515; Diu and Damaun in the Deccan, 1533; Cochin, etc., on the Malabar coasts, which was wholly dependent on them; Negapatam and Meliapur on that of Coromandel; and from 1511, Malacca on the peninsula of that name. In the same year (1511) the Spice (or Molucca) Islands were discovered, and settlements were subsequently effected in Ternate and Tidor.

7. It is true that the Portuguese trade with India was not monopolized by any particular company, but it was not the less, although indirectly, a monopoly of the crown. It professed to be open to all Portuguese, but traders were obliged to obtain permission of the government, and to it was intrusted the arrangement as well as the protection of navigation; besides this, certain of the principal branches of commerce were reserved to the crown. In this error lay the seeds of ruin, which could not fail ultimately to take place; yet so long as it was possible to bring all Europe to Lisbon, as the chief and only market of Indian produce, the commerce seemed to feel none of its effects.

The East Indian trade of the Portuguese embraced: 1st, the local trade, which was attached to particular marts; Malacca, for the distant parts of India; Muscat, for Arabia and Egypt; Ormus, for the continent of Asia. This led to important relations between the African countries which produced gold and slaves, and the more fertile lands of India.—The trade was monopolized by the rulers in India. 2ndly, The traffic between Europe and India, conducted by fleets fitted out by the government, having for its principal commodities pepper and other spices, cotton and silken stuffs, together with pearls, and light articles of native manufacture. The mode of commerce adopted by the Portuguese in Europe, did not allow of the transport of goods from port to port in their own vessels. Foreigners were obliged to come to Lisbon and carry them away themselves. This led to consequences injurious to the Portuguese shipping, and awakened competition.

Asia de JOAO DE BARROS, with the continuations of other hands, Lisboa, 1552, and the *Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais,* par LAFITAU, Paris, 1732, etc., contain full accounts of the Portuguese conquests in India; but notwithstanding the exertions of Raynal and the com-

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pilers of the 35th vol. of the *Allg. Welthistorie*, the history of their Indian commerce is still very insufficient. The first successful attempt to supply this deficiency was made in—

Geschichte des Portugiesischen Colonialwesens in Ostindien, von FRIEDRICH SAALFELD. Göttingen, 1810. With a careful reference to all the authorities.

D. W. SOLTAU, *Geschichte der Entdeckungen und Eroberungen der Portugiesen im Orient nach* DE BARROS. Th. I. II., 1821. The whole to consist of five parts.

8. Although we have chiefly dwelt upon the East Indian colonies of Portugal, she had others though of less importance. These consisted of settlements: 1st, on the western coast of Africa, which were of little note till a later period, when they became valuable from the slave trade: 2ndly, on the coasts of Brazil, which had been discovered and occupied by Cabral, although the exportation of a few Jews and convicts formed but a sorry foundation of a colony.

SECOND PERIOD. *From* 1515 *to* 1556.

1. The following period is distinguished from the last by the more mighty rulers and more important events to which it gave birth. In Charles V. modern Europe beheld for the first time a statesman on the throne; and a statesman of a very different cast from that to which the trickster Ferdinand belonged. His activity extended alike to religious and to secular interests, and thus gave a tone of dignity to politics not altogether free from selfishness. The Spaniards and the Germans, the Netherlanders and the Italians, acknowledged for their ruler one in whom the character of all appeared to be happily blended. On the other hand, Francis I. belonged peculiarly to his own nation. In him France saw an epitome of itself; and therein, although he knew it not, lay the secret of his power. Solyman the Magnificent bore his part among the rest, although with the sword rather than the pen; the latter, however, was a weapon whose value he soon learnt to appreciate. Under princes of this stamp the relations of the existing states to each other became more clearly ascertained, and the practice of politics acquired some regularity in its forms. The two principal causes of this were: 1st, the growing rivalry

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of France and Spain; and 2ndly, the Reformation, in its political character. The affairs of each of these must be treated of separately; for although they occurred at the same time, yet as Charles and Francis were both opposed to the Reformation, the transactions to which this gave rise must have had altogether a different origin.

I. *History of the Rivalry between France and Spain during this period.*

History of the Emperor Charles V., by ROBERTSON. 3 vols. London, 1769. In the German translation of REMER, Brunswick, 1792, the first and introductory part is entirely remodeled, and the value of this truly classical work increased.

Histoire de François Premier, roi de France, par M. GAILLARD. 7 vols. Paris, 1769.

Mémoires de Mart. et Guill. Bellay Langley, mis en nouveau style, etc., par M. L'ABBE LAMBERT. 7 vols. Paris, 1753. They extend from 1513—1547. The Paris edition of 1569, fol. is in the original style.

The *Istoria d'Italia* von GUICCIARDINI, from the fifteenth book.

2. The rivalry of France and Spain claimed no determinate system of policy for its parent: it arose from the circumstances and passions of the day. To its consequences, however, we must look for the establishment of political principles, (properly so called,) since from it arose the practical adoption of the theory of a balance of power, and with it the character which this system has since borne. In its immediate origin it was a continuation of the Italian contests; because the desire, then so prevalent, of a doubtful and temporary superiority, was theoretically associated with the sovereignty of these countries. The successful attempt of Francis I. to recover Milan from the Swiss and from Maximilian Sforza, prepared the way even before the accession of Charles V.

Attack of Francis I. on Milan, after renewing the alliance with Venice, and decisive battle of Marignano, 13th and 14th Sept., 1515. Duke Maximilian resigns his country for a pension; Genoa and the Pope assents. The treaty soon after concluded with the Swiss (a preface to the more durable peace of 29th Nov., 1516) appeared to guarantee the possession of Milan to the French, and give a general security to their influence in Italy.

3. The death of Ferdinand I. wrought a great change in the affairs of Europe. In Charles V., (of the empire, but I. of Spain,) his eldest grandson, Jan. 23, 1516.

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present master of the rich Netherlands, and the future joint heir to Austria, the house of Hapsburg obtained possession of the whole Spanish monarchy. Thus the fate of Europe lay in the hands of two young monarchs, of whom one had already shown himself a successful warrior, while the other was already contriving how he might conquer, though rather by policy than the sword. The treaty of Noyon, however, still maintained peace, but only till a new collision of interests rekindled the war.

Treaty of Noyon, 13th Aug., 1516. It was merely a delay of the war which its provisions, touching Navarre and Naples, made only more certain.

4. Both princes became candidates for the imperial throne on the death of Maximilian I. Jan. 12, 1519. And as Charles V. was successful, he thus obtained the feudal sovereignty over all those states of Italy that were held as fiefs of the empire, of which Milan was one. Charles's situation, therefore, was exceedingly well calculated to nourish the jealousy and hatred which had already sprung up between the two rivals.

An estimate of the real value which attached in those days to the imperial throne, would show that its importance depended wholly on the character of him who filled it. It might be very small, it might be very great; for in such a country as Germany, and in an age when the whole tendency, if not the regular design, of politics, was in favour of ambitious aggrandizement, the title of emperor was a blank which might be filled up as the owner best chose it. The authority of the "Golden Bull," and the capitulation signed at his election, were in fact the only standard by which the relation of the emperor to his states could be determined.

5. The union of the two crowns, of Spain and of the empire, upon one head, could not but prove dangerous; and that, not only from the extent of territory thus brought together, but from the geographical position of the countries. Touching on a variety of states, every man's quarrel admitted of Charles's interference; and once being in it, his immense power left no assurance that he would quit it till it best suited himself. The design of universal empire, if by this term we understand, not an immediate dominion over, but the preponderating authority in Europe, which has been attributed to the house of Hapsburg, bore at this time so little of an imaginary character, that it appears rather a

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necessary consequence of its position. In fact, the struggle made by Francis I., although in detail it may seem the result of petty passions and meaner causes, having for its direct object nothing more momentous than a supremacy in Italy, if considered from a higher point of view, was a struggle for freedom and independence.

Effective power of the two princes. That of Charles V. much diminished by two causes: 1st, by the variety of his relations towards his different states; in none, not even in Spain, was he wholly unfettered: 2ndly, by the constant difficulties which embarrassed his finance, and the uncertainty which attended the payment of his troops; on this account it often happened that they were so situated as hardly to be called his own. On the other hand, the power of France was: 1st, concentrated, and almost wholly vested in the king; 2ndly, it was formidable from an organized and native infantry, which supplied the place of mercenaries. A third consideration, however, must limit its efficacy, for Francis I. did not pursue the financial policy of his predecessor.

6. The first war between Francis I. and Charles V. was commenced by the former, and after various fortune, terminated in his defeat and capture at the battle of Pavia. Nevertheless, Charles's endeavours at a partition of France, whether by the plot concerted with Charles of Bourbon, or by his own claims on Burgundy, were not a whit advanced.

First war, 1521—1526.

The pretexts for war on either side were as follows:—On the part of Francis: 1st, the restoration of Spanish Navarre; 2ndly, the claims upon Naples; 3rdly, the feud of Robert de la Mark, in which Francis, as his feudal sovereign, had taken an interest. On the side of Charles: his claims on Milan, as a fief of the empire; and on Burgundy, as unjustly taken possession of by Louis XI.—Each strengthened himself by alliances: Charles, with Henry VIII. of England and the Pope; Francis, with Venice, and with the Swiss, by a renewal of his former treaty, 5th May, 1521, according to which a free right of levy was granted. The battle of Bicocca, April 22, 1522; and the French, under the command of Lautrec, and the court favourite Bonnivet, wholly driven out of Italy, 1523. Milan, as an imperial fief, granted by Charles to Francis Sforza, younger son of Ludovico Sforza († 1531); but the gift was merely nominal. The imperialists, unsuccessful in their attack on Provence, July—Sept., 1524. Francis I. crosses the Alps in person. Siege and battle of Pavia, Feb. 24, 1525. His defeat, capture, and conveyance to Madrid.

7. The victory at Pavia appeared to constitute Charles V. master of Italy and arbiter of Europe; yet he became neither the one nor the other. The interior organization of

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his army was of more effect in hindering him from the conduct of any great scheme, than the awakened jealousy of either England or the States of Italy. This Francis knew, and consequently the treaty of peace at Madrid brought Charles only promises, against which the maker of them had already entered his secret protest.

Treaty of Madrid, 14th Jan., 1526. Its conditions: 1st, that France should renounce all claims on Italy; as also, 2ndly, on the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; 3rdly, that the duchy of Burgundy should be ceded to Charles; 4thly, that Francis should give his two sons as hostages, and marry Eleanor, the emperor's sister.

Second war, 1527—1529.

8. A second war between these two princes became thus unavoidable. Its theatre was as before in Italy, but more especially in Naples. This, too, turned against Francis, notwithstanding his English and Italian alliances. The peace of Cambray, in return for the total loss of Italy and a breach of faith with his allies there, brought him nothing but a promise from Charles to delay for awhile the putting in force his claims on Burgundy.

Secret treaty between Francis I., the Pope, Venice, and the duke of Milan, concluded at Cognac, May 22, 1526. Henry VIII. induced by great promises to join it. A quarrel between the emperor and the Pope, which, to the great scandal of Christendom, leads to the surprisal and sack of Rome, May 6, 1527, by Charles of Bourbon at the head of the imperial troops, although without any such design on the part of the emperor. The Pope was besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and obliged to capitulate. The deliverance of the Pope became a good excuse, not only for uniting the allies more strongly, but actually for sending an army into Italy, under Lautrec, to advance the claims of France upon Naples. Siege of the city of Naples from April to August, 1528; but the breaking out of the plague, and the defection of Doria, renders it unsuccessful. Followed by negotiations and a truce, June 15, 1528; and the peace of Cambray, August, 1529. In this peace Henry VIII. was included, Clement VII. having secured his safety by a previous and separate treaty, June 20. This peace threw the emperor's claims upon Burgundy into abeyance, and drew from him the voluntary release of the French princes, on the same terms as those agreed on at Madrid.

Feb. 24, 1530.

9. The consequences of this second war were such as to extend the emperor's power in Italy, while his reconciliation with the Pope and coronation at Bologna also helped to confirm it. To Italy itself, they brought, 1st, the establishment of an hereditary dukedom

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in Florence; and 2ndly, the constitution of Genoa as it has since stood.

The change at Florence was brought about by the treaty between the Pope and the emperor, according to which the Medici (who had been expelled Florence by an insurrection which took place during the Roman wars of 1527) were restored, and Alexander, a blood-relation of the Pope, recognised as first hereditary prince.—The revolution in Genoa, 1528, was the work of Andrew Doria, who passed over from the French to the imperial side. Nor was the mere revolution all his work, for he strengthened the liberties and secured the principles then established by the introduction of a powerful family aristocracy.

10. But while the west of Southern Europe was taken up by the contest of its two principal powers, the east also became a partner in the strife. Solyman II. had converted his wild projects for the total subjection of Christendom, into an alliance with France: a measure to which he was induced by the interests of his empire—threatened as he held them to be by the enforcement of the claims of the house of Hapsburg on Hungary and Bohemia, after the death of Louis II. at Mohatsch.

The Turkish system of conquest had been much altered by Solyman II. since 1519. Under his predecessor, Selim I., it had been directed against Persia and Egypt, but the present sultan, after the conquest of Belgrade, 1521, brought his whole force against Hungary. King Louis II. was defeated and slain at Mohatsch, Aug. 29, 1526. On his death the crown was disputed by Ferdinand and John Zapolya; and Solyman, on whose protection the latter threw himself, found no difficulty in making himself master of Hungary. This conquest, 1529, led to an unsuccessful attack on Vienna, which was, however, compensated by the subjection of Moldavia. The alliance with France now gradually forming, gives evidence of a more liberal knowledge of policy in the Porte, however just may have been the apprehensions which such 'a scandal in Christendom' could not but create in those days.

11. Formidable as were the land forces of the Turk, Western Europe appeared to have had more cause of fear in his navy. The conquest of Rhodes had given him the dominion of the Mediterranean, and thus left the shores of Italy and Spain defenceless; while the piratical powers, which under the protection of the Porte were forming on the coast of Africa, threatened, in spite of the feeble opposition of the Knights of Rhodes, now established in Malta, wholly to annihilate their prosperity.

The island of Rhodes conquered from the Knights of St. John, after a stubborn resistance, 1522. The order transferred to the island rock

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of Malta, which it received of Charles V. as sovereign of Naples, 1530; and which it held as a feudal dependency of the empire, on condition of war with the infidel. The power of the Porte was established on the north coast of Africa, which had till then belonged in part to the Arabs, and partly to Spain, by the conquests of the two pirates Horuc and Hyradin Barbarossa. The former possessed himself of Algiers, 1517; and was succeeded by his brother Hyradin, who submitted voluntarily to the Porte, was appointed captain-general of its navy, and took Tunis, 1531. The reconquest of Tunis by Charles V. in 1535, was so far from annihilating the power of the pirates, that it did not even diminish it to any extent; and for this the capture of Tripoli, (which with Malta had been intrusted to the Knights of St. John,) by another pirate, named Dragut, in 1551, and the recapture of Tunis, gave sufficient evidence. Add to this that Egypt had been subject to the Porte, 1517, and it will be seen that nearly the whole northern coast of Africa belonged to that power.

Third war, 1535—1538.

12. The causes of the third war between Charles and Francis, were furnished by the articles of the peace of Cambray. Francis could not bear the loss of Italy, more particularly Milan, and he determined on war, although his efforts to gain allies were generally ineffectual. The execution of Maraviglia in Milan, furnished a pretext, and the death of the last Sforza, which occurred soon after, new claims and new expectations.

Ineffectual endeavours of the king to gain over Henry VIII. and the Protestants of Germany. Alliance with Clement VII. by the marriage of his second son, the duke of Orleans, to Catharine de Medici, niece of the former. This union, though it did not lead to the results expected, in consequence of the death of Clement, (Sept. 25, 1534,) proved afterwards of much importance. But the alliance with the Porte, first effected by Laforest, 1535, in Feb. of that year, under the form of a commercial treaty, was now openly avowed.

13. Italy, as before, was the chief, although not the only theatre of the war. The seizure of Savoy and Piedmont by Francis, did not prevent an irruption of the emperor upon the south of France; although his precautions rendered it unavailing. Neither of the subsequent contests in Piedmont or Picardy were decisive, but the formidable advances of Solyman in Hungary hastened the truce of Nice, which was concluded by the mediation of Pope Paul III., although without the knowledge or consent of Solyman.

The conquest of Savoy, 1535, just as Charles was returning from the conquest of Tunis, must have been doubly disagreeable to him, as the duke of that country was his brother-in-law and ally.—The death of Francis Sforza, the last prince of this house, which threw Milan open

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again as a fief of the empire, and an object of ambition to Francis for his son the duke of Orleans, took place Oct. 24, 1535. The emperor's attack upon Savoy rendered ineffectual by the defensive warfare of Francis and Montmorency, Aug., 1536. Solyman invades Hungary and gains a battle at Esseg, 1537, while his fleet ravages the coasts of Italy. Congress between the emperor, the king, and the Pope, effected at Nice, and a ten years' truce agreed to, June 18, 1538. The conditions: each to hold what he had got, (this gave Francis well nigh all Savoy and Piedmont,) and their respective claims to undergo the further investigation of the Pope.—Therefore the feudal investment of Milan remained undetermined, although the king had some hopes of it for his younger son.

14. We cannot wonder that the truce concluded under such circumstances, should be shortened from ten to four years' duration, although the apparent confidence of the two monarchs gave a better promise. The train once lighted could not be stayed; and the hatred of Francis acquired new force from the long suspense and final disappointment of his hopes. Neither party, however, was prepared for immediate action; Francis had broken off his alliance both with England and the Porte; and Charles, involved in religious disputes, (see below,) and at war with the Turk, had enough business on his hands to make a few years' truce desirable, even had he not been forced to it by the state of his finances.

The contest with the Turk touched two points: 1st, Hungary; to half of which the emperor laid claim on the ground of an agreement between Archduke Ferdinand, and the then (Feb. 24, 1538) childless John Zapolya, by which the former was declared heir to that portion of Hungary possessed by the latter. A few days, however, before his death, (July 27, 1540,) Zapolya had a son born, whom he named his successor; and Solyman, as guardian of this child, had gained a victory over the Germans, and taken possession of Offen the capital, and the greater part of Hungary. 2ndly, the pirate states of Africa, especially Algiers.—The emperor's second African expedition, 1541, rendered wholly unavailing by a dreadful storm shortly after his landing.

15. The refusal of the fief of Milan determined the king to a fourth war, and the murder of his ambassadors in their passage through that state furnished the pretext. This war was of a more extensive nature than any of the preceding, for the king succeeded not only in renewing his alliance with the sultan and with Venice, but in joining to them the duke of Cleve and the states of Denmark, and even Sweden, although the two latter alliances led to no results. On the other hand, the emperor

Fourth war, 1542—1544.

induced Henry of England to a league and a common assault on France; and yet the peace of Crespy was concluded without any one party having attained the object for which it had engaged in the war.

Murder of Francis's two plenipotentiaries to Venice and the Porte, in the territory of Milan, July 3rd, 1541. The French, changing their plan of warfare, confine it to defensive measures in Italy, while they invade the Netherlands and Roussillon with several armies in 1542 and 1543, but without any permanent advantage. Alliance of Charles with Henry VIII., (who had been offended by the marriage of James V. of Scotland to Mary of Guise,) 11th Feb., 1543: its object the attack and partition of France, the duke of Cleve being meantime forced to submit.—Francis renews his league with Solyman, 1543; which is followed up by the conquest of what remained of Hungary, and an irruption into Austria, while the Turkish fleet united with the French besieges Nice. Contemporary invasion of France by the emperor (notwithstanding the French victory at Cerisoles, 14th April, 1544) by Lorraine, and of the king of England by Calais (June to Sept., 1544). Their whole plan, however, was frustrated, partly by discord among themselves, partly by the judicious position of the French force, and partly by the court intrigues and private relations of the emperor in Germany, which led to a separate peace between him and Francis, concluded at Crespy the 18th Sept., 1544. Its conditions: 1st, that the duke of Orleans should receive Milan as a dowry with one of the imperial princesses; (this article became null by the death of the young prince, 8th Sept., 1545, on which Charles V. conferred the fief on his own son Philip;) 2ndly, that Francis should resign his claims on Naples, and his feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois, and Charles do the same by Burgundy. The war with England was carried on till 1546, owing to the angry feelings of Henry; but after the taking of Boulogne, 1546, it never produced any event of consequence.

16. The peace of Crespy put a period to the wars between the two rivals. Charles was too busy with plans of ambition in Germany; and the enterprises of Francis I. and Henry VIII. were soon put an end to by death. Under Henry II., the son and successor of Francis, hostilities were continued with Charles V., notwithstanding the internal disturbances of his reign. The war, however, which he waged with the emperor, arose from the transactions in Germany, and, therefore, properly belong to the following section.

Death of Henry VIII., 28th Jan.; of Francis I., 21st March, 1547.

17. The consequences of this struggle were alike important to France itself, and to the European political system in general: 1st, the practical application of the principles of a balance of power was established by the

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counterpoise and opposition of the two principal states of the continent.

2ndly, the alliance of France with the Turks, the state of affairs in Hungary, and the participation, however slight, of England in these wars, brought the whole of Southern Europe into a closer connexion than had before existed between them.

3rdly, although France had failed in its attempt at the sovereignty of Italy, it had prevented its own dismemberment, and secured its independence.

And 4thly, the projects of Charles V. were but half accomplished, for though he obtained a predominance over Italy and Germany, he never did over France.

Was the loss of the predominance in Italy really a loss to France? True it is that she had great need of influence in that quarter; 1st, on account of her ecclesiastical relations with the Pope, and 2ndly, for the protection of her south-east frontiers from the duke of Savoy. But we may fairly ask, whether possessions in the country, whether a fixed dominion was necessary? Indeed we may further ask, whether any foreign nation possessing these advantages, ever drew any profit from them, however convenient they may have been to its rulers?

II. *Political view of the Reformation, from its origin,* 1517, *to the religious peace of* 1555.

JOANNIS SLEIDANI *de statu religionis et reipublicæ Carolo V., Cæsare commentarii,* 1555. The latest edition (enriched with notes) of this work, equally classical in form and material, is that of Frankfort, 1785, 3 vols. 8vo.

[There is a French translation, with notes by LECOURAYER. 3 vols. 4to. La Hague, 1767.]

Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs vom Anfange der Reformation bis zur Einführung der Concordienformel, von D. G. J. PLANCK. Leipzig, 1781—1800. 6 vols. 8vo. To this branch of the subject belong the three first volumes, which comprehend also the political history down to the religious peace.

Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, von. J. M. SCHRÖCKH. 1804. 10 parts. The two first parts contain more particularly the political history, the first, that of the Reformation in Germany, down to the religious peace; the second, that of other countries.

Geschichte der Reformation in Deutschland, von C. L. WOLTMANN. Altona, 1801. 3 vols. 8vo. The history is brought down to 1553.

Essai sur l'Esprit, et l'Influence de la Réformation de Luther, par. CH. VILLERS. 3ème ed. Paris, 1808, 8vo. No explanation of this important subject is more eloquent or comprehensive than that of M. VILLERS.

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Entwickelung der politischen Folgen der Reformation für Europa; contained in the first part of HEEREN's Miscellaneous Historical Writings, (HISTORISCHE WERKE, vol. I.,) and joined to this translation.

1. The immense influence of the Reformation arose, generally speaking, from the nature of the interests affected by it, for these were of as much importance to the people as to the rulers. Had such not been the case, the commotion it raised could never have been so general or so lasting. The intermixture of religion and politics was unavoidable, because the attacks of its authors were directed not only against errors of doctrine, but against the usurpation of an hierarchy, which had deeply interwoven itself with the administration and constitution of every state of Europe.

The Reformation, as an immediate attack upon the power of the Pope, was directed against a structure already tottering and undermined, but not overthrown: undermined by the loss of its chief support —public opinion; tottering from the effect of the Italian wars, and by the recognition, at an earlier period, of the supreme authority of general councils. The question, whether the authority of the Popes would have been overthrown without the aid of the Reformation, is not within the province of our history; but allowing that it would, we must still look to the Reformation for that mighty impulse which it gave to the human intellect, and which was at the same time one of its greatest and most beneficial consequences.

2. The Reformation first broke out in Germany, and in Germany it first assumed its political character, through the interest taken in it by the different governments of that country. The points, then, on which its political history turns, are the following: 1st, which of the princes espoused it, why did they do so, and in what manner? 2ndly, in what manner and to what extent did they unite in forming the party which was opposed to the emperor? 3rdly, what were the views, and what were the measures, adopted by the emperor in his opposition to it? 4thly, and lastly, how came the parties engaged to a formal rupture, and how was the matter finally arranged?—A glance will show that these questions cannot be answered without general acquaintance with the political state of Germany at that period.

The great distinction between the internal relations of Germany, then and now, consisted in the very different proportion which the power of the cities bore to that of the princes: for, 1st, the cities in the south and north of Germany, which enjoyed either total or partial freedom,

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were by far most numerous. 2ndly, their internal wealth, and consequently their political influence, was much more considerable. 3rdly, their power was increased and concentrated by the Hanseatic league in the north, and more particularly by the Suabian confederacy in the south. 4thly, their city militia and mercenaries were naturally of more importance in the general absence of standing armies. On the other hand, the power of the princes was not only actually diminished, but stood every chance of further diminution from the system still in force, of internal subdivisions.

The more important electoral and royal houses at the commencement of the Reformation, were:—

1. The SAXON; divided into the elder and electoral branch of Ernest, and the younger and ducal of Albert. The former, represented by the elector, Frederic the Wise, († 1525,) possessed the electoral circle, with Wittenburg as its capital, almost the whole landgraviate of Thuringia, and some other domains. The latter, under Duke George, († 1539,) the opponent of Luther, held the landgraviate of Meissen, with a portion of Thuringia.

2. That of BRANDENBURG. The electoral line under the elector Joachim I., († 1535,) was in possession of the margraviate of Brandenburg, (a new and electoral district,) and some smaller principalities. The margraviate of Franconia was divided between the families of Culmbach and Anspach.

3. The PALATINE, (or elder of Wittelsbach,) which was divided into the electoral line under Lewis V. († 1544); to which belonged the electorate on the Rhine; and the Simmern, which was again divided into those of Simmern and Zweibrüch, and the latter again into those of Zweibrüch and Veldenz.

4. The BAVARIAN (or younger of the Wittelsbach line). Notwithstanding the right of primogeniture, introduced 1508, Bavaria was divided between Duke William VI. († 1550) and his brother Lewis; but was reunited after the death of the latter, 1545, and has remained so ever since.

5. That of BRUNSWICK. It was at that period divided between the two principal branches: 1st, that of the lower line of Lunenburg, which possessed Lunenburg and Celle, and which from 1520 had been under Duke Ernest, the founder of the two younger families († 1546). This embraced the two collateral branches of Harburg and Gifhorn. 2ndly, that of the lower branch of Brunswick, or Wolfenbüttel, which was again divided into two, of which the one under Duke Henry the younger, the opponent of the Reformation, held Wolfenbüttel, the other, under Duke Erich I., Calenburg and Göttingen. Besides these there was still a branch of the ancient Brunswick family in Grubenhagen.

6. The HESSIAN. This house was undivided under Philip Magnanimus, († 1567,) and therefore one of the most powerful.

7. That of MECKLENBURG, was likewise at first undivided under Henry the Peaceable (†1552) and Albert († 1547).

8. That of WIRTEMBERG, which was raised in 1495 from the dignity of a county to that of a dukedom. It was indeed undivided; but its restless duke, Ulrich, having been driven from his territories by the Suabian league, 1519, was only restored in 1534 by the compact of Cadan.

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9. That of Baden, united while under the margrave Christopher, was in 1527 divided into the lines of Baden and Durlach.

10. Among the more powerful houses, which have since become totally extinct, were the ducal house of Pomerania, undivided under Bogislaus the Great, till 1523, when it was divided into Wolgast and Stettin; and the house of Cleve, to which belonged Julius, Berg, and Ravensberg, remained undivided under John III. († 1539). But even in the principalities which remained entire, much depended upon the existence of brothers or near kinsmen, whose relations to the ruling prince were not so clearly defined then as they have been in later times.

April 8, 1521. 3. The summons of Luther, and his appearance before the diet of Worms, gave his cause, already a matter of interest to the people and to the church, its new character of an affair of state. Here, too, his proscription by the emperor, and the undisguised partiality shown to him by the princes of his own and other countries, laid the foundation of future divisions in the empire.

The causes which induced Charles to declare against Luther, were doubtless more connected with politics than with religion. They formed no part of any extensive plan, but arose merely from his position as Defender of the Church, and from a sense, then very common, of the need he had of the Pope's friendship. From the first, however, the political part of the Reformation had the most important interests for him, although the two wars with France, which followed close upon its commencement, joined with other causes in making his plans of profiting by it gradual.

Proscription of Luther and his followers by the edict of Worms, May 26, which pledges the emperor as to his future conduct.

4. The next following years, while they spread the new doctrines with signal success in many parts of Germany, especially Hesse and Saxony, and thus created a ferment of ideas such as had never before been known, and which the invention of printing served materially to keep alive, produced two events, the war of the peasants, and the secularization of Prussia, which opened the eyes of the European powers to its political tendency. 1526.

The war of the peasants originated in Suabia, 1524; and spread into Thuringia, where it was kindled by Thomas Münzer, but the battle of Frankenhausen put an end to it, May 15, 1525.

The question of, how far this insurrection was really caused by the Reformation, is not nearly of so much importance to history, as that of, how far it appeared to have done so. For on this apparent connexion between them, many consequences depended, and lead us to the other question of, how far it might have been avoided.

Versuch einer Geschichte des Deutschen Bauernkriegs, von G. Sartorius. Berlin, 1795.

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5. The secularization of Prussia, which had belonged to the Teutonic order from the middle of the thirteenth century, gave an example by which other ecclesiastical princes might readily profit. Indeed when we consider the anxiety which had been already awakened by the sequestration of church property; a measure by the way from which the German princes in general drew little personal profit, for they applied its proceeds to more noble purposes; we may understand what a sensation the loss of a whole country must of necessity have caused at Rome.

The grand master of the order, Albert of Brandenburg, raises himself to the hereditary dukedom of Prussia, but as a vassal of Poland, 1525.

6. These events, joined to the threatening attitude which the battle of Pavia enabled the emperor to assume, led to the first alliances distinguished by a difference of faith; several Catholic states leagued themselves at Dessau, while the most prominent of the Protestants united at Torgau. These leagues were at first entered into merely for protection, and had no aggressive measures in contemplation. Peace, however, could not have been long preserved in spite of all these securities, had not the plan of a general council afforded some hopes of composing the quarrel. This method proved only of partial success, as a palliative rather than a cure; but even thus produced much benefit.

The emperor's determination to carry the edict of Worms into effect was well calculated to keep alive dissension. The Catholic electors of Mentz, Brandenburg, etc., formed their alliance at Dessau, May, 1525; the Protestant party, following the example of Hesse and electoral Saxony, did the same at Torgau, May 12, 1526.

A very poor acquaintance with the progress of human affairs will restrain our astonishment at the uncertain character of these alliances. Of the two parties, however, that of the holders of the new belief received a powerful impulse from the impetuosity of Philip of Hesse; and even as early as 1528, on the occasion of an alarm, perhaps an idle one, raised by Dr. Pack, chancellor of Saxony under Duke George, showed its readiness to act. It appears very doubtful, however, in what way matters could have been arranged with the emperor at the meetings of the diet, had not men's minds been amused by the idea of a free council after the diet of Spires, 1526.

7. The two next diets were of importance to the Protestants, that of Spires gave them their name, and that of Augsburg, by the establishment of their articles of belief,

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showed that no ingenuity of explanation could reconcile doctrines so opposed as those of the two parties. And yet, in spite of the emperor's threats, and of the new alliance of the Protestants at Smalcald, the proposed remedy of delay was, by the further inducement of frequent alarms from the Turks, so adhered to, as to secure the maintenance of peace and of the present state of affairs till a general council could be summoned.

Diet held at Spires, 1529,—where, as the evangelical party protested against the decree which would have stemmed the torrent of the new doctrines, 19th April, they acquired their name of Protestants. The diet of Augsburg, and the confession so called, date June 25, 1530. The terms prescribed by the emperor naturally led to the league of Smalcald, Feb. 27, 1531; and the election of Ferdinand as king of Rome gave the Protestants an additional motive for forming it. Nevertheless negotiations were renewed and the temporary peace of Nuremberg concluded, July 23, 1532. By it, however, only the present members of the league of Smalcald were secure, all future partisans being excluded till the meeting of the council.

8. This peace would have done little for the prevention of bloodshed, had not the internal condition of the parties and a series of intermediate events conspired to give it effect. In truth, the peace itself contained abundant materials for future war; and it was only a question who should be the first to employ them by an attack on the allies. This question, however, was not easily answered, for it appeared doubtful whether it was the duty of the emperor, or of the Catholic states, or of both. The emperor's hands were scarcely free of the Turks, (see p. 35,) when he became engaged in the restoration of Ulrich duke of Wirtemberg, and the Anabaptist war of Münster, besides the expedition against Tunis, (see p. 34,) all which conspired to keep him employed, till his third war with Francis,
1535—1538. when the efforts of the latter, although ineffectual, to gain over the allies of Smalcald to his interests, made it as dangerous as it had previously been inconvenient to attack them.

If the forcible restoration of Duke Ulrich of Wirtemberg, by Philip of Hesse, 1534, rendered the animosity more intense, it, on the other hand, not only strengthened the Protestant party, to which Ulrich belonged, but increased its respectability. The power of the Anabaptists in Münster, 1534, under John of Leiden, which lasted till the conquest of that city, June 24, 1535, presents a phenomenon equally curious to

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the philosopher and politician.—League of Smalcald enlarged and renewed for ten years, July 10, 1536, when, by the institution of a fixed contingent of men and arms from each of the members, it assumed a firmer shape and a more threatening character.

9. Even after the restoration of peace with 1538.
France, the emperor had abundant apology for not declaring himself more decidedly, even had he wished it, in the various difficulties and pursuits which either hampered or engaged him. The Protestants, on the other hand, had united merely for defence, and were anxious to remain quiet as long as their enemies would allow them. This state of things, however, could not last; for independently of several minor events, the temporary expedient of a peace appeared to become daily more doubtful from the efforts now really made for the assembling of a council;—a measure, the accomplishment of which was not likely to satisfy either Charles or his Protestant opponents. Meantime, the complaints from the reformed states, of the partiality of the imperial chamber of justice, furnished an inexhaustible source of discontent.

Attempts of Pope Paul III. from 1536 to convoke a general council after his own mind, in some city of Italy. He managed also, (in the person of the vice-chancellor Held, the ambassador of the emperor, and the first mover of the sacred league of Nuremberg, June 10, 1538,) that a man should be sent to Germany, who would cordially assist in keeping alive the flame.—Henry, duke of Brunswick, was attacked by the allies, 1540, and expelled from his country, 1542.—The attempts of the elector Herman at Cologne, to introduce the Reformation, terminated in his deposition, 1543.

10. Thus, if we except an occasional disturbance, a variety of circumstances combined at once to maintain a general peace, and to keep alive the inducements to a general war. The question: What political advantages did Charles seek to draw from the religious differences now they presented themselves to him, and by what method did he propose to attain them? has been proved to be of great difficulty by the various modes of solution adopted by the best historians. This uncertainty leads to the conclusion, that the emperor was either the deepest politician of that or any other day, or that, and this is perhaps the most probable, he had himself no settled plan. The German policy of Charles was founded upon his notions of the imperial power; these

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were very vague, and his plans necessarily corresponded with them. We should form a very erroneous judgment, then, if we were to allow any occasional intimations, whether of his private conduct, or even of his official acts, as evidence of a settled scheme. The league of Smalcald was the first event which gave his ideas any determinate form; he saw in it an armed opposition, and as such, a downright rebellion against the sovereignty of the empire. But then, again, it was only at a later period that the league assumed this character.

As for the total overthrow of the German constitution, the idea was then so foreign to the spirit of the age that it could hardly have been seriously formed. Such acts belong to the times of written, not of prescriptional constitutions: and had such an idea been formed, how, and by what means, was it to be executed? Never was the German nation less disposed for subjection; her burghers had not yet laid aside the sword, and there were no standing armies to rivet the fetters on her limbs.

Peace still preserved by several intervening events: the campaign of Charles against Algiers, 1541, and the fourth war with Francis I. which immediately ensued, 1542—1544; again, by the decision of the diet of Ratisbon, July 29, 1541, and by the threatened Turkish invasion.

1546. 11. The peace of Crespy left the allies unprotected, and gave the signal for war. This was in truth unavoidable, after the refusal of that party to acknowledge the council of Trent: but then it was not directed (as the Pope wished, and thought he had persuaded Charles to direct it) against the states which had been guilty of heresy, but against the confederates of Smalcald, who had impugned the imperial authority. Unfortunately this league was oppressed by all those evils which a league alone can bring together, and even before the battle of Mühlberg had thrown one chief into captivity, and treachery at Halle the other, there were too many evidences of approaching disunion.

The council of Trent, which had been convoked in 1542, finally opened Dec. 13, 1545: its very form and its first decision renders it impossible for the Protestants to take any part in it.—The war had broken out after the diet of Ratisbon, July, 1546. The two leaders were outlawed, July 20. The campaign this year was altogether destitute of plan; and the league was eventually dissolved. John Frederic, elector of Saxony, taken prisoner at the battle of Mühlberg, April 24,

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1547. The electorate is bestowed on Duke Maurice of Saxony. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, treacherously made prisoner at Halle, June 19.

12. The total dissolution of the league left the emperor at liberty to make whatever use of it he chose; but he was not, however, so intent upon conquest as upon reconciliation, his schemes for which were founded, according to the spirit of the day, upon the authority of general councils. Indeed it may be a question whether the *interim*, by which the theologians ruined his cause, was not on his part a necessary measure. One only scheme, the fruit of approaching age, appears to have been formed by him at this period: it was to unite the two crowns, which he himself bore, upon the head of his son. The prospect of entailing the imperial power was one of so wide and uncertain a range that it can hardly be reckoned among his motives to this plan; it arose more probably from the conviction that the strength of his house depended upon the union. Fortune kindly frustrated this impolitic design, and averted Philip II. from Germany: but Charles paid for the failure as he never did for any other, since it hastened the most awful crisis to which his reign was exposed.

Diet at Augsburg, and the publication of the *interim* as the form to be observed until the future decision of the council, May 15, 1548; whereby great commotions were excited, which showed, perhaps more than any others, the resolute spirit of the nation.—The times were not yet passed away, when a single city like Magdeburg could brave the whole power of the emperor.

13. However little Charles may have desired the overthrow of the Germanic constitution, it must be confessed that the states held a somewhat different opinion of the imperial authority from what he had himself formed: and yet they would have acquiesced without any great demur, but for one person among them, whom Charles had long known, without however turning his knowledge to much account; for although skilled in all the quirks of policy, he was but poorly acquainted with the force of individual character. The bold scheme of Maurice, founded as it was upon the events at Halle, took its origin from the latter impulse; but although it sprang from the heart, it was well seconded by the head. Even had the result been less glorious, history could never have failed to mark him as a

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man who far outstripped his age. Maurice cut the knot, and with one stroke of his sword did that for Germany which no council would ever have accomplished. On the other hand, however, his alliance with France showed that power the secret of turning to its own advantage the dissensions which set the members against the head of the empire; and although the freedom of Germany may have been held much at heart by France, yet there appeared no contradiction in her making the maintenance of it subservient to her own aggrandizement.

Plan of the elector to compel the emperor, by a sudden attack, to establish the condition of religion on a secure basis, and to restore his father-in-law Philip to liberty. This he found an opportunity of doing by means of the commission given him, to enforce the law pronounced against the proud city of Magdeburg. Siege and capitulation of this city, Nov. 5, 1551.—Secret treaty concluded with Henry II. of France, at Friedewalde, Oct. 5, 1551. The war breaks out and is carried on with spirit, from March till July, 1552, by which also the council of Trent is broken up. The emperor finds himself bound to concede to the treaty of Passau, Aug. 2, 1552, under the following conditions: 1st, that the captive princes should be restored to liberty, and Philip of Hesse reinstated; 2ndly, that perfect religious freedom should be granted to the Protestants, both on the part of the emperor and the Catholic states; 3rdly, that a diet should be held within six months to confirm these conditions, without the power, however, of making any material alteration in them. Thus, though the treaty of Passau contained nothing but the preliminaries, a definite peace was secured by it beforehand; its author, however, was not destined to see its accomplishment. He died the following year, 1553, at the battle of Silvershausen, July 9, contending against Margrave Albert of Culmbach, the disturber of the peace.

14. The treaty of Passau having been concluded by Maurice without the concurrence of his ally Henry II., (who in the mean time invaded Lorraine,) France still maintained the war; and as Charles, in the conduct of it, gave scope to his feelings rather than his judgment, it was concluded at the expense of the German empire, although for the benefit of one who had declared himself the protector of those he spoiled.

Henry II.'s invasion of Lorraine and investment of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, April, 1552. Campaign of Charles in the autumn of 1552, and siege of Metz, which is successfully defended by Francis of Guise. The war raged during the two next years both on the frontiers of the Low Countries and in Italy (where Sienna put itself under the protection of the French, but was at last compelled to surrender to the emperor, April 21, 1555). It was conducted without any great battles,

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though on the whole successfully for France, till the five years' truce of Vaucelles, Feb. 5, 1555, insured to France its conquests in Lorraine and Piedmont.

15. This war, and other impediments, delayed for some time the assembling of the diet, which was to be held for the ratification of the religious peace. It met at last in Augsburg, and after a discussion of six months, which plainly showed that Maurice was no longer alive, the religious peace was established. By it both parties had an interval of quiet secured to them, and the ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated up to the treaty of Passau, was confirmed to its possessors; but as it was limited in its benefits to those who embraced the confession of Augsburg, this limitation, together with the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, became the seeds of future discord. Sept. 21, 1555.

The *reservatum ecclesiasticum* respected the question, Whether the future freedom of religion should be extended only to the secular orders, or also to the ecclesiastical? The Protestants, to a man, were bent on the latter; but the Catholics neither would nor could grant it.

16. At the conclusion of this peace Charles V. carried into effect the resolution he had long formed, and which was now matured by a sense of the instability of fortune and by his own weak health, of abdicating his double authority. His favourite object of a lasting union between the two crowns he was obliged to resign, and they were henceforth divided between Philip II., his only son, and heir to Spain and the Netherlands, and his brother Ferdinand I., king of Rome, and now successor to the empire.

Resignation of the Netherlands and the Spanish monarchy to Philip II., at Brussels, the former Oct. 25, 1555, the latter Jan. 16, 1556. He did not resign the imperial crown, till Aug. 27, 1556.—Charles died at St. Justus in Valladolid, whither he had retired, Sept. 21, 1558.

17. At the close of this period the Reformation had, upon the whole, made as much progress as could be expected. Its doctrines, directed to the reason and not to the imagination, naturally obtained a more easy introduction among the northern than the southern nations. The difference of governments exerted little influence compared to the difference of character among the governed. Hence its religious doctrines and its political influence were no longer confined to Germany, but extended over a great

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portion of Europe. Still, however, important as it was, both from its present and its future influence, to the internal condition of each individual state, it was not yet become the mainspring of general politics, since the two chief and rival powers on the continent were agreed in its suppression. Its only immediate and necessary effects were, 1st, that religion became, both in the Protestant and Catholic states, more fundamentally connected with government; and 2ndly, that in the Protestant governments, the princes, by breaking with Rome, and in some instances by actual seizure of church property, acquired a considerable accession of power. But what was this, compared with the more distant, though not less certain, consequences which this new impulse to the human mind might be expected to produce?

18. In Germany, it is true, the Reformation brought and continued to bring new principles of dissension, but with these came also the principles of political life. Not that it is here meant that it produced any political revolution, properly so called,—this, so long as religion occupied the first place in men's minds, was not to be dreaded,—but that the princes were forced by it into exertions which first taught them to feel as princes should; nor did the continuance of the strife allow this spirit to subside till it had become essential to their character. From this time forth the Reformation became the mainspring of all political movements, and in consequence of this an increased interest attached to the German empire, which has been at all times the true point of balance in the European system, and particularly when the fate of the Protestant religion in other lands depended upon its being established there.

At the end of this period the Protestant doctrines prevailed throughout Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, Mecklenburg, Holstein, and some smaller states in the north; in the Palatinate, in Baden and Wirtemberg, in the south; as well as in most of the important cities of the empire.—The melancholy schism that had arisen in 1525, respecting the Lord's supper, between the Protestants themselves, could be of no great political importance, so long as none of the more powerful states of the empire acknowledged the reformed tenets.

19. Besides Germany, the northern powers (see below) and a considerable portion of Switzerland and Geneva admitted the new doctrines without delay. In England the

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struggle was still going on; and in France and the Netherlands, as well as in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, the Reformation obtained a footing, but not such as to determine its future consequences. Wherever it gained admittance, however, it occasioned considerable modifications in points of belief, as well as in church discipline and forms.

In England a rupture with the Roman see, unaccompanied however by a change of doctrine, took place under Henry VIII.; by an Act of Parliament, Nov., 1534, the king was declared supreme head of the church. Under Edward VI., 1547—1553, the Protestant doctrines were advanced, though the episcopal hierarchy was retained, as dependent on the king. The restoration of the papal dominion under Mary, 1553—1558, was speedily frustrated by Elizabeth.

In Scotland, the reformed doctrines had been disseminated as early as 1525, especially at a later period, by the instrumentality of John Knox, the disciple of Calvin, but was opposed by the regent and Roman hierarchy.

Life of the Scottish Reformer, John Knox, with a Sketch of the Reformation in Scotland, by S. THOMAS M'CRIE. Translated into German, and abridged by D. J. G. PLANCK, 1817.

In Switzerland, the Reformation arose, independently of Luther, by the exertions of Zwinglius, in Zurich (who fell, Oct. 11, 1531, at Cappel, in a battle with the Catholics). It spread rapidly; in 1528, it had either been adopted altogether, or partially, by the cantons of Zurich, Bern, Basle, Appenzel, Glarus, and Schaffhausen. A separation from those who followed the confession of Augsburg, grew, in 1525, out of the unhappy difference of opinion respecting the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and thus originated the reformed party, which was first fully developed in Geneva, through Calvin, 1535—1564.

This city acquired a great, lasting, and even increasing importance in Europe, as the focus of religious, political, and scientific ideas; and likewise, since its emancipation from Savoy and the expulsion of its bishop, 1533, of practical republicanism. The forms and discipline of the reformed church were here fully developed. By means of the university, founded 1539, under the direction of Calvin, and supported by his exertions and those of Beza, Geneva became the principal school of theology to the professors of these opinions, and in those days the only one where the French language prevailed.

20. To the Reformation, the society of Jesuits, which arose during its progress, owed, if not its origin, at least its practical influence. The object continually held in view by this association, was the supreme control of public opinion; and by this power it hoped to oppose Protestantism, or, in other words, the freedom of the intellect, and support the highest and most unyielding assumptions of papal authority. The period at which it was established

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offered a fair prospect of success, by the adoption of an extensive and organized system of association. Proper means it might have, and doubtless had, in such abundance as to leave no flaw in the theory of its institution, but then it remained for the circumstances of the time to decide how many of these means could ever obtain practical importance. Thus far, then, the society was dependent on the age, and forced to vary according to its dictates; but having one main principle, which controlled all its actions, a complete adaptation was impossible. Its very essence demanded, what a time-serving policy would have been careful to avoid, either a total supremacy, or utter annihilation; if it could succeed in the overthrow of Protestantism, the former was of sure attainment; if Protestantism, as we have before defined it, should win the day, then no delay, no truce or concession, could arrest the latter. A long career, however, lay between it and either of these events; a career which required all its activity, manifold and extensive and lasting as that was, for its accomplishment. Even the part the society played in politics was but one of many in the same; it was a necessary but a dangerous means of advancing the common end. It was necessary, because princes themselves are amenable to public opinion; it was dangerous, because the loss of that opinion promised a certain conflict with the princes, who had by it been kept in subjection. Spreading itself through all Christian countries, sometimes openly, sometimes secretly, it became a bond which encircled the whole European system. Its influence extended alike over the body and the several members, and although it is difficult, often impossible, to determine the amount and nature of its working in detail, its organization will supply abundant evidence of the general plan which it pursued.

Foundation of the society by the chivalrous enthusiasm of Ignatius Loyola, at first as a private fraternity, 1534; it was sanctioned by Pope Paul III., 1540; and very much enlarged, 1543—1549. The spirit of the age was in favour of its rapid advance, notwithstanding the many checks which it experienced. At the death of its founder, 1556, it already embraced nine provinces of western Europe; viz., one in Portugal, three in Spain, one in France, two in Germany and the Netherlands, and two in Italy; and in the other parts of the globe it influenced by means of missions, three provinces (Brazil, Ethiopia, and India). With

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respect to its peculiar external forms, it was not separated from the world as an order, but attached itself to it as a society, so much so as to be partly amalgamated with it, without, however, losing its own distinct character. There were colleges and seminaries, but no cloisters. There was a dress peculiar to the order, but not a monastic one.

Outline of its internal organization :—

1. In respect to the government, a principle of the most absolute despotism, and thence of blind and patient obedience, flowed immediately from the design of the institution. The general head of the society (*præpositus generalis*) was dependent on no one but the Pope; he resided in Rome. From the time of Lainez, (1558—1564,) his jurisdiction was unlimited, it embraced the whole executive; and soon after, notwithstanding the general and provincial congregations, it usurped the legislative also; and thus became the source of all power in the community. It was supported by councillors, governors, and vice-governors, who severally held the titles of assistants, provincials, and rectors. Even his dependence on the Pope could not be oppressive, for the two interests were the same; and the manner of acting was always left to the general. 2. In respect to the classes of members, there were novices, scholars, and coadjutors, (the former gave instruction, to the latter were committed the care of souls,) and professed members. Among their chief maxims we may mention the great limitation of the number of professed members, or Jesuits, in the most proper sense of the word; who had taken the fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, and by whom all the higher offices were filled. Besides these there was another class of adjuncts, or secret Jesuits, without uniform, but not unfrequently distinguished by stars, or bishops' mitres. 3. The principal means of disseminating their principles, were missions, confessionals, especially at court, and the instruction of youth in lower and higher seminaries. Thus they embraced the future with the present generation. An institution, the aim of which is the suppression of all free development of the mind, is intrinsically bad. The good it has done for the propagation of religion and single branches of science, is not, however, on that account to be depreciated; but unfortunately the political historian has little good to tell of it.

The history of the order, as it ought to be written, that is, delineated from its *own* point of view, offers a field for a future historian. Some excellent preliminary matter on the subject may be found in the article, *Jesuiten, Allg. Deutsche Encyclopædie*, B. xvii., in the Appendix (by SPITTLER). It has also been printed separately. Leipzig, 1817.

Geschichte der Jesuiten in Baiern, von CARL. HIENRICH RITTER von LANG. Nürnberg, 1819. This work is drawn altogether from original records. It is preceded by a general introductory part, exhibiting the internal organization of the society, and is critical and impartial.

Among the larger works we ought to mention:

Allgemeine Geschichte der Jesuiten von dem Ursprunge ihres Ordens bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit; von P. PH. WOLFF, Leipzig, 1803; 4 vols. second edition. Also SCHROEKH *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, B. iii., the last section. Very valuable.

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21. This period, on the whole, presents a nobler view of politics, however paltry many of its details may appear. The age had greater and more fixed objects in view, it pursued them from higher motives, and was led on to them, if not by wiser, at least by greater men. The powerful influence of theology, more powerful even among the Protestants than the Catholics, brought some evils in its train; but among these cannot be reckoned excitement to war and bloodshed; the smouldering flames of which it often damped.

22. Political economy, notwithstanding the growing necessity for its improvement, made no considerable progress. New exactions, grudgingly submitted to by the states, and expensive loans from the rich commercial towns, remained, as before, the means of raising immediate supplies. Neither princes nor their councillors bestowed a thought on it beyond the moment of need; nor, indeed, could they be expected to do so at a time when their whole attention and care was drawn to religion. Besides, the treasure, which at this period poured into Spain from her new colonies in America, served to strengthen the error, that a country's wealth depends upon the gold and silver it contains. Yet Spain itself might have undeceived them, for it was not rich; nay, Charles V. was even poor, if poverty means greater wants than sources of supply.

23. The art of war made some progress, for although neither Charles nor Francis were great generals, yet the continued hostilities in which they were engaged, led of necessity to new modes of organization. Among these the establishment of regular infantry, the true prop and principle of warfare, must be considered the most important. Yet the legions of Francis still bore more resemblance to militia than to a standing force; and the dreaded imperial infantry consisted of mercenaries engaged for no definite period. The difference between these and modern troops, both in equipment and discipline, was immense, while of the higher branches of tactics they were totally ignorant; nor indeed could they hope to attain them, while the unwieldy depth of their ranks prevented all the lighter evolutions.

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III. *History of the Colonies during this period.*

In addition to the works before cited are the following, which have particular reference to Spanish America:

ANTON. DE HERRERA, *Decadas o historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y tierra firma nel mar Oceano, en quatro decadas desde el anno* 1492 *hasta el de* 1531. Madrid, 1601—15.—The best edition, with continuation, Madrid, 1728—30, 5 vols. fol.

Historia del nuevo Mundo da JUAN BATTISTA MUNOS, *en Madrid.* 1793, 4to. The first volume only has appeared.

Saggio di storia Americana naturale, civile e sacra, de Regni e delle provincie Spagnole di terra firma nella America meridionale, dell' ABBATE FILIPPO SALVADORE GILII. Roma, 1780, 4 vols. 8vo.—The political portion is the least satisfactory.

ANTONIA DE ULLOA, *Relacion historica del Viage a la Americo meridional.* Madrid, 1748, 2 vols. 4to. In French, 1751. The best description of these provinces.

The principal sources respecting the internal administration of these countries, are the laws and ordinances of the kings, which the Spanish government itself caused to be collected and published:

Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias; mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del Rey D. Carlos II. *nuestro Sennor.* Tercera edicion, Madrid, 1774, 4 vols. fol. This collection, very well arranged, according to the subject-matter, begins with 1509, and comes down to the beginning of the reign of Charles II. The fourth volume contains a very complete index.

1. In this as in the former period of our history, the Spaniards and Portuguese remained sole masters of the countries beyond the ocean. And this very absence of rivals promised a prescriptive right, which would confirm their claims of exclusive possession. The progress which the two nations made, was, however, very dissimilar, for the Portuguese colonial system had attained its full growth during the last period; that of Spain only assumed its enormous dimensions and full organization during the present.

Spanish America.

2. The Spanish empire in America counted as its provinces, Mexico, or New Spain, Peru, Terra Firma, and New Grenada: but then there was a wide difference between its actual and its nominal possessions. The inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, who were already in some degree civilized, and collected in towns and villages, offered comparatively easy conquest; but what dominion could be exercised over the countless tribes who wandered in pursuit of game over the vast forests and plains of America, until civilization, or, as then understood, "con-

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version," had prepared them for allegiance? Accordingly, the Spanish authority over the interior depended on their missionaries; and the cross, although more slow in its effects, was here at least preferred to the sword.

Conquest of Mexico, and capture of the principal city, 1519—1521, by Francis Cortes, was not achieved without violent resistance. Attempts to subdue Peru, Quito, and Chili from 1525; accomplished 1529—1535 by Francis Pizarro and his companions and brothers. Terra Firma was conquered 1532, and New Grenada, 1536. Several other countries were discovered in this period, but not yet subdued.

3. The conquered countries became and remained colonies of Spain. This was mainly brought about by the constitution which they received;—as difficult a problem as ever political science had to solve;—but even this might have proved unavailing, had it not been supported by the character of the people. This constitution, although gradual in its development, was in all its parts fundamentally established during the present period. It was fashioned, as is commonly the case, upon that of the mother country, although the interposition of the Atlantic prevented an exact imitation. The supreme authority was vested in a council resident in Madrid, and dependent solely on the king; this was termed *Consejo real y supremo de Indias*, and had under it a board for the regulation of commerce, entitled *Audienzia real de la Contratacion*, which was held in Seville; and thus a more settled system of colonial policy was established than any other nation had ever founded. In the new world, itself, viceroys (*virreyes*) were appointed to represent the monarch; but the distribution of justice was confined to the *audiencias*, which acted as supreme local tribunals, and at the same time as state council to the viceroys. The towns elected their own *cabildos*, or municipal officers.

The principal foundation of the whole constitution was laid by the ordinances of Charles V. (*leyes nuevas*) of the year 1542. Institution of the council of the Indies, 1511, but its formation was not completed till 1542. Appointment of two viceroys, first in Mexico, 1540, and afterwards in Peru, 1542, as heads of the whole civil and military administration, to whom many *gobernadores* and *capitanes* were gradually subordinate. Institution of two *audiencias*, at Mexico and Lima, 1542, the viceroys presiding, but without a voice in judicial affairs. The number of these courts was afterwards increased to ten, as that of the viceroys to four. From the *audiencias*, as courts of justice, there was an appeal to the council of the Indies.

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4. These political institutions presuppose the establishment of towns (*ciudades*, *villas*, and *lugares*). These were already to be found in Mexico and Peru, but not in the other countries; and even in the former, not always where they were needed by the new rulers. The places first colonized were the harbours and sea-ports on the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico; and shortly after those on the Pacific Ocean. Settlements in the interior were made more slowly and gradually.

The towns on the coasts, at first consisting for the most part of a church and a few houses, were at the same time harbours and garrisons. The first was Cumana, founded 1520, followed by the important harbours of Porto Bello and Carthagena, 1532, Valencia, 1555, Caraccas, 1567, and at an earlier period Vera Cruz, the first settlement in Mexico. On the coasts of the Pacific there were, in Mexico, Acapulco; in Darien, Panama; in Peru, Lima, 1535; and in Chili, Conception, 1550; and the first, though unsuccessful, attempt was made to settle Buenos Ayres, on the Rio de la Plata, in 1535. The towns of the interior generally sprang up in the vicinity of the places where mines had been previously opened.—The missions, which were afterwards formed, consisted of small villages, inhabited by converted Indians, under the superintendence of priests, settled along the banks of the principal and secondary rivers, and on the immense plains of the interior.

5. But however strong the political ties which connected the colonies to the mother country, those of religion were far more powerful. All the external apparatus of Christianity, her hierarchy, her cloisters, nay, very shortly, her inquisition, were transported across the Atlantic. With these went her learning and science, and the institutions necessary for their propagation, and thus, an ecclesiastical constitution was formed coeval and interwoven with the state, but like the state dependent on the Spanish king, not on the Pope. This naturally led to the overthrow of the civilization of the native American nations, and with it to the extinction of their national spirit.

By the privileges granted by Alexander VI. and Julius II., (*patronazgo real*,) the papal power was limited to the ratification of the king's appointments to ecclesiastical offices.—Mexico and Lima were first erected into archbishoprics (to which Caraccas, Santa Fe di Bogota, and Guatimala were afterwards added) and bishoprics, each provided with a chapter.—The lower ecclesiastical clergy were divided into *curas* in the Spanish settlements, *doctrineras* in the Indian, and *missioneras* among the savages.—The establishment of cloisters followed from the original purpose of converting the Indians; they were at first confined

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to the mendicant orders, and only at a later period shared by the Jesuits. These institutions, so necessary to the object proposed, could not but have ample success in so rich a country, protected as they were by the inquisition, (established by Philip II. in 1570,) and which, owing to its distance from the sphere of thought, possessed an unlimited authority over the mind of the people. Universities were founded in Mexico and Lima, 1551.

6. Thus the forms of European states were universally imitated in those countries. But the mass of the people had, in the difference of their origin, an inseparable bar to an entire and national union. This physical distinction led to important political results. The white colonists, by their superior authority, appeared to hold all who partook of colour (*pardoz*) in marked subjection. Among these we are not to reckon the Indians alone, (who, like the others, were under the protection of the law, and secure of personal freedom,) but all the half-castes, (*mestizos*, *tercerones*, and *cuarterones* or *quadroons*,) who sprang from a union with them. To these the slave-trade brought the addition of the negroes, from whom another and numerous intermediate class, the *mulattos*, arose. These different classes pursued almost exclusively different occupations, and thus a system of castes, properly so called, was formed; the nobility or highest rank, which consisted of the resident Europeans, (*creoles*,) and the occasional visitors (or *chapetones*). Among the creoles no distinction was observed, they were all equal, and all excluded from the government, which was intrusted only to Spaniards, who were not permitted to settle in the colonies. This regulation was the groundwork of future revolt. Happily for Spain, the necessity was early felt of subjecting her own emigrations (those from other countries were wholly forbidden) to a severe but wholesome police. And it is to this precaution that she is mainly indebted for the secure dependence of her colonies.

Repeated ordinances of the Spanish government, for the improvement of the Indians. (But these laws could do but little towards curbing the cruelty of the first conquerors.) The principal were those made after the year 1542, by which the system of feudal service, which had been introduced, (*Encomiendas*, *Repartimientos*,) was circumscribed. Personal freedom was insured to the Indians; the amount of service (*mitas*) and tributes fixed; and they were allowed to reside in separate villages under their own officers (*caciques*) chosen from among themselves.

B. DE LAS CASAS, *Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, Sevilla,

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1552, 4to. The well-known account of the cruelties of the first conquerors.—The ordinances for the improvement of the condition of the Indians fill almost a whole book in the *Leyes* (L. VI.). No other government did so much for the aborigines as the Spanish: would it had been effective across the Atlantic.

7. Little advantage was derived from these countries as yet beyond the supply of precious metals, and the abundance of these, especially of silver, exceeded the most extravagant expectation. They nevertheless possessed other and not less considerable riches, in their various productions. These, however, as long as the use of cochineal and indigo as dyes, of cocoa, of tobacco, and Peruvian bark, remained either wholly unknown, or had been but partially introduced into Europe, could not form staple commodities of trade. The search after precious metals was left to individual enterprise, with the reservation of a tenth to the crown; and thus numerous inland settlements were formed, but it was long before mining was put upon a regular and scientific footing.

Discovery of the rich mines of Zacotecas in Mexico, 1532, and of Potosi in Peru, 1545; since which time the annual proceeds have on an average been estimated at thirty millions of piastres, about half of which has been exported to Europe. Before this time, under Charles V., scarcely half a million of piastres found their way into the royal coffers. The proportion paid to the king it was found necessary to diminish by degrees from twenty to five per cent.; notwithstanding this, in the richest regions of the earth, the mining was so hazardous a game that by far the greater number of speculations ended in ruin.

Fürsten und Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten *und* 17ten *Jahrhundert. Vornehmlich aus ungedruckten Gesandtschafts-Berichten;* von LEOPOLDE RANKE. Vol. I. Hamburg, 1827, 8vo. With new and important disclosures respecting the condition of Spain at this period.

8. These mining operations, and the culture of what few plantations were then established, gave rise to the importation of slaves from Africa. This dreadful traffic sprung from a good principle, namely, that of relieving the Indians, who from their nature were unfit for the labour. It was proposed by their advocate, Las Casas. The Spaniards, it is true, never engaged in it themselves, but the government contracted with foreigners, who engaged for a certain profit to supply the requisite number of slaves.

The slave-trade of the Europeans proceeded from the discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese on the coasts of Africa, and was carried on by them before the discovery of America. Negroes had been also car-

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ried to the West Indies before the proposal of Las Casas, (but through him this traffic was first regularly established, 1517,) as is proved by the fact that Charles V. conferred on his favourite La Bresa the monopoly of four thousand slaves annually, which he sold to the Genoese. The latter, however, obtained them of the Portuguese, in whose hands the traffic really lay, although the English began to participate in it towards the end of this period.

M. C. SPRENGEL *vom Ursprunge des Negerhandels.* Halle, 1779, 8vo.

Vollstandige Historisch-philosophische Darstellung aller Veränderungen des Negersclavenhandels, von dessen Ursprunge an bis zu seiner gänzlchen Aufhebung, von ALL. HUNE. 2 Theile, Göttingen, 1820, 8vo. The first part contains the history of the origin and increase, the second, of the abolition of the slave-trade. This is the best work on the subject, and is written with industry and method.

9. The original character of the Spanish colonies, namely, that of mining settlements, led naturally to commercial restrictions. A free admittance of foreigners under such circumstances would have been absurd. The advantages of general trade, if at all considered, held a very inferior rank; the main object was to import into Spain, and to Spain alone, the immediate treasure of America. Even to the Spaniards it might have been evident that the prosperity of the colonies was not likely to be advanced by these means,—but the prosperity of their colonies, as usually understood, was no design of theirs. Nay, more, as Spain alone, of all Europe, enjoyed their wealth, Spain determined that she alone would supply their wants.

Regulations of trade:—In Spain, the commerce was confined to the single port of Seville. Two squadrons were annually despatched, the *galeones* of about twelve, the fleet of about fifteen, large vessels. The former, destined to South America, proceeded to Porto Bello; the latter, destined for Mexico, to Vera Cruz. Great fairs were held in those cities. Spain did not indeed commit its colonial trade to a company; but must not the monopoly of a few rich houses have necessarily sprung from these restrictions?

Portuguese Colonies.

10. The Portuguese not only retained but increased their dominions in the East during this period, under their kings Emanuel the Great († 1521) and John III. († 1557). The range of their commerce received even a greater extension than their dominion. It was the policy of these princes to change the viceroys at least every three years, whether to the advantage or injury of their colonies it is difficult to say. What might not have been expected if peace could have been preserved in India

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itself! But this was impossible; for the Moors (Mohammedans, and chiefly of the Arabian stock) were as much bent upon retaining the coasting trade as the Portuguese were upon acquiring it.

Establishment of the Portuguese in Ceylon from 1518, especially at Columbo and Point Gales, and monopoly of the cinnamon trade.—They were in actual possession, however, of the coasts alone. Capture of Diu, 1535; settlements made in Camboja and others, from the Moluccas to Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and Borneo. Even where they had no settlements they did not fail to frequent the markets.

11. What mainly contributed to extend the Portuguese commerce was the connexion which they early formed with China, and the entrance which they obtained into Japan. The Jesuits, who had been admitted into these realms by John III., immediately after the foundation of their order, were of great assistance by means of their Asiatic missionaries. Among these, Xavier, the apostle of the Indians, deserves mention even from the general historian.

Attempts made to form a connexion with China as early as 1517, through the envoy, Th. Pereira. A settlement was probably made at Liampo, (Ningpo?) without any permanent result.—Japan had been known since 1542; the mission of Xavier was followed by great consequences, the establishment of a regular and highly lucrative commerce for Portugal.

12. This period, then, witnessed the proud structure of the Portuguese power in India in full perfection. A few bold and congenial spirits had raised it; its maintenance, however, required not merely physical force, but the moral support of heroic courage and patriotism, which fortunately was not wanting. Such virtues do not pass suddenly away, and therefore no sudden downfal of the fabric which they supported was to be feared; though their insensible diminution promised a gradual and sure decay. This the following period, fraught as it was with foreign convulsions, tended fearfully to accelerate.

13. During this period, too, the possessions of the Portuguese were widely extended in Brazil. A kindly fate had as yet prevented the discovery of the precious metals in that country, and had thus directed the attention of the settlers in some degree to agricultural pursuits. The new regulations of the crown contributed partially to extend this branch of industry, but it still remained confined to parti-

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cular portions of the coast, and those more especially in the north. The progress, however, which was made here caused a reaction on their African settlements of Congo and Guinea, by the increased demand for slaves; since the natives of Brazil, although not yet accounted positively free, were both difficult to subdue, and, when subdued, useless for the purposes of labour.

A new system introduced in the year 1525, by John III.; large strips of land along the coast, to fifty leagues into the interior, being granted to single families or individuals, as male fiefs, with almost absolute jurisdiction even over the natives, whom the proprietors accordingly obliged to till the ground. In this way, 1539—1549, the *capitanes* of St. Vicente, Esperito Santo, dos Ilheos, Maranham, Portoseguro, and Pernambuco, arose with their several cities, and more especially Bahia, with its capital St. Salvador, as the centre of the whole, 1549. In the same year, the first governor, Thomas of Susa, was sent out, accompanied by six Jesuits as missionaries. The power of the proprietors was limited in favour of the crown; and a more regular plan of colonization introduced. Besides the natural productions, consisting principally of dye-wood, the sugar cane, transplanted thither from Madeira, was even then in cultivation. Like Spain, Portugal retained the exclusive trade, which was carried on by a fleet sent out every March. The Indians were cruelly treated and enslaved wherever it was possible, whence arose continual wars with them.

History of Brazil, by Rob. Southey. 1810, P. I. II. A work written with profound knowledge of the subject, and great impartiality.

Histoire du Brazil, depuis sa découverte en 1500, *jusqu' en* 1810, par M. Alphonse de Beauchamp. 3 vols. Paris, 1815. Useful as a general historical sketch.

14. Although the Spaniards and Portuguese had no rivals of importance among the other nations of Europe, the few attempts at discovery made by France and England having led to no results, they became engaged in a quarrel between themselves respecting the Molucca islands, whose position, according to the papal line of demarcation, was not accurately determined. This led to the first voyage round the world, from which, it is true, the contested point received no solution, but which was of great consequence to geography and navigation.

Voyage of Ferd. Magellan, (a Portuguese, who, on account of some grievance, entered the Spanish service,) 1519—1522. Discovery of the straits into the Pacific Ocean, called after him, and consequently of a new passage to the East Indies. Discovery of the Philippine islands, where Magellan himself lost his life, 1521. But his principal ship (the Victoria) returned to Seville.—The contest respecting the Molucca

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islands was terminated by a treaty, 1529, Charles V. selling his claims to Portugal, for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

PIGAFETTA (who accompanied Magellan) *Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo.* The first perfect edition was published by C. AMORETTI. Milano, 1800.

THIRD PERIOD. *From* 1556 *to* 1618.

The best general works are:

J. A. THUANI *Historiarum sui Temporis L. CXXXVIII.* ab A. D. 1543, usque ad A. 1607. The best edition is Londini, 1704, 7 vols. fol. The author expressly announces this, his master-work as a general history.

FR. CH. KHEVENHÜLLER *Annales Ferdinandei, von* 1578 *bis* 1637. Leipzig, 1716—1726, 12 vols. fol. This work is without method, but is alike important from the richness of the materials, and the office of the author, who was imperial ambassador at Madrid. An abridgement was published by Runde; Leipzig, 1778, 4 Theile, 8vo. It reaches down to 1594.

1. The age of Elizabeth and Philip, of William of Orange and Henry IV., awakens by these very names a tide of recollections amply sufficient to determine its peculiar character. The Reformation was the mainspring of its whole political machinery; nor, indeed, could it be otherwise, at a time when the first flush of victory on the side of the Protestants was met by the inquisition openly arrayed against them by Philip; and by the secret, but not less determined, influence exerted to their prejudice by the Jesuits in every cabinet in Europe.

The great influence of the Jesuits on the cabinets, especially in their character of confessors, pervaded during this period most of the countries of Europe. They ruled in Portugal under Sebastian; found powerful protectors in Spain in Philip II.; in France, after a long and violent resistance, in Catharine of Medici and the Guises; in Germany, in Albert V. of Bavaria, etc. Nor were they, as we shall see, less active in the north.

2. Besides this, the old and dreamy hopes entertained of a reconciliation by means of the council of Trent, melted away at its dissolution, which soon took place. Nor were its decrees felt only in the bitterness which it added to the religious schism, by it rendered irremediable; they were of such a nature, that many of the Catholic states rejected them, like France, altogether, or received them only under certain

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restrictions, as being subversive, not only of secular, but even of episcopal authority.

The council of Trent was finally dissolved, Dec. 4, 1563; it had been convened again (after its violent separation) in Jan., 1562. Its decrees: 1. pronounced anathemas against all those who refused to subscribe to the distinguishing doctrines of the Romish Church; 2. they conceded much to the power of the Church, to the disadvantage of the civil power; 3. they declared, that the episcopal dignity did not emanate from God, but that it was entirely subordinate to the papal.—Thus the Roman see thought that it had averted every danger by which it was threatened, and yet the deadliest blow it ever sustained was from the history of that very council, written by a monk, long after its dissolution.

Historia del Concilio Tridentino di PIETRO SOAVE, Polano. (Paolo Sarpi) 1619, 4to. This work has passed through many editions, among which we may mention the French translation by FRANCOIS DE COURAYER. Londr. 1736, 2 vols. fol. [Reprinted in 4to; and valuable for the notes of the translator.]

3. Unfortunately, the course which the Reformation had of necessity followed, gave rise to an opinion in politics of the highest practical importance. Its opponents saw enemies of the state in its supporters: rebel and heretic became synonymous terms. Its supporters again saw champions of tyranny in its opponents, and thus the idea became prevalent, that "the old religion was a buttress and defence of absolute despotism; the new doctrine, the banner of liberty." This was an idle error, as far as the doctrines themselves were concerned, and has been abundantly refuted since; but so long as religious partisans were obliged to support themselves by political faction it had probably some foundation. But then, why were men so obliged, and who obliged them?

4. These ideas owed their origin and confirmation mainly to the fact, that during this period it was no longer, as in the previous one, between Spain and France, (the latter being disabled by internal disorders,) but between Spain and England, that the rivalry of Europe lay. These two powers were not merely of a different religion, but the political existence of either was interwoven with that of the faith which it supported; Spain with the Catholic, England with the Protestant cause. Moreover both were under rulers who felt an equal and inordinate desire of meddling in the affairs of other nations. The foreign policy of Elizabeth excelled that of Philip in little save caution.

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5. Another important distinction between this and the previous period is to be found in the separation of the Spanish from the imperial crown. The house of Hapsburg was of course much weakened thereby, but it acquired a new species of strength from the personal character of the princes of the Austrian line: by them it was led to adopt a different course of politics from that pursued by Philip II.; and as their object was the maintenance of peace in Germany, in securing that they were the means of preventing a general war.

The internal relations of the house of Austria to the Spanish line; very much weakened since the death of Ferdinand, 1564, by a division into the Austrian and Stirian branches.

6. The recent insurrection of the Netherlands became the actual centre of political interests; for beside Spain, England and France were gradually engaged in it. But besides that insurrection, the great ferment produced by the Reformation during this period in most of the other countries of Europe, and its consequences, which exercised for the most part a decisive influence on the future aspect of the leading European states, require to be cursorily noticed.

I. *History of the rise of the republic of the United Netherlands, and its immediate influence on the affairs of Europe; from its beginning till the twelve years' truce,* 1609.

The historians of the revolution of the Netherlands are divided into two classes; the Catholic, or those who are inclined to the Spanish side, and the Protestant. At the head of the former, stand:

Historia della guerra di Fiandra, descritta del CARDINAL BENTIVOGLIO; in tre parti. 4to. 1670, in Venezia. This still holds its rank as the best work on this subject. It reaches down to the twelve years' truce.

FABIANI STRADÆ *de bello Belgico decades duae ab excessu Carol. V., usque ad initium præfecturæ Alexandri Farnes. principis.* Francofurti, 1651, 4to. Little more than a detail of the wars.

Among writers on the other side, besides the general history of the republic of the United Provinces by WAGENAAR, and the abridgement of it by TOTZE, (*Hallische Allg. Welth.* B. 34, 35,) we may mention:

EM. METEREN, *Niederländische Historien vom Anfang des Kriegs bis* 1611. Arnheim, 1611, fol.

VAN DER VYNKT, *Geschichte der vereinigten Niederlande von ihrem Ursprunge in Jahr* 1560 *an bis zum Westphalischen Frieden;* Zürich, 1793, 3 vols. 8vo. But six copies of the French original, *Troubles des Pays-bas,* are said to have been printed. The author was member of

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the council of state of Flanders, and had access to the archives: and consequently more that was new might have been expected; although we can readily pardon his not being a great historian.

Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der Spanischen Regierung, von FR. SCHILLER. Leipzig, 1788, 8vo. It reaches only to the arrival of Alva. (Continued till 1609, by C. CURTH, 3 vols. 1809.) Great minds are themselves first conscious in what department they are at home.

1. A republic was the result of the revolution in the Netherlands; but we should be much mistaken in our view of the subject were we to imagine its establishment to have been the object originally proposed. The insurgents had no other motive than to resist the encroachments of arbitrary and, according to all their previous ideas, unconstitutional innovations. And they at last became republicans merely because they could find no one fit to direct a more monarchical government.

2. Since we must be careful, then, how we bring the ideas of our own day to the examination of that event, we shall be the better prepared to acknowledge that it could tend to the propagation of no new ideas, and most certainly of no republican enthusiasm in the rest of Europe. Its political results were on this account of very gradual development; but hence also of more universal and lasting influence.

3. The greater part of the Netherlands had come into the possession of the house of Hapsburg, by the marriage of Maximilian of Austria to Mary, the daughter and
1477. sole heiress of Duke Charles the Bold; but they received such an extension under Charles V., as to embrace the whole of the Belgian and Batavian provinces, seventeen in number. These countries, although they formed but one state under a common superior, had each of them a separate constitution and assembly of states, nay, several their own stadtholder.—General assemblies of the states of all the provinces were not unusual; and during the absence of the prince, who, after the union of the crowns, resided chiefly in Spain, his power was delegated to a chief stadtholder, or regent, who was assisted by three colleges, which were severally called, the council of state, the privy council, (or council of justice,) and the council of finance. The supreme council at Mechlin formed a general court of appeals.

The seventeen provinces consisted of four duchies: Brabant, Lim-

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burg, Luxemburg, and Gelderland; seven counties: Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur, and Zutphen; one margraviate: Antwerp; five lordships: Mechlin, Friesland, Utrecht, Groningen and Overyssel.—Cambray and Franche Comté were considered as separate.

4. The power of the princes was much circumscribed by the privileges of these assemblies of the states, but still more so by the spirit of the people. These were aware that their happiness depended on their constitution, and this conviction formed their strength. The proud feelings of prosperity and wealth, the fruit of the ancient commerce of Belgium, which had arisen under the protection of the constitution, gave additional force to their attachment; and thus, though there could not be a people more easy to govern than the Netherlanders while their rights were left untouched, yet, on the other hand, there was no opposition likely to be more determined than that with which they were prepared to resist any invasion of their sanctuary—the constitution.

5. At the accession of Philip II., the Reformation had already been at work in the provinces. It had every where spread rapidly, as might be expected in a country where there were so many men who needed religious independence alone to complete that of wealth and birth; but in the Batavian provinces its progress was the most decided, and to us the most worthy of remark, because in them its consequences first assumed their true character. The breaking out of the war anew with France, which prolonged Philip's residence in the Low Countries, was probably the only thing that preserved tranquillity: the peace of Chateau Cambresis, which terminated it, was the harbinger of the storm.

The truce of Vaucelles broken (see p. 47) at the instigation of Pope Paul IV., and the war renewed; it acquired a still greater extent from the implication of England by Philip II., and was prosecuted, generally unsuccessfully for France, both in Italy and on the frontiers of the Netherlands. The French defeated at St. Quentin, Aug. 10, 1557, and that fortress they lost. On the other hand Calais was captured by the duke of Guise, Jan. 8, 1558. Another defeat at Grevelingen, July 13, 1558. The peace of Chateau Cambresis concluded April 3, 1559. A mutual restitution was made; and although France retained Calais, it lost considerably by the restoration of Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, Philip's victorious general. A double treaty of marriage contracted, uniting the houses of France, Spain, and Savoy; and secret projects

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concerted for exterminating the heresy by the influence of the Guises in France and Granvellas in Spain.

6. Even before Philip left the Netherlands for Spain, there were continual complaints, partly respecting the Spanish garrisons, partly on account of the penal edicts against heresy. But neither the personal conduct of the king, nor his scheme of government, (by which Margaret of Parma, his half sister, was, with the assistance of Granvella, to assume the regency,) gave any hope of redress; while the additional severity of the edicts after his return to Spain, and the changes effected in the hierarchy, gave just grounds for apprehending, not only the subversion of the constitution, but even that last badge of tyranny, the establishment of the Spanish inquisition in the Netherlands.

The states-general convened before his departure (autumn, 1559).—Whether the dreaded inquisition was to be *that* introduced by Charles V., for enforcing his edicts, or *the* Spanish inquisition in all its forms, was of little consequence. It excited equal terror in the professors of the old and the new faith, and the fermentation therefore spread through all the provinces.

7. In paying our due tribute of abhorrence to the tyranny of Philip II. we are bound, as impartial historians, to consider the opinions upon which he founded it. According to his belief, unity of religious faith was the only warrant of civil quiet, and as such it became his immediate object. Educated in these opinions, he thought the history of his own time offered ample confirmation of them. While his active but narrow mind could not comprehend that the remedy was much worse than the imagined evil, and must moreover finally prove ineffectual.

Government of Margaret of Parma as (stadtholdress) from 1559—Sept. 1567. The recall of the detested Granvella, 1562, could produce no essential change, since the measures adopted were not merely his, but rather Philip's.

8. The troubles broke out as soon after the signing of the compromise as a rallying point could be established; but the insurrection was so ill concerted that the plan of suppressing it by an armed force, upon which the Spanish cabinet had secretly resolved, promised an easy success. The affair might have been still more readily settled, had Philip known how to unite concession with authority. All here now depended upon his choice of a leader; and by

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the appointment of the duke of Alva he put an end to all hope.

The compromise signed at Brussels, Nov., 1565, and formally delivered to Margaret, April 5, 1566. Those who signed it were tauntingly called beggars, *gueux*. Philip's plan was, to send the Spanish troops in Italy to the Netherlands, under Alva, who arrived there at their head in August, 1567, with such authority that the duchess of Parma, the former regent, took her departure.

Alva's reign of terror. 1567–1573.

9. Alva's reign of terror ensued. The principal persons who still remained were arrested, especially the counts Egmont and Horne, and a tribunal with power of life and death, entitled *A Council for the suppression of Disturbances*, was established as a mean of quelling rebellion and rooting out the heresy. Tyranny in this as in other cases felt the recoil of a blow which it had aimed at others; for although quiet was restored, it was at the expense of so much violence as to threaten the emigration of many thousands of all classes; an evil as much beyond the power of the despots as the confiscation of their property was within it.

General act of outlawry promulgated against the Netherlanders, as rebels against the royal authority.—Numerous executions, especially of Egmont and Horne, Jan. 5, 1568.—And yet the exaction of the tenth penny, 1569, operated far more powerfully than the erection of the council of blood!

10. The last hope of freedom, then, rested on a band of emigrants, who could have done little for their country, had they not reckoned among their number a man formed expressly for the occasion. As a general, William of Orange has been surpassed by many: as the head and leader of an insurrection, he has never been equalled. Who, but he, could have kept together elements so adverse? Who ever achieved so much with such small means? And who ever understood, as he did, the union of honest efforts for his country with sure advancement for himself? Success could not be reasonably hoped for the first attempts at liberty; the insurgents were too inferior in the field to risk a decisive action, and too ill supplied with money to keep an army long afoot. The only course for the Water-Gueux, was to observe the Spaniards closely, and discover their weakest point. At length the taking of Briel gave the insurrection

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a determinate character, and by making the northern provinces its principal theatre, gave an assurance of its issue. The states of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, named William of Orange royal stadtholder.

Unsuccessful attack of Louis count of Nassau upon Friesland, and of his brother, the prince of Wilhelm, on Brabant, 1568. Rise and increase of the Water-Gueux from 1570, the prince granting letters of marque and reprisals. Capture of Briel, April 1, 1572, when the insurrection breaks out in most of the cities of Holland and Zealand. Alva was able, with what few troops he had, to suppress it in single cases, but not generally.

11. Weak as were the resources of the insurgents, they had no reason to despair of foreign aid. Their cause became more and more the cause of the Protestant religion, and therefore more and more connected with general politics. The Protestant princes of Germany, the Huguenots in France, at that very time battling for their rights, and above all Elizabeth of England, the rival of Philip, seemed to regard the cause of the insurgents as their own. The first, however, could afford but little assistance, the others none at all, and thus Elizabeth became the only effective ally. It required all the activity and prudence of the prince to improve these relations, whilst at the same time he had to contend with the yet greater internal obstacles, thrown in his way by religious and family jealousies.

The assistance of the German princes and the German empire was first solicited by the prince; but although he was not wholly unsuccessful in single cases, yet the family connexion of Austria and Spain prevented a universal espousal of his interest. Of much greater importance was the influence of the disturbances of the Huguenots; both by the hopes which they encouraged, and the personal connexions of the prince in France. But after the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, (Aug. 24, 1572,) what assistance could they afford to strangers? The participation of Elizabeth, alone, (that of Denmark and Sweden was solicited in vain,) led to any great results. But it was soon felt, perhaps more strongly than was justifiable, that a friend may be even more dangerous than an enemy. Not till an open quarrel arose between her and Spain, (1587,) was an honest friendship possible. And would it under any circumstances have been possible, could Elizabeth have then foreseen that the navy and commerce of the rising republic would in twenty years outstrip those of England?

12. After Alva's departure the cause was threatened by new and even greater perils from Zuniga y Reguesens, his successor. This ruler possessed greater moderation, which

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was seconded by a defeat of the rebels on Mooker moor, and by repeated attacks on Holland and Zealand; he was thus a very formidable antagonist, and the prince himself had began to despair, when mutinies among the ill-paid troops of Spain and the opportune death of Reguesens came to his aid. The project of establishing a fixed point as head-quarters of the insurgents, was effected by a closer union of Zealand and Holland; while the atrocious sack of Antwerp was mainly instrumental in drawing five of the Batavian and six of the Belgic provinces into the league of Ghent; their professed object being common protection, without, however, any declared resistance to Philip.

Departure of Alva, Dec., 1573. His successor, Reguesens, stadtholder till March 5, 1576. Louis, count of Nassau, and Henry his brother, defeated and slain at Mooker moor, near Nimuegen, April 14, 1574. During the interregnum of the council of state, after the death of Reguesens, Antwerp was pillaged by the Spanish soldiers, Nov. 4. Pacification of Ghent, Nov. 8, 1576.

13. The new stadtholder, Don Juan, by becoming a party to the league of Ghent, appeared determined on obtaining peace at any price, and it required all the vigilance of Prince William to render his artifices ineffectual. In this he fortunately succeeded by raising the hopes and courage of Holland and Zealand. Meantime the league of Ghent fell to pieces of itself, and thus confirmed the belief that it was only by a closer union among the northern provinces, and by a rupture with the Spaniards, that freedom could be attained. To effect this the prince organized the confederacy of Utrecht, and thus laid the actual foundation of the future republic; as far, however, as the confederacy itself was concerned, it formed the basis neither of a pure republic, (i. e., without any princely authority in its constitution,) nor yet of one strictly Batavian. The main object, it is true, was to unite the northern provinces, but that accomplished, any of the southern states were at liberty to join it.

The union of Utrecht concluded, Jan. 23, 1579, between Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, and Groningen. Friesland and Overyssel acceded, June 11, as also Ghent, Antwerp, Breda, and other Belgic cities.

14. But notwithstanding these precautions the nomination of Alexander of Parma as regent, on the death of Don

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Juan, appeared to throw every former crisis into shade. Philip could have selected no one more fitted to cope with the prince; and his choice was approved by the reconquest of the Belgian provinces, which was accomplished by this officer. The entire separation, however, of these provinces from those of the north was perhaps the most fortunate thing that could happen. The need of foreign assistance, which in those days implied foreign supremacy, was never more needed than now; and as it was at length effectually given, the political sphere over which the insurrection exerted its influence, became much enlarged; still, however, it required a new blow to give rise to new wants, before a republic could be formed from its materials.

Regency of Alexander of Parma from Oct. 1, 1578, to Dec. 2, 1592. The Walloons returned to their allegiance by the treaty of May 21, 1579. The others were gradually subjected by the conquest of their cities, till the capture of Antwerp, Aug. 17, 1585. On the other hand, the constituted sovereignty of the United Provinces was conferred on Francis, duke of Anjou, 1581—1583, and now, for the first time, all fealty to Spain was laid aside, July 26, 1581. But no one, who was not greater than the prince of Orange himself, could, by the side of that prince, sustain the station of sovereign. The duke of Anjou retired, June, 1583.

15. Assassination of the prince, just as he appears on the point of attaining to his long planned object of being elected by the states to the rank of count (or constitutional sovereign) of Holland and Zealand. Nothing but the weight of his personal character could have effected this: and although his son Maurice succeeded to the trust of his father, yet in his very nomination, the states of Holland and Zealand exercised an act of sovereignty. Still, however, the difficulty of their situation was such as to make them eager to put themselves under Elizabeth. And notwithstanding her refusal of the supreme power, great things might have been effected had the conduct of her affairs been in more able hands than those of Leicester. Meantime, however, the accession of Olden Barneveld to the post of grand pensionary, and his undaunted championship of the constitutional rights of the States, decided the future form of the republic.

After the murder of William I., July 10, 1584, Maurice is appointed stadtholder of Holland and Zealand, and afterwards recognised by four

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of the other provinces; a council of state, however, was placed around him. A treaty is concluded with Elizabeth, who sends a body of auxiliary troops, upon receiving as pledges three harbours; but she secures to the earl such influence, that she cherished hopes of being able to rule by him. The earl becomes involved in continual quarrels with the States, down to his resignation, Dec., 1587.

16. But by far the most important consequence of these relations with England, not for the infant republic only, but for all Europe, was the open war with Spain in which Elizabeth thus designedly engaged. From that time forward the interests of both states became inseparably allied: while the defeat of the invincible armada not only gave the best charter of independence which the republic could desire, but opened to either country that noble field of unrestricted navigation in which they severally attained their chief greatness and renown.

The causes of the rancour between Philip II. and Elizabeth, were founded in their religious and political relations, both in Europe and foreign countries (see below, history of colonies). The injuries done to Spanish commerce by privateering, and the support, at first secretly but afterwards openly, extended to the Netherlands, created the project of conquering England, in pursuance of the Pope's donation, and as a sure mean of quelling the insurrection of the Netherlands, 1587. Expedition of the invincible armada, and its fate, between July and Oct., 1588. The Spanish war was continued by Elizabeth till her death, April 3, 1603.

17. Many other circumstances concurred with their naval superiority to render the States independent; but each step towards it led them deeper into general politics. The support afforded by Philip to the party of the league against Henry IV., induced him to send the duke of Parma with a large portion of his troops into France. The death of this general and the accession of Henry IV. were two new supports of her independence, since Henry found it advisable to enter into an alliance with her, when he declared war in form against Spain. Thus recognised by France and England, victorious under Maurice in his battles and sieges, and mistress of the sea, what hopes could Philip yet harbour of subjecting the republic. He appeared himself convinced of this, since a short time before his death, he settled his portion of the Netherlands as a dowry on his daughter Isabella Eugenia. The contest was, however, prolonged under his successor Philip III., till the year 1609,

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when, after the peace of Spain with France at Vervins, and that with James I. after the death of Elizabeth, the Netherlands were compelled to prosecute it alone; and even then (for Spain was unwilling to make too large concessions) it was suspended not by a peace but by a truce of twelve years, by which the independence of the republic was tacitly acknowledged.

Campaigns of the duke of Parma in France, 1590—1592. He died Dec. 2, 1592.—Henry IV. entered into an alliance with England and the Netherlands, Oct. 31, 1596, after the declaration of war against Spain, Jan. 16, 1595.—Amiens lost and reconquered, 1597.—Separate peace was concluded at Vervins, May 2, 1598. The Spanish Netherlands conferred by Philip II. on his daughter Clara Isabella Eugenia, as a dowry, on occasion of her marriage with Archduke Albert of Austria, 1598.—Death of Philip II., Nov. 13, 1598.—The war feebly carried on by land under his successor Philip III., but on the ocean prosecuted with much spirit, and a successful expedition accomplished under James Heemskerk against the coast of Spain, 1607. Negotiations commenced the same year, and continued by the mediation of Henry IV. through the president Jeannin (to sustain the influence of France); they are rendered, however, very difficult, by the controversies respecting the religious freedom of the Catholics, and the East Indian navigation. The truce of twelve years, between the archduke and Spain, signed April 9, 1609.

18. Thus in the midst of the monarchical system of Europe, a republic became formed, which even during her rise had become so deeply involved in the relations of this system, that she could not avoid taking an active participation in all that concerned it. She had obtained an object to which she had not aspired; her internal constitution, therefore, had not been wholly changed, but occasionally altered according to the exigences of the moment: is it strange then that it should have been imperfectly formed? The preponderance of the province of Holland, however, caused the want of a federation to be less felt; the origin of the states-general, 1592, created a point of union for foreign affairs; and for her internal stability she was indebted to the happy circumstances, that the dignities of stadtholder, and of grand pensionary of Holland, constituted two situations in which great men could act with effect. The Arminian controversies which soon ensued, causing a rupture between the house of Orange and the States, and bringing Olden Barneveld to the scaffold, demonstrated that the

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republic already contained within her bosom the seeds of dissolution.

19. Little as the origin of such a republic changed the general character of the monarchical system of Europe, it nevertheless exercised a very strong influence upon it. Such a commercial state, and such a naval force, Europe had never before beheld. It was a new kind of weight that this state threw into the political scale; and ships, colonies, and commerce, acquired a wholly different value in practical politics, from what they had ever before possessed. The seeds of good and evil had brought forth plentifully; but as yet men were scarcely able to distinguish which was the good and which the evil in so luxuriant a growth. Even in later times, how little have they learnt to make the distinction!

II. *A view of the changes which took place during this period in the other leading states of the West of Europe, and of their results.*

1. Although the revolution in the Netherlands excited the interest of the neighbouring states, it did not exclusively occupy their attention. They had their own particular changes, which affected their domestic and foreign relations, and therefore their political character. These, then, require to be considered, before we pursue further the history of the political system of Europe.

2. They originated, directly or indirectly, in the Reformation. The causes of excitement, which it spread, operated differently in the several states. France, Spain, England, and Germany, will here especially claim attention.

I. FRANCE.

3. The present period was to France, for thirty years, the period of religious and civil wars, which threatened to overthrow the throne itself. A great prince not only rescued it from the horrors of anarchy, but in fifteen years raised it to an elevation of power, which enabled him to meditate a political transformation of Europe: but his fall again made it the sport of faction, till Religious wars. 1562—1594.

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Richelieu, after a lapse of fourteen years, grasped the helm of state with his vigorous hand. Still, notwithstanding all the confusion and vicissitudes of the period, its history turns on a few leading personages, and gives a further proof, that in times of important revolutions, it is the character of great men, rather than the intellect of shrewd ones, which directs the course of events.

DAVILA, *Istoria delle guerre civili in Francia.* Venezia, 1630, 4to. Numerous other editions have been published. The best French translation is by M. L'ABBE M. (MALLET). Amsterdam, 1757, 2 vols. 4to. The author, who was in the service of France and Venice, was contemporary with, and in several instances a witness of, the events he describes.

[The best English translation is that of ELLIS FARNEWORTH, Lond. 1757, 2 vols. 4to.]

(L. P. ANQUETIL) *Esprit de la ligue, ou histoire politique des troubles de France, pendant le* 16 *et* 17 *siècle.* Paris, 1771, 3 vols. 8vo. From 1559 to 1599. Very useful for self-instruction.

The contemporary memoirs that belong here, are:

Mémoires de MICHAEL DE CASTELNAU, *servans à donner la vérité de l'histoire des regnes de François II., Charles IX., et Henri III.*, (from 1559 to 1570,) *augmentés*, par J. G. LABOUREUR. Bruxelles, 1731, fol. In the *Collect. Gén.* T. xli.—xlvi. The observations of Laboureur have added thus much to its bulk.

Mémoires de GASPAR DE SAULX S. DE TAVANNES, *depuis* 1530 *jusqu' à sa mort* 1573, *dressés par son fils.* à Paris, 1574, fol. In the *Collect. Gén.* T. xxvi. xxvii. Important for the latter years.

Mémoires de PIERRE DE BOURDEILLE S. DE BRANTOME. à Leyde, 1666, 6 vols. 12mo. A lively delineation of the luxury and dissoluteness of the age, particularly among the higher classes; drawn from his own experience.

4. The general appearance of the French civil war, is that of a war of religion, but at the same time it was promoted by the respective attempts of the two chiefs to take advantage of the king's weakness, and acquire the government. The domestic relations of the court, therefore, are as important as the relations of the religious parties; for the elements of the war lay even more in the jealousy of the Bourbons, as princes of the blood, towards the powerful families of the nobility, especially the Guises, than in any religious intolerance.

5. But when the flame had once burst forth, and the Bourbons had become the chiefs of the Huguenot faction, no speedy suppression of it could be expected, because it was not only fed by fanaticism, but by the personal passions of the leaders. The three first religious wars were properly

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but one, each interrupted by a truce, called a peace; they were without any definite result, because the opposite party was always forced to concede to the Huguenots what the edict of the noble chancellor L'Hôpital would have conceded to them before the war. But fanaticism, which must always rage for its full time, retained the ascendency; and aided by the discontents of the time, produced the dreadful massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, which deferred all approximation of religious parties, even out of France, for almost a century.

Jan. 18, 1562.

Aug. 24, 1572.

The first war, March, 1562, terminated by the edict of Amboise, March 19, 1563.—The second war, Sept., 1567, and was terminated by the peace at Longjumeau, March 23, 1568.—The third war, Sept., 1568, ended by the peace of St. Germain en Laye, Aug. 8, 1570. The massacre of St. Bartholomew caused the fourth war, which was terminated by the peace of Rochelle, June 24, 1573.

6. These first wars had already occasioned the interference of foreign powers, since both Elizabeth and some of the German princes had given assistance to the Huguenots. But the convulsion did not become actually important to general politics, till the weakness of the miserable Henry III., at the close of the fifth war of religion, gave rise to the league—an association of Jacobins, disguised under the fashion of the age. For a chief, like Henry of Guise, the throne itself was the only object: and why did he not take possession of it, when by the flight of the king it stood actually vacant within his grasp? He soon fell the victim of an assassin; and the question respecting the future succession now engrossed the attention, not only of France, but also of foreign countries, since Henry of Bourbon was a Huguenot, and by the murder of the last Valois, the rightful heir to the throne. This prince had to make good his rights by the sword; and though he received some assistance from Elizabeth, it was the interference of foreign powers which rendered the conflict arduous and long. Not even his abjuration could induce either Philip II. or the Pope to give up their plans. But the Bourbons retained the throne, for a great man stood at their head.

League, May, 1576.

May, 1588.

Dec. 23.

Though the league existed as early as 1576, and had led to repeated commotions, 1577 and 1579, (sixth and seventh wars,) its full operation

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began from the time when the extinction of the Valois with Henry III. was certain, after the death of Francis duke of Alençon, (Anjou,) June 10, 1584. Hence its renewal, its central point in Paris under the sixteen, and the edict of Nemours forcibly obtained against the Huguenots, July 7, 1585, of which the eighth war, 1585—1595, that terminated with the capture of Paris, March 22, 1594, was the consequence. The negotiations with the Pope could only have been successfully terminated by the great diplomatist the Cardinal d'Ossat.

7. Though France was thus saved from anarchy, the source of these disturbances was not yet closed. Neither of the two parties was wholly annihilated, while the Huguenots still held their political existence by a very doubtful tenure. But fanaticism was in some measure cooled; and, thanks to the compacts concluded since the time of L'Hôpital, the idea of toleration was not altogether lost, even in the midst of these troubles. A prince, who like Henry IV. possessed the confidence of his people, was in a situation to effect much; and thus the edict of Nantes, and consequent security of the Huguenots, were the more easily brought about. Still, however, the partisans on either side remained armed, and the peaceable preservation of their rights depended more on the personal character of the monarch and the circumstances of the times, than on the edict. Beneficial as was the influence of the Huguenots in almost every branch of civilization, the internal constitution could hardly acquire a stable character, so long as the government had to fear an opposition, which could so easily be abused by the ambition of its leaders.

April 13, 1598.

8. Greater stability, however, was given to the forms of foreign policy; and the uninterrupted influence of France on the political system of Europe, was perceptible immediately on its regeneration. The hatred to Spain, whose excessive power was the dread of Europe, took deeper root than ever, on account of Philip's intrigues during these troubles. Scarcely was quiet restored in France, when open war was somewhat prematurely declared against Philip II., and to support it England was, with difficulty, and Holland more easily, induced to an alliance. To rise above religious differences was ever the constant merit of French policy.

War with Spain, 1595, terminated by a separate peace at Vervins, May 2, 1598. A mutual restitution made of conquests (see above, page 71). An end thereby put to Philip's ambitious views on France.

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9. With the consciousness of power, increased as it was under Sully's administration, new projects were formed, which concerned not France merely, but were intended to change the whole system of Europe. The idea of what was termed a European republic, or a union of states, the members of which should be equal in power though dissimilar in form, and submit their controversies to the decision of a senate, seems to have been an idea long and deeply meditated; nay, it had even been actually proposed to Elizabeth. A prince, who had grown up in the midst of a revolution, which he had himself terminated victoriously, would be highly susceptible of revolutionary projects, and with him all his contemporaries. But did the project spring immediately and solely from his hatred of Spain and Austria, or did it result from the reflections of a master mind, which, foreboding the certain approach of a general crisis, such as the thirty years' war soon produced, was anxious to become in time the director of its course, and able to turn it to the advantage of Europe? However this may be, the humiliation of the house of Hapsburg was certainly the first object attempted; and the republic, so called, was kept in the background, as a favourite idea. The whole project was ripe for execution, when it was frustrated by the dagger of the assassin Ravaillac.

Sully. European republic.

May 14, 1610.

Estimate of the project and its practicability, according to Sully's accounts. Preparations made in England, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. The general hatred against Spain was the impelling motive, and the vacant succession of Cleves and Juliers was to supply a pretext. The five elective kingdoms, and the concession of the two Indies to Spain, may furnish later politicians with matter for sarcasm; but the moderation of Henry offers in return a weighty lesson.

10. However unfortunate for France might be the murder of Henry, it is difficult to say how far it was so for Europe. It saved her from an immediate great war, the issue of which must have been the more uncertain, in proportion to the remoteness of its aim. But France lost with him, and with the removal of Sully by the fury of the court factions, which were rekindled by the civil wars under Mary of Medici, almost all foreign influence. What was it to other countries, whether a Marshal d'Ancre

1621.

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or a Luynes guided the helm of state? Happy was it, that other countries knew not how to take advantage of their imbecility. When, however, it was delivered into the firm and steady hand of Richelieu, a new and vigorous influence was again obtained in the affairs of the political system of Europe.

Histoire de la mère et du fils, c'est à dire de Marie de Medicis femme du grand Henry; et mère de Louis XIII., par L. F. MEZERAY, (or rather by RICHELIEU,) 2 vols. 12mo. à Amsterdam, 1730. It comes down to 1620.

Vie de Marie de Medicis, Reine de France et de Navarre, 3 vols. 8vo. à Paris, 1774.

II. SPAIN.

11. Spain, yet more than France, acquired during this period a fixed character from its king, Philip II. Catholicism and its maintenance was made, more than ever, the basis of politics, and so in fact it still remains. The consequence with respect to foreign relations, was wars with half of Europe, France, the Netherlands, England; all to no purpose! Nay, even for the nation itself it was an unhappy chance, that prevented the entrance of the great revolution of ideas then abroad. The loss of all share in those advantages, which it so liberally produced elsewhere, threw Spain into the background, while it advanced the nations around her.

12. The treasures of America, then, were not the chief cause of the decay of Spain. The intellect of her people was fettered; she aimed at a fruitless dominion of the sea; she mingled without success in all the disputes of her neighbours; and even her one success, the conquest of Portugal, turned to her disadvantage.

Portugal and its colonies were usurped after the extinction of the male line there, 1580. If the powers of a state increased in proportion to the square miles it contain, and the number of its inhabitants, the splendid period of Spain must now have begun.

LUIS CABRERA DE CORDOUA, *Istoria del Rey Felipe II.*; en Madrid, 1719, folio.

The history of Philip II., king of Spain, by ROB. WATSON, 2 vols. 4to. London, 1777. Unhappily little else than an account of external wars.

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13. It was Philip II., therefore, that made Spain what it has since remained. The expulsion of the Moors gave it a new blow; and the mode of government by ministers, which under Philip III. became a maxim of state, tended to accelerate its downfal, as the ruling favourites were never very successfully chosen. 1610. 1598—1621.

History of the reign of Philip III., by WATSON. 4to. London, 1783.

III. ENGLAND.

14. England, no less than Spain, acquired its character as a state during this period; and to have given it this character, is the great merit of Elizabeth. Here, too, religion was the basis, but then *this* was the Protestant religion; it preserved, however, the hierarchical forms as a support of the throne, while the king was declared the supreme head of the church. Religion thus became a fundamental part of the constitution; and the conviction, that both must stand or fall together, became more and more deeply impressed on the national mind.

15. These circumstances naturally established the relations of England with the continent. Elizabeth became the opponent of Philip II., and it was this conflict with Spain that called out all the energies of the nation, and laid the foundation of its greatness by directing these energies to the attainment of maritime superiority. Thus the Protestant religion was the foundation of British power. The interests of the government and nation were the same; and Elizabeth's successor, though apparently more powerful in the possession of Scotland, by attempting to separate these, prepared the ruin of the former.

Besides the chapters in the general works of Hume and Rapin, we mention;

CAMDENI *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha.* Lond. 1675, folio.

DE KERALIO, *Histoire d'Elizabeth, reine d'Angleterre.* Paris, 1786, 5 vols. 8vo.

IV. GERMANY.

16. Germany, during the present period, gave rise to few occurrences of general interest to the rest of Europe·

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but as religion had become the mainspring of all politics, the country which had been its cradle, could never become wholly unimportant. While the two parties after the peace were watching each other with a distrust, which petty occurrences helped to increase, it was felt in foreign countries, that a war, breaking out here, must almost necessarily become universal. The personal character of the emperors,
† 1564. both Ferdinand I. and his milder son Maximilian
† 1576. II., contributed much towards preserving the peace;
† 1612. and Rudolph II. was willing to leave the world undisturbed, if the world would but leave him in quiet.

17. This was nevertheless the period during which the great storm gathered. While continual collisions could not fail to give rise to small causes of controversy, the Jesuits, who had established themselves in Austria from the time of Rudolph II., contributed essentially towards inflaming the hatred. The consequences were, associations on both
May 4, 1608. sides; the evangelical union under the electorate
Aug. 30, 1609. of the Palatinate, and the Catholic league under Bavaria; both in themselves weak, although both capable of becoming dangerous: the latter, indeed, was already in some degree become so from the character of its leader, Duke Maximilian. In this unsettled state of affairs, the competition for a small German country, like Juliers, Cleves, and Berg, was sufficient to expose, not Germany merely, but Europe, to the dangers of a general war, which was only suppressed by the murder of Henry IV. and the internal dissensions in the house of Austria, during which the indolent Rudolph II. was gradually driven from the possession of his whole dominion by his brother Mathias. The further development, however, of the relations of this house, since the succession had already been secured by
1611. Mathias, to the bigoted Ferdinand of Stiria, and a closer connexion formed with the Spanish line, opened nothing but the most melancholy prospect.

The vacancy of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg, in March, 1609, caused at first only a contest between Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate of Neuburg, the two last of which put themselves in possession, and remained so after the treaty at Xanten, Nov. 12, 1614. But it was the interference of foreign powers that made the quarrel so important, since, 1. the emperor sequestrated the country, 2. Henry IV. joined

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the union against it, and after his murder, 3. the contest arising between the princes who were in possession, involved Holland and Spain.

18. Happily for the west of Europe, the relations in the east during this period were less menacing, though not much more peaceful. The wild spirit of conquest of the Porte perished with Solyman II. His successors, educated in the seraglio, were hardly ever to be seen at the head of their armies; and the nation itself underwent those changes, which no nomadic people, that has hitherto existed, has escaped; although no immediate weakness ensued. Thus Austria attained by slow but progressive steps to the full possession of Hungary; but the position of Transylvania, which insisted on having its own princes, was a source of strife; and yet greater might be foreseen from the introduction of the new religion, although liberty of worship was as early as 1606 allowed to its professors.

Solyman II. died during his campaign in Hungary, Sept. 4, 1566.—A truce was concluded for eight years, and repeatedly prolonged till 1593. The Turks still retained a great part of southern Hungary.—The grand victory over their fleet, after the conquest of Cyprus by the Venetians and Spaniards, at Lepanto, Oct. 7, 1572, deprived them of the preponderance at sea.—The Hungarian war was renewed, 1593—1606; most of the fortresses fell into the hands of the Austrians; although in the truce of twenty years, 1606, the Turks retained some of them.

19. Politics appear, in this period, by no means under an improved aspect. Subject to the controlling influence of fanaticism, they too often sanctioned the adoption of any measures which that fanaticism pronounced good. Although some distinguished individuals, as Henry, Orange, and Elizabeth, rose above the age, they were for ever surrounded by the conspiracies of assassins, to which some of them fell victims. The influence of the priesthood was unfortunately greater than it had ever been before; and the Jesuits were not the only ones who abused it. What the spirit of intolerance could do, even among Protestants, was but too clearly shown in Holland and Saxony.

20. Political economy attracted more attention in this period than in the former, because necessity demanded it. In France it was promoted by Sully, and Elizabeth felt its importance; but the finance system of the Dutch had the greatest influence on foreign countries.

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Sully's system was no other than that of order and frugality. He was a great reformer, because great abuses were prevalent; and an elevated strength of character supported his correct insight into affairs. Modern schools should not refer to him; he knew nothing of their sublime speculations. His rule did not depend upon general positions, but upon what was expedient for France. And happy it was for his fame, that the direction of private activity on the part of governments, was then so much less the fashion.

Mémoires des royales Œconomies d'état par MAX. DE BETHUNE, DUC DE SULLY. First edition, 1650—1662, 4 vols. fol. The last perfect one is Londres, 1778, 10 vols. 12mo. (The edition par M. D. L. D. L. (DE L'ECLUSE DE LOGES) Londres, 1745, 3 vols. 4to, is not merely reduced to a modern style, but remodeled in a totally different form.)—A treasure for posterity!

Eloges de Sully et des Œconomies royales, par MIRABEAU, 2 vols. 8vo, 1789.

The system of indirect taxation was first perfected in Holland. The exigencies of the last war were met by the excise, which other states afterwards introduced, and which became so much the more important to modern Europe, as its revenues increased in the same proportion as luxury.

21. Many circumstances combined to promote the advancement of the art of war. The system of standing armies was further matured in France and Holland; by Henry IV., on account of his situation, and the great designs he had in view; in the Netherlands, by necessity during the long war. France, nevertheless, had not in peace more than fourteen thousand, the republic scarcely twenty thousand men. The talents of Henry, Maurice, and Alexander of Parma, and other great generals, could not but improve the system of military tactics; the art of conducting sieges, especially, was carried to the highest perfection. Nothing like the naval power of England and Holland had ever been seen before. The royal navy of Britain, founded by Henry VIII., first grew into importance under Elizabeth; and the Dutch force at sea soon became formidable, both from the fleet of the States themselves and those of the great trading companies.

III. *History of the Colonies, from* 1556 *to* 1618.

1. The colonial affairs of the Europeans, and the general commerce founded on them, underwent the most important changes during this period. These were principally

caused by the monopolizing pretensions of the Spaniards, which excited the jealousy of other nations, and gave rise to wars. It was during this period, that, 1. the establishments of the Portuguese in the East Indies fell to pieces; while, on the other hand, 2. the Dutch reared theirs and usurped the commerce of the world; and, 3. the English entered upon the field and became the rivals of the latter. But, 4. a different form was given both to commerce and colonial politics, by the establishment of great chartered companies.

Portuguese.

2. The Portuguese dominion in the East Indies had been declining a long time, from the corruption which had entered into its internal government; its ruin was accelerated by exterior events. The former are to be traced in the decline of morality, with which the spirit of heroism and patriotism among the higher classes had perished, and in the avarice and sensuality, which in the Indies were carried to such a shameless extent, that the Portuguese name excited horror. As the sole desire of each was to enrich merely himself, the Indies soon cost the crown more than they yielded. But in the organization of the administration, there were also defects which hastened its downfal.

The principal defects of the Portuguese administration in India seem to have been the following: 1. The very frequent (at least triennial) changes of viceroys, which were usually attended by a change of most of the other officers. The offices were therefore triennial benefices. 2. The restrictions, which gradually became greater and greater, of the power of the viceroys; partly by the council placed at their side, partly by the division into three independent governments, Monomotapa, (Ceylon,) India, and Malacca, by King Sebastian. 3. The state of commerce, which, left open to the civil and military officers, degenerated into monopolies, which were often very oppressive. 4. The defective administration of justice, modeled strictly after that of the mother country. From the decisions of the highest tribunal (*relaçaon*) there was, with few exceptions, no appeal. 5. The overwhelming influence of the clergy, who, by their wealth, made themselves masters of every thing; and the tyranny of the inquisition, which was no where more severe than in Goa.

Observaçones sobre las principaes causas da decadencia dos Portuguezes na Asia, escritas por Diogo do Couto, *en forma de dialogo como titulo de* Soldado pratico, *publicadas de ordem da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa,* por Antonio Caetano *do Amaral,* Lisboa, 1790.—The author, himself a commander in India, wrote his work in the form of a dialogue, between a soldier who had returned and one

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who had been appointed governor in Goa, 1606. It remained in manuscript till the academy purchased and printed it. This is a source, hitherto unknown, for acquiring an exact knowledge of this miserable administration.

3. To these internal causes, some foreign ones are to be added, even before the rivalry of the Dutch. It was with
1571. difficulty that the Portuguese sustained the attacks
1581. of the native princes; and the union with Spain was in itself an evil for its eastern possessions, since they were subsequently not only neglected, but also exposed to the attacks of the enemies of Spain.

Macao in China obtained, 1585, in consideration of services rendered against the pirates. As a station for the China trade, and more especially the Japan, the settlement was of great importance.

4. Brazil soon felt the consequences of this union, for it became the mark of English freebooters. French bucaniers, too, had attempted a settlement on the charming island of Maranham, but being soon driven away by the
1612. Portuguese, they made themselves masters of the northern regions, round the mouths of the river
1614. Maragnon; from whence arose the governments of Gram Para and Maranham. The exertions of the Jesuits to convert the natives were unhappily rendered of no avail by the iniquitous attempts made by the colonists to enslave them.

Belem, the capital of Gram Para, founded, and the mouths of the river Maragnon explored, 1618.

5. The possessions in Africa and those in Brazil mutually influenced each other, since the former only furnished slaves for the latter. The animosities which were thus caused led to the establishment of St. Paolo di Loanda, and
1578. thence to the subjugation of Congo and Angola, which it was intended to secure by missions.

Spanish. 6. Spain made an important addition to her colonial system, not only by the acquisition of the Portuguese possessions, but also by the usurpation of the Philippine islands in the East Indies. What might not these islands have become, through the communication with India and China on the one side, and Mexico and Peru on the other, had not the severe restrictions imposed upon them rendered it impossible?

Possession taken of the Philippines, 1564, for founding missions.

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Luçon, the principal island, occupied, 1572, and a settlement made at Manilla. The administration committed to a viceroy; but the priests were the principal landed proprietors.—A regular trade was established in 1572 between Acapulco and Manilla, by means of only one or two ships, (the galleons of the South Sea,) despatched once a year. Great losses occasioned by this to the government, and complaints made respecting the silver exported from Mexico. Religion only prevented the total abandonment of the islands.

The regulations respecting the Philippines, made by Philip II., and afterwards those by Philip III., are to be found in the *Leyes*, especially L. IX. No other king ever made so many regulations in the colonies as Philip II., and yet the only new institution he introduced there was the inquisition. (See p. 56.) The regulations on this subject may be found in the *Leyes*, L. I. tit. 19.

7. While the Spaniards, now masters of the Portuguese colonies, claimed the sole dominion of both Indies and their seas, two new nations, the Dutch and the English, entered the field as their rivals, and tore from them that which, from its very nature, they could never have maintained. During their conflict for liberty, the Dutch had already succeeded in obtaining possession of the commerce of the world; their activity was unfettered by restrictions, and they soon became aware that the Indian branch was best worth possessing, while Philip's interdict only excited their desire to obtain it. The first voyage, successfully accomplished by Cornelius Hautman, roused a universal emulation to participate in this trade, and several free companies were formed for the purpose.

Dutch.

1595.

To account for the prosperity of the Dutch trade during the war, we must remark, 1. that the states of Holland had for a long time carried on a considerable commercial intercourse both with the east and west of Europe, and possessed very important fisheries; 2. that a spirit of adventure was awakened by the privateerings of the exiles on the water; and it was found out how weak the Spaniards were on the sea; 3. that when the port of Lisbon was closed against the Netherlands in 1594, they saw themselves forced to the alternative, to lose their carrying trade in Indian goods, or import for themselves from India. Finally, 4. many capitalists removed from Belgium to the Dutch cities.

Besides the works mentioned, p. 23:

Geschichte des Hollandischen Handels, nach LUZAK'S *Hollands Rykdom bearbeitet*, von A. F. LÜDER. Leipzig, 1788, 8vo.

8. Rise of the Dutch East India Company, and its organization. Circumstances show that the dominion of this powerful corporation could only be

Dutch East India Company.

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gradually formed; but the leading features of its constitution were immediately developed. According to its first charter, afterwards constantly renewed, it was a political as well as mercantile body; in the latter respect wholly independent, in the former little more than nominally subordinate to the states-general.

Its first charter was granted March 29, 1602, by which it acquired, 1. the monopoly of the Dutch trade beyond the Cape and the Straits of Magellan; 2. the right of transacting political matters and of making settlements in India, always, however, in the name of the states-general. The funds of the company consisted in stock, to the amount of about six millions and a half of guilders; it was divided into six chambers, of which the one at Amsterdam alone had half, the one at Zealand one-fourth of the whole. The company in Holland was governed by a board of seventeen directors or managers, (selected from the greater board of the sixty directors of the separate chambers,) who had the chief direction of its affairs. Each chamber took care of its own concerns, the fitting out of its ships, its own purchases and sales. In India, in 1610, a governor-general was appointed, or supreme civil and military magistrate, who was, however, assisted by the council of the Indies, out of the members of which were chosen the governors and the governors-general. The number of governors naturally increased with the enlargement of territory.

History of the D. E. I. Company, in the *Hallischen Allg. Welt-Historie*, B. 26.—The materials of its history are scattered, partly in the works on the commerce of Holland, partly in travels in and descriptions of the East Indies.

Geschichte des Holländischen Colonialwesens in Ostindien; von F. SAALFELD. Götting. 1813, 2 vols. 8vo.—The writer enjoyed the use of hitherto unknown but official accounts respecting financial affairs.

9. So far as settlements and possessions in India itself were necessary for the prosecution of the Indian trade, the establishment of this company seems justified; these could not then be effected either by private persons or by the state. And who at that time knew the evils inseparable from monopolies? Though the company did at last sink under them, it nevertheless remains,—less on account of the extent than the permanency of its prosperity,—an unparalleled phenomenon, which could no where exist except among a people who could become exceedingly rich without becoming luxurious. Dutch.

10. The ruling maxims of the company were soon developed. The strict maintenance of its monopoly, a strict watch over its officers, an entire prohibition of any trade on

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their part, promotion according to merit, but never except regularly, as well as the most punctual payment,—these were the means by which it soon rose so high, that Holland derived a great portion of its riches through this channel. In its settlements in India, it at first employed the Molucca and Sunda islands, where Batavia on Java was already fixed upon as the seat of its Indian sovereignty. By confining itself afterwards chiefly to the islands, it escaped the various revolutions of the continent of India, where at that time the Mongolian empire was so powerful, that the thought of making conquests could not be entertained.

Though the Dutch could only obtain settlements in India by force of arms, they were aided by the general hatred of the Portuguese.—Establishments were made at Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, and Tidor, from the year 1607.—Intercourse opened with Japan, 1611.—A settlement had existed on Java from 1618, and Jacatra was taken and destroyed, when Batavia was founded there in its stead by Koen, 1619.

11. The rapid prosperity of this company created every where a prejudice in favour of such institutions, so that by degrees several of the most important branches of the commerce of the republic were committed to privileged associations. And if these monopolies were injurious, the extraordinary variety of means of gain caused the injury to be less felt. The whole proud structure of the manufacturing, commercial, and colonial system of the Netherlands, was then displayed in all its parts, although not completed till the ensuing period.

12. The English, too, under Elizabeth, became active and successful competitors in the great branches of general commerce. Having been trained by a long and considerable traffic with their neighbours, they were naturally prepared for bolder speculation and enterprise, and soon extended their views to the most distant regions of the world. The intercourse they already had with Persia, by way of Russia, was soon followed by a connexion with the two Indies. But the pretensions and resistance of the Spaniards in those seas, necessarily excited continued hostilities. For a long time, however, (till the war of 1588,) it advanced no further than piracy and privateering, which was excited by the rich homeward-bound cargoes of the Spanish; but although petty in its English.

nature, it extended over the whole seas, even to the circumnavigation of the globe.

A commerce had been commenced in 1553 with Russia, by way of Archangel, favoured by Czar Ivan Vasilevitch; and over the Caspian Sea to Persia, and even to India.—Vain attempts made to discover a North-East or North-West passage, especially by Forbisher, Davis, Hudson, etc., 1576—1610. Drake's voyage round the world, 1577—1580. The first English voyage to India, round the Cape, 1591.

A. ANDERSON'S *Historical Deduction*, etc., see page 23.

13. With the progress of this remote foreign commerce, the spirit of monopoly revived in England; and no one made more liberal use of it than Elizabeth. The principal branches of foreign commerce were conferred on chartered companies; thus were formed the Russian, the African, the Turkish (Levant) companies, that of adventurers on the continent, and others. It was in entire accordance with the spirit of this system, that the commerce with the East Indies should be committed exclusively to a company, who, however, like the rest, were confined to mercantile and had nothing to do with political measures.

1554—1581.

The old East India Company received its charter, Dec. 31, 1600. It received, as the Dutch did shortly after, the exclusive right of trading to all the countries and places situated beyond the Cape and the Straits of Magellan, not yet occupied by any European power. The first voyage was made under Lancaster to Achem on Sumatra, and Bantam on Java, 1601; and commercial treaties were concluded with the native princes. But possessing nothing but factories at Bantam, Achem, etc., (and especially at Surat, since 1612, on account of the Persian trade,) and no forts, it could not compete with the Dutch, especially on the Moluccas, the object of both; and its traffic remained very limited.

Annals of the Honourable East India Company, from their establishment by the charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, *to the union of the London and English East India Companies*, 1707—1708, by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., *keeper of his Majesty's state papers, and historiographer to the Honourable East India Company*, London, 1810, 3 vols. 4to. A simple narrative, in the form of annals, entirely drawn from public documents, and therefore the leading work for the history of the first, or London Company.

14. During this period, also, the British founded settlements on the coast of North America, whose prospects of success as agricultural colonies depended upon very different grounds from those of the others. The great obstacles which the savage nature of the country and natives threw in the way, could only be overcome by the most persevering

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industry; but was it not this very circumstance that laid the foundation of a structure which was to endure for ages?

First, though unsuccessful, attempts made under Elizabeth from 1578, in the hopes of finding countries rich in gold, especially under Raleigh in 1583 and 1587. But the first chartered society for this purpose was formed under James I., after the peace with Spain. The London and Plymouth companies chartered, 1606. The former for the southern part of the coast, (Virginia, 34°—41° N. lat.,) the latter for the northern, (New England, 42°—45° N. lat.) Only Virginia flourished to any extent. Foundation of Jamestown, the first town on the Chesapeake bay, 1607.—Cultivation of tobacco in Virginia, and negroes introduced, 1616. The Bermuda islands occupied by the London company, 1612, but the colonies could not prosper under the restrictions of the company. The colonists, however, brought with them a taste for free government. In 1619 the first general assembly was convened, and a constitution modelled after that of the mother country.—Dispute of the king with the company, and its abolishment, 1624. The prosperity of the Newfoundland fishery was connected with these undertakings. The whale fishery of Greenland was pursued with great succes by the English, as early as the year 1600.

W. Robertson, *History of America*, books ix. and x., *containing the history of Virginia to the year* 1688; *and of New England to the year* 1652, Lond., 1796. The best account of the rise of the British settlements.

[*A history of the Colonies planted by the English on the continent of North America, from their settlement to the commencement of that war which terminated in their Independence.* By John Marshall. 8vo.]

15. Though these attempts were but a weak beginning, they necessarily led, in connexion with the pretensions of the Portuguese and Spaniards, to the maintenance of the freedom of the sea, which England and Holland defended with the sword, and Grotius with the pen. A wide field was now opened for practical politics; but the immediate influence of the colonies upon them could not yet be great, because the enterprises we have mentioned were all private adventures, which government permitted, without affording them any further encouragement. It was yet some time ere privateering and hostilities in the colonies were followed by wars between the mother states.

Hug. Grotius, *mare liberum, sive de jure quod Bataris competit ad Indiæ commercia, Dissertatio*, Lugd. Bat. 1618.

16. France, also, made some attempts to found colonies, but the few which did not altogether fail, were rather important for the future than the present. They were confined to North America, where, from the com- French.

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mencement of the seventeenth century, the settlements in Canada and Acadia acquired greater stability by the foundation of Quebec. But the culture of the soil was less the real object, than the trade in peltry and the fisheries.

FOURTH PERIOD. *From* 1618 *to* 1660.

As a general leading work down to 1637, KHEVENHÜLLER, see above, page 61.

1. The important general wars which distinguish this period were the necessary cause of a closer connexion of interests among the European states; England alone stood aloof, being sufficiently embarrassed by her own civil broils. The causes of this lay, 1st, in the much nearer alliance which again took place, on Ferdinand's accession to the throne, between the Spanish and Austrian families, and which was further cemented by the influence of the Jesuits at the two courts; 2dly, in the policy of Cardinal Richelieu, (directed against the house of Hapsburg,) and his extensive influence in Europe; 3dly, in the effect which these circumstances produced by bringing the northern powers, especially Sweden, to take part in the disputes of southern Europe.

2. Politics and religion remained during this period as closely interwoven as before; the latter was still the spring which set the former in motion. The Reformation was the source of most of the storms which arose: but these, which in the former period had been almost confined to single states, now shook the whole political system of Europe, and were followed by more general consequences.

I. *History of the thirty years' war and its results, down to the peace of Westphalia and the Pyrenees.*

The history of the thirty years' war constitutes an interesting section of the history of the German empire; but is most important for its bearings on the law of nations. A treatise upon it by an historian who shall regard it in its most interesting light, that is, as it affected Europe and the whole age, is still a desideratum. The works deserving of mention are:

Histoire des guerres et négociations qui précédèrent le traité de Westphalie, composée sur les mémoires du Compte d'Avaux, par GUIL. HIACYNTHE BOUGEANT. Paris, 1751, 3 vols. 4to. The compiler was a

Jesuit. The two last parts contain the history of the conclusion of peace.

J. C. KRAUSE, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs und Westphälischen Friedens.* Halle, 1782, 8vo.

Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs, von FR. SCHILLER. Liepzig, 1802, 2 Thle. 8vo.

Geschichte des dressigjährigen Kriegs, von LORENZ WESTENRIEDER, in the *Münchner historischen Calendar*, 1804 to 1806. By no means devoid of original inquiries and views.

3. The thirty years' war made Germany the centre-point of European politics. It was not, however, a war carried on from beginning to end with one plan and for one object. No one at its commencement could have foreseen its duration and extent. But the train of war was every where laid, and required only the match to set it going; more than one war was joined to it, and swallowed up in it; and the melancholy truth, that war feeds itself, was never more clearly displayed.

The general causes of the spread and duration of this war, consisted, 1. in the participation which the German league took in it; 2. in the renewal in 1621 of the war between Holland and Spain, which became interwoven with the German; 3. in the implication of the northern powers, especially Sweden, since 1635; 4. in the share taken in it by France from 1635.—These, however, were only the external causes. It would not have continued so long without the internal,—the spirit of religious faction, the consequent dissolution of the constitution of the empire, (no diet having been convened since 1613,) and the projects and hopes, which were gradually formed in various quarters.

4. Though the war, which first broke out in Bohemia, concerned only the house of Austria, yet by its originating in religious disputes, by its peculiar character as a religious war, and by the measures adopted both by the insurgents and the emperor, it acquired such an extent, that even the quelling of the insurrection was insufficient to put a stop to it.

Spread of the Protestant party (*utraquistes*) throughout Bohemia, as well as Austria and Hungary, where Bethlem Gabor, Vaivode of Transylvania, seized the throne through their co-operation. First disturbances break out in Prague, caused by the abuses of the imperial governor, May 23, 1618, and the war begun under Mathias († 20th of March, 1619). Revolt of his successor Ferdinand II., and the crown of Bohemia bestowed on the elector Ferdinand V. of the Palatinate, Aug. 26, 1619.—As the head of the Protestant union, as the son-in-law of James I., and as the ally of Bethlem Gabor, he had sufficient resources both within and without Germany if he had but known how to

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use them.—The counter-movements of Ferdinand II. were highly judicious, for being already in alliance with Spain, he gained over the league also by the compact with Maximilian of Bavaria, (Oct. 8,) made Saxony his own, and rendered the Union impotent. Even before the defeat on the White mountain near Prague, Nov. 8, 1620, the fate of Frederic V. might be considered as decided.—Subjugation of Bohemia, annihilation of its privileges, and horrible revenge.

Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs nach ungedruckten Papieren, von C. W. BREYER. Munich, 1811. The first volume, and unhappily the last, reaches from 1615 to 1621. It is in reality a history of Maximilian of Bavaria, and the part he took in the war, compiled from original documents in his own hand-writing, and private correspondence; with much secret information respecting the internal and particularly the psychological relations.

5. Though the Bohemian war was apparently terminated, yet the flame had communicated to Germany and Hungary, and new fuel was added by the act of proscription promulgated against the elector Frederic and his adherents. From this the war derived that revolutionary character, which was henceforward peculiar to it; it was a step that could not but lead to further results, for the question of the relations between the emperor and his states, was in a fair way of being practically considered. New and bolder projects were also formed in Vienna and Madrid, where it was resolved to renew the war with the Netherlands. Under the present circumstances, the suppression of the Protestant religion and the overthrow of German and Dutch liberty appeared inseparable; while the success of the imperial arms, supported as they were by the league and the co-operation of the Spaniards, gave just grounds for hope.

An edict of proscription published against elector Frederic, Jan. 22, 1621, and the electorate conferred on Bavaria, Feb. 25, 1623.—Dissolution of the Union, and the war transferred to the Palatinate, the hereditary dominion of Frederic, by the aid of Spanish troops from the United Provinces, under Spinola. Tilly, though at first defeated by Ernest of Mansfield at Wisloch, April 29, 1622, achieves a victory over the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen, May 6, and over Christian of Brunswick at Hochst, June 20: capture of the whole Palatinate. But Ernest and Christian remained undaunted, as long as there were any hopes of aid from England, and Lower Germany continued to offer them support.

6. By the carrying of the war into Lower Saxony, the principal seat of the Protestant religion in Germany, (the states of which had appointed Christian IV. of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, head of their confederacy,) the northern

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states had already, though without any beneficial result, been involved in the strife, and the Danish war had broken out. But the elevation of Albert of Wallenstein to the dignity of duke of Friedland and imperial general over the army raised by himself, was of considerably more importance, as it affected the whole course and character of the war. From this time the war was completely and truly revolutionary. The peculiar situation of the general, the manner of the formation as well as the maintenance of his army, could not fail to make it such. What place was there for him and his plans, whatever these might be, in the old order of things? Wallenstein.

Danish war from 1625—1629.—Defeat of Christian IV. at Lutter, near Wolfenbuttel, Aug. 27, 1626, while Wallenstein drives the count of Mansfield from the Elbe to Hungary, where he died, Nov. 30.—Prosecution of the war against Christian IV., principally by Wallenstein, who recovers the countries on the Baltic as far as Stralsund, 1628.—Peace with Christian IV. at Lubeck, in consideration of the restitution of his lands, and the renunciation of all right of interference in the affairs of Germany as king of Denmark, and the sacrifice of his allies, especially the dukes of Mecklenburg, May 12, 1629.

7. The distinguished success of the imperial arms in the north of Germany unveiled the daring schemes of Wallenstein. He did not come forward as conqueror alone, but, by the investiture of Mecklenburg as a state of the empire, as a ruling prince. The age was already accustomed to changes in the legal state of possession. Coronets had been already seized; why not crowns?

The dukes of Mecklenburg put under the ban of the empire, Jan. 19, 1628, and Wallenstein immediately invested with their territories.—He held possession of Pomerania also, and was created generalissimo of the fleets in the ocean and Baltic. The dominion of the Baltic, which he hoped to obtain through the Hanseatic towns, was to be directed against Denmark and Sweden, and who could say what were his ulterior projects?

[*Albrechts von Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg's unprinted confidential autograph Letters, and Official Papers, from* 1627 *to* 1634, *to Arnheim, Aldringer, Gallas, Piccolomini, and other princes and generals of his time. With a Life and Character of Wallenstein.* Published by FRED. FORSTER. Part I., Berlin, 1828, 8vo (in German). The first part of this collection, so important for the real and accurate information it gives us respecting this remarkable man, only comprises the years 1627-28, and leaves us highly desirous of the remainder.]

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8. But the elevation and conduct of this *novus homo*, exasperated and annoyed the Catholic no less than the Protestant states, especially the league and its chief; all implored peace, and Wallenstein's discharge. Thus, at the diet of the July, 1630. electors at Augsburg, the emperor was reduced to the alternative of resigning him or his allies. He chose the former. Wallenstein was dismissed, the majority of his army disbanded, and Tilly nominated commander-in-chief of the forces of the emperor and the league.

(AND. SEB. STUMPF.) *Diplomatische Geschichte der Deutschen Ligue, im 17ten Jahrhundert.* Mit Urkunden. Erfurt, 1800, 8vo. One of the most important contributions to the critical history of this war.

9. On the side of the emperor sufficient care was taken to prolong the war. The refusal to restore the unfortunate Frederic, and even the sale of his upper Palatine to Bavaria, must with justice have excited the apprehensions of the March 9, 1629. other princes. But when the Jesuits finally succeeded, not only in extorting the edict of restitution, but also in causing it to be enforced in the most odious manner, the Catholic states themselves saw with regret that peace could no longer exist.

The edict of restitution contained the two principal points, that, 1st, according to the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, (see p. 47,) the property confiscated since the treaty of Passau should be restored; and 2ndly, the religious peace (all appearance of opposing which was assiduously avoided) should only extend to such as had approved of the confession of Augsburg, but not to the whole reforming party. What, then, may be asked, was left to the Protestants? But the mode of enforcing the edict, by means of imperial troops, produced almost more bitterness than the edict itself.

10. The greater the success that attended the house of Austria, the more actively foreign policy laboured to counteract it. England had taken an interest in the fate of Frederic V. from the first, though this interest was evinced by little beyond fruitless negotiations. Denmark became engaged in the quarrel mostly through the influence of this 1624. power and Holland. Richelieu, from the time he became prime minister of France, had exerted him-1626. self in opposing Austria and Spain. He found employment for Spain in the contests respecting Veltelin, and for Austria soon after, by the war of Mantua. 1627—1630. Willingly would he have detached the German

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league from the interest of the emperor; and though he failed in this, he procured the fall of Wallenstein.

Interference of France in the disputes between Spain and the Grisons respecting Veltelin, important on account of its situation, 1620, terminated advantageously for France and the Grisons, by the treaty at Monçon, March 5, 1626.—Mantuan war of succession, in favour of the duke of Nevers, with Austria, 1627—1630, who remains in possession, by the treaty of Chierasco, April 6, 1631. Thus the supremacy of Spain in Italy was again broken, and French influence re-established; which also remained in possession of the frontier fortresses.

11. Much more important, however, was Richelieu's influence on the war, by the essential share he had in gaining Gustavus Adolphus' active participation in it; though he neither expected nor wished, that he, whom he desired to use only as a tool, should seem half inclined to reverse the relation. The nineteen years of his reign which had already elapsed, together with the Polish war, which lasted nearly that time, had taught the world but little of the real worth of this great and talented hero. The decisive superiority of Protestantism in Germany, under his guidance, soon created a more just knowledge, and at the same time showed the advantages which must result to a victorious supporter of that cause.

Gustavus Adolphus, 1630.

Gustavus Adolphus lands in Germany, June 24, 1630, and an alliance, almost forced, formed between the leading states of Upper Saxony; Pomerania, July 20, Brandenburg, May 4, 1631, and Saxony, (which endeavoured in vain to maintain its independence by a league of neutrality at Leipsic, March, 1631,) while measures were taken for the future acquisition of Pomerania. Subsidiary treaty with France, Jan. 13, 1631, at Bärenwalde; and, previously, a voluntary alliance with William, landgrave of Hesse, Nov. 8, 1630.—After the horrible fate of Magdeburg, May 10, 1631, he still needed a great victory to repair his injured credit.

12. The battle at Leipzig was decisive for Gustavus Adolphus and his party, almost beyond expectation. The league fell asunder; and in a short time he was master of the countries from the Baltic to Bavaria, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. What hopes, what plans, must such success have given rise to, both in him and many of his followers! But the misfortunes and death of Tilly, brought Wallenstein again on the stage as absolute commander-in-chief, bent on plans not a whit less extensive than those he had before formed. No period of the war gave promise of such great

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and rapid successes or reverses as the present, for both leaders were determined to effect them; but the
1632. victory of Lützen, while it cost Gustavus his life, prepared the fall of Wallenstein.

The victory of the king, in connexion with Saxony, near Leipzig, Sept. 7, 1631.—Conquest of Bohemia by the Saxons; advance of the king into the territory of the leaguers, and after the battle of Lech, April 5, 1632, (at which Tilly was killed,) into Bavaria as far as Munich, May 7.—The king and Wallenstein opposed to each other at Nuremberg, June—Aug.—The war transferred to Saxony. Battle at Lützen; and Gustavus Adolphus and Pappenheim slain in the combat, Nov. 6, 1632.

13. Though the fall of Gustavus Adolphus frustrated his own private views, it did not those of his party. It was, however, already felt in Germany, that even Swedish dominion might be oppressive; and the jealousy of Saxony was not extinguished even by victory. The school of Gustavus produced a number of men, great in the cabinet and in the field; yet it was hard, even for an Oxenstiern, to preserve the importance of Sweden unimpaired; and it was but partially done by the alliance of Heilbronn.

What were the aims of Gustavus Adolphus? Necessarily the maintenance of the acquired superiority of the Protestant party in Germany. This presupposes, 1st, that he should himself have possession there; 2ndly, that he should remunerate and strengthen his friends and partisans. Who can tell to what extremes this might have led, in an age which was accustomed to violent changes of territory and creations of princes?—Had the hero, snatched away in the midst of his career, himself definitely fixed his plans? Conclusion of the treaty of Heilbronn with the four circles under Swedish direction, April 13, 1633; Saxony however did not accede to it.

SAM. PUFFENDORF, *Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis libri XXVI.* (from 1630—1654). Francf. 1707, fol.

Histoire de Gustave Adolphe, par D. M. (MAUVILLON). Amsterd. 1764, 4to.

14. If the forces of Sweden overrun almost every part of Germany in the following months, under the guidance of the pupils of the king, Bernard of Weimar and Gustavus Horn, we must apparently attribute it to Wallenstein's intentional inactivity in Bohemia. The distrust of him increased in Vienna the more, as he took but little trouble to diminish it; and though his fall was not sufficient to atone for treachery, if proved, it was for his equivocal character

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and imprudence. His death probably saved Germany from a catastrophe.

The principal document substantiating the charge against Wallenstein, is the report of Scesina, his negotiator to the emperor, according to which he had entered as early as 1630 into secret negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus. 1. But had not Scesina an interest in proving him guilty? 2. Was every passionate expression of Wallenstein an actual plan?—He was murdered at Eger, Feb. 25, 1634. The most important information respecting his history lies buried in archives.

Materials are contained in:

Beiträge zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs, von CHR. GOTTL. von Murr. Nürnberg, 1790; and

Die Ermordung Albrecht's Herzogs von Friedland, herausgegeben, von C. G. v. Murr. Halle, 1806.—The Latin original of Scesina's statement is here first made known.

The Apology and Defence of the Murderers of Wallenstein, printed in Eger, ten days after the deed, was reprinted in *Morgenblatt*, F. 1816. No. clxxv.—clxxviii.

15. A great change took place upon the death of Wallenstein; as a prince of the blood, Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, obtained the command. Thus an end was put to plans of revolutions from this quarter. But in the same year the battle of Nordlingen gave to the imperial arms a sudden preponderance, such as it had never before acquired. The separate peace of Saxony with the emperor at Prague, and soon after an alliance, were its consequences; Sweden, driven back to Pomerania, seemed unable of herself, during the two following years, to maintain her ground in Germany: the victory of Wittstock turned the scale in her favour. Sept. 24, 1636.

Defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen, Sept. 6, 1634.—By the preliminaries of peace at Prague, Nov. 22, (ratified May 30, 1635,) Saxony, 1. retained Lusatia, of which she had taken possession. 2. The ecclesiastical property, confiscated forty years or more before, was left in the hands of its possessors.—Most of the other Protestant states were forced to accede to this peace.

16. The war was prolonged and greatly extended by the active share taken in it by France: 1635. first against Spain, and soon against Austria. From this time the war, in consequence of the neighbouring possessions of Spain in Italy, could hardly remain confined to Germany; but the alliance which Richelieu contracted with the Netherlands, mixed up to a certain degree the German war with that of the Spanish Netherlands. Besides sup-

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porting the enemies of Austria and Spain, schemes of conquest were among the plans of the French minister. Under such circumstances, when could an end of the war be anticipated?

The war, renewed in 1621, between Spain and the Netherlands, was on land, confined to the Spanish Netherlands, and consisted for the most part of sieges.—Alliance of Richelieu with the Netherlands, for the conquest and partition of the Spanish Netherlands, Feb. 8, 1635, is not followed by the desired success. But the project of that acquisition was never banished from the French cabinet. Alliances in Italy with Savoy, Mantua, and Parma, against Spain, July 11, 1635, for the conquest of Milan, were, from 1638, of advantage to France, by the contest respecting the regency in Piedmont, which its client Christina maintained against Spanish influence.

17. The German war, after the treaty with Bernhard of Weimar, was mainly carried on by France, by the arming of Germans against Germans. But the pupil of Gustavus Adolphus preferred to fight for himself rather than others, and his early death was almost as much coveted by France as by Austria. The success of the Swedish arms revived under Baner; and after a vain attempt to negotiate a peace at Cologne and Lubeck, the two crowns, both desirous of conquest, contracted a closer alliance for only a common peace. April 28, 1635.

Treaty for subsidies with Bernhard of Weimar, Oct. 27, 1635, who hoped to conquer for himself a state in Alsace. Capture of Brisach, Dec. 3, 1638. After his most unexpected death, July 8, 1639, France made itself master of his army.—Victory of the Swedes under Baner at Wittstock over the imperial Saxon army, Sept. 24, 1636.

18. If under these circumstances a glimmer of peace at length became visible, it was not created by compassion for the countries of Germany—what cared strangers about them?—but by a confluence of circumstances. The alliance between Austria and Spain, which was besides embarrassed with the civil war with Portugal and Catalonia, had been less close since Ferdinand III. had succeeded his father as emperor. The independence of the new elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, left both Austria and Sweden less hope, and at the general diet, which was at last convened, the emperor yielded to a general amnesty, or at least what was so designated. But when at the meeting of the

1640. 1637. 1640. Oct. 10, 1641. Dec. 25.

ambassadors of the leading powers at Hamburg, the preliminaries were signed, and the time and place of the congress of peace fixed, it was deferred, after Richelieu's death, (who was succeeded by Mazarin,) by the war, which both parties continued, in the hope of securing better conditions by victory. A new war broke out in the north between Sweden and Denmark, and when at last the congress of peace was opened at Munster and Osnabruck, the negotiations dragged on for three years, during which the south of Germany, and especially Bavaria, was forced, by the repeated invasions of the French and Swedes, to drain the cup of misery to the very dregs.

1642.

1643—1645.

April, 1645.

Exploits of Torstenson, 1642—1645, as well in Silesia, Saxony, (victory near Leipzig, Oct. 23, 1642,) and Bohemia, as in Holstein, 1644, and again in Bohemia, 1645; while the French army was defeated at Duttlingen, Nov. 14, 1634, by the Bavarians. But after Turenne obtained the chief command, and after the retirement of Torstenson, Nov., 1645, his successor Wrangel, in connexion with Turenne, penetrated into Bavaria, 1646, and compelled Maximilian I. to a truce at Ulm, March 14, 1647, the breaking of which, Sept., 1647, was followed by a new united invasion and terrible devastations in 1648; while the Swedes in Bohemia, under Charles Gustavus, Palatine count, and Conigsmark, took Prague itself, by which the peace was not a little accelerated.

19. The very complicated relations of so many leading powers necessarily gave the congress an importance which attracted the eyes of all Europe towards it. Austria was at war with Sweden and several of the Protestant states; Sweden with Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony; France with Austria and its allies, as well as with Spain; and Spain with France, with Portugal, and the Netherlands. The war of the Spanish Netherlands and of Germany, were the only ones terminated by this congress; but not that between France and Spain, which was not brought to a close till eleven years afterwards (see below); nor that between Spain and Portugal. The German peace was negotiated at Munster between the emperor and France, and at Osnabruck between the emperor and Sweden; but both treaties, according to express agreement, Oct. 24, 1648, were to be considered as one, under the title of the Westphalian.

Jan. 30, 1648.

At the opening of the congress, all hope of peace was very remote.

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Obstacles were continually thrown in its way, not only by the demands, but by the character of many of the ambassadors, and by the contested points of ceremony. The whole business was at a stand up to Nov., 1645: and might have remained so, had it not been for Count Trautmannsdorf the imperial ambassador, who showed great skill in removing these diplomatic difficulties. The chief points in debate were: 1. the period which should be determined as that by which the laws of restitution should be decided: whether 1618 should be the point, as the two crowns of France and Sweden, together with the Protestant states, desired, or 1630, as Austria wished; 2. the amount of indemnification both as it regarded the demands of the two crowns, as of the single states. It was a difficult question what should be assigned to these crowned heads, and how? also, whether they should become states of the German empire. 3. The reinstatement of the Palatine family; 4. the remuneration of the Swedish army, finally fixed at 5,000,000 rix dollars; 5. the exertions of France to prevent a separate peace between the republic and Spain.—As these were vain, and most of the other points were settled by compromise, the disputes respecting religious grievances, (which, according to the spirit of the age, were of the highest importance,) were so violent as to menace the final interruption of the negotiations, had not this been prevented by the progress of the French and Swedish arms in the year 1648.

The French ambassadors at Munster were Counts d'Avaux and Servien; the Swedish at Osnabruck, Oxenstiern (son of the chancellor) and Salvius. Of the imperial ambassadors Count Trautmannsdorf was the most important; besides him D. Volmar and Crane. Spain and the Netherlands sent each eight plenipotentiaries; and many other states sent theirs. The papal ambassador Chigi and the Venetian Contarin, acted as mediators.

Beside the work of BOUGEANT (see p. 90):

Négociations sécrètes touchant la paix de Munster et d'Osnabruc; à la Haye, 1725, 4 vols. fol. From this source is taken the spirited,

Geschichte des Westphälischen Friedens, in zwei Theilen von C. L. von WOLTMANN. Liepzig, 1808. A continuation of Schiller's history of the thirty years' war.

J. STEPH. PÜTTER, *Geist des Westphälischen Friedens.* Göttingen, 1795, 8vo.

The most perfect collection of official documents is,

J. G. von MEYERN, *Acta pacis Westphalicæ.* Gottingen, 1734. Th. i.—vi., fol. This author has also published the most correct edition of the treaty of peace. Gottingen, 1747.

20. The matters settled by the peace of Westphalia respected, 1. indemnifications as well of the foreign powers who carried on the war, as of single states of the empire; 2. the internal religious and political relations of the empire; 3. the relation of two other foreign states to the German empire. To obtain the means of indemnification, recourse was had to the secularization of several ecclesiastical foundations, which had already embraced the Protestant

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religion. The foreign powers indemnified were France and Sweden; the German princes, Brandenburg, Hesse Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Brunswick Luneburg.

France obtained Alsace, as far as it belonged to Austria, together with Brisac; the confirmation of the sovereignty of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, (see page 46,) as well as that of Pignerol, and the right of garrisoning Philipsburg. The countries ceded were incorporated with France.

Sweden gained Upper Pomerania, with the isle of Rügen, and a part of Lower Pomerania, Wismar, Bremar, and Verden; together with the rights belonging to a state of the empire, and five millions of rix dollars.

To the electorate of Brandenburg, the secularized bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Camin, and Minden.

To Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and Ratzeburg.

To Hesse, Hirschfeld and four manors, with 600,000 rix dollars.

To Brunswick Luneburg, the alternative succession of some member of that house to the bishopric of Osnaburg, and some monastic lands.

The electorate of Saxony retained what it had acquired in the peace of Prague.

The Pope protested in vain against the peace on account of its secularizations.

21. The settlement of the internal relations of the German empire did not so much concern new subjects, as those formerly contested or uncertain. For, 1. in respect to religion, the peace of Augsburg was not only confirmed, but also expressly extended to the reformed party, and a perfect equality of privileges established; in respect to the property of the church and the exercise of religion, the beginning of the year 1624 was fixed on as the epoch, (*annus normalis*,) and therefore the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* was acknowledged as valid for the future. 2ndly, In respect to political relations, *a.* a general amnesty and restitution was agreed on (with the limitation, however, as far as respects the house of the Palatinate, that a new eighth electorate should be established for it, and the electorate taken away from that house, together with the Upper Palatinate, should be retained by Bavaria). *b.* With respect to the relations of all the states to the emperor, the rights of sovereignty in their own territories were secured to them, as well as their rights in the diets.

22. The relations with foreign states were so far determined in the case of the republic of the United Netherlands and of Switzerland, that they were acknowledged to be wholly independent of the German empire.

23. The consequences of this terrible war, as regards

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changes of territory, seem much less important than could at some periods have been expected, had not the removal of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein from the scene of action frustrated their projects and their hopes. But the effects of this war were not confined to Germany; but operated upon the whole European system.

24. By it the German body politic obtained its determinate forms, which were soon after more firmly established by the permanent diet of Ratisbon. 1663. The imperial power was now constitutionally restricted within the narrowest limits; the princes were in the fullest sense rulers of their respective states; the welfare of Germany was attached to the territorial government, and but little to the imperial. It was a federation under a limited sovereign. It had its deficiencies. Who can mistake them? But to what extent these might become hurtful, depended on circumstances which could not be previously defined; while the provisions enacted guaranteed the tranquil existence of the weak by the side of the strong. Does the consolidation into one monarchy, (take Spain for instance,) insure a higher degree of national happiness, than that which Germany attained?

Peace of Westphalia. 25. In the political system of Europe, the peace of Westphalia settled neither all the important, nor even all the contested relations. But, 1st, the maintenance of the German constitution, the object of the bloody conflict of half Europe, acquired in practical politics a weight which it could not soon lose. 2nd, by the alliance between France and Sweden, the north and west of Europe were brought into closer connexion. But this connexion wanted some common permanent interest, there being in a short time nothing to fear from Austria. It languished too the more, as Queen Christina made no further use of it than the drawing subsidies from France. 3rd, Sweden rose to the rank of one of the first continental powers, and kept it for more than fifty years, without, however, maintaining, like France, the influence acquired by the war. 4th, the independence of the United Netherlands was now universally acknowledged. 5th, the German constitution was indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the balance of power, which consequently became much more distinctly

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acknowledged and confirmed. It was not therefore by settling all the great political relations, but rather by settling the leading political maxims, that the peace of Westphalia became the foundation of the subsequent policy of Europe.

26. The war between France and Spain was not terminated by the peace of Westphalia, because both parties, but especially Spain, hoped to gain by its prosecution. Freed from the war in the Netherlands, her hopes were further raised by the civil troubles of France; while the latter country formed still greater expectations from the weakness of Spain and the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, which it supported. But notwithstanding the advantages which Spain obtained in the beginning, its fortune changed, especially as Cromwell found it expedient to declare war against her, and contracted for this purpose an al- 1655.
liance with France. The peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.
concluded by the directing ministers, Cardinal Mazarin and Count Haro, at last put an end to it. This peace confirmed for ever the superiority of France over Spain; not so much by the concessions made, as by the prospects which the marriage concerted between Louis XIV. and the infanta of Spain, (the source of after wars!) opened for the future.

The favourite scheme of France was to obtain all the Spanish Netherlands, as the price of the evacuation of Catalonia. Victory of the prince of Condé at Lens, Aug. 20, 1648. The change of sides, on the part of Turenne, 1650—1651, and of Condé, 1652, Oct.—1659, occasioned by the *Fronde*, afforded but temporary aid to the Spanish. As early as 1653 the French under Turenne acquire a preponderance in the Netherlands. Alliance of Cromwell with Mazarin, March 23, 1657. Capture and occupation of Dunkirk by the English, Jan. 23, 1658. Cromwell's death puts an end to the war. Peace of the Pyrenees, Nov. 7, 1659. France obtains: 1. Roussillon; 2. several fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, in Artois, and Flanders; 3. engages on the other hand not to assist Portugal; 4. partial restitution made to the duke of Lorraine, the ally of Spain; entire restitution to Prince Condé; 5. the commercial relations were regulated; 6. marriage agreed upon between Louis XIV. and the infanta Maria Theresa.

Hostilities between France and Lorraine sprang from the hatred between Richelieu and Charles III., 1624—1675, on account of the connexion of the latter with Gaston of Orleans. France, in consequence, endeavoured to obtain a part or the whole of Lorraine; Charles III. and his nephew, the great Austrian general, Charles IV., (1675—1690,) attached themselves to the house of Austria, till full restitution was made to Leopold, the son of the latter, by the peace of Ryswick, 1697. France learnt to her cost, that even a banished prince may become formidable.

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Histoire des négociations et du traité de la paix des Pyrenées. Amsterd., 1750, 2 vols. 12mo.

II. *View of the contemporary changes in the principal states of the West of Europe, and their consequences.*

I. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. Though the political character of Spain continued the same, important changes had taken place in her affairs, and
1621–1648. greatly to her disadvantage. The Low Country war, renewed and so unsuccessfully conducted, joined to a miserable administration, had led to the loss of
1640. Portugal, and a long insurrection fomented by
1640–1652. France in Catalonia. The re-establishment of the throne of Portugal in favour of John of Braganza caused a long war, prosecuted without vigour, which terminated in
1668. the acknowledgment of the independence of Portugal. Though Portugal was a state of inferior rank, its geographical situation rendered it of consequence as an ally to the enemies of Spain. But the ancient splendour of the throne could not be restored, for there was no Emanuel the Great to ascend it, and the East Indies were already well nigh lost.

II. FRANCE.

2. The government of France during nearly the whole of this period was in the hands of two ecclesiastics, Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. The first, to correct political views, united much energy, though little morality of character.
1624–1642. His eighteen years' administration was therefore guided from beginning to end by the same maxims: aggrandizement of the royal power in the interior—extension of the national influence in the affairs of Europe. The former presupposed the disarming of the
Oct., 1628. Huguenots. And after the capture of Rochelle whom had he to fear? The block relieved him of the conspirators. In foreign countries he restored the influence of the French in Italy, in the Netherlands, in Germany, and established it in Sweden. Wherever he could he encouraged insurrections. Against Austria and Spain he stood almost always in arms. The promotion of

the arts and sciences purchased him the usual praise. It is impossible to admire his administration examined in detail; yet on the whole it suited the character of the nation. He laid the foundation of the structure which Louis XIV. perfected.

Maximes d'Etat, ou testament politique du Cardinal de Richelieu. Paris, 1764, 2 vols. 8vo. This work is no history, but an undisguised exposition of the political maxims of the minister.

3. Mazarin, the minister of the regent Anne of Austria, during the minority of Louis XIV., 1642—1661. only strove to accomplish what his predecessor had begun; but it was soon evident that he did not possess his predecessor's abilities. The minority of the king gave greater scope to the nobles, which brought about the troubles of the *Fronde*—a true national drama 1648—1652. in its commencement, progress, and close, performed by the lords and ladies of the court; and although of somewhat bloody nature, strictly belonging to that species of entertainment whose very essence consists of intrigue. The prime minister maintained his ground against the demagogue Retz; matters therefore remained much as before; but the kingly power was much increased by the final limitation of the claims of the princes of the blood, which was effected after the failure of Condé's attempt for their advancement.

Commencement of the troubles, Aug., 1648. Civil war under the great Condé, Oct., 1651. Flight of the condemned prince to Spain, and the disturbances cease, Oct., 1652. Condé was not restored till the peace of the Pyrenees, 1659. (See p. 103.)

L'esprit de la Fronde, ou Histoire politique et militaire des troubles en France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV., par M. MAILLY. Paris, 1772, 2 vols. 12mo.

Among the numerous memoirs, the best is that of the principal actor:

Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz. (1648—1655.) Cologne, 1718, 3 vols. This most accurate observer of others, does not always speak truly of himself.

Compare:

Mémoires de M. Joly. vols. i. ii. Amsterd. 1718. As authority on the other side.

III. ENGLAND.

4. This period to England was one of great domestic convulsions, the fruit, like those of Germany, of the Re-

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formation. Here, however, they were produced by the political party-spirit which arose among the Protestants themselves, in consequence of the schisms between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians or Puritans. The crisis was hastened by the difference between the theoretical principles of the Stuarts with respect to the origin and extent of the royal power, and those of the Puritans. Thus the kings became involved in quarrels with the nation, at the very time when the want of money, created by their mistaken political economy, rendered them dependent on it. 1603—1625. The foundation of the whole evil was laid under James I. But when his son Charles I. increased his embarrassment by a double and 1627—1630. fruitless war with Spain and France, the differences between him and the parliament became so serious that his only resource was frequent dissolutions of that body, and he even made the attempt to reign without it. But 1630—1640. the troubles in Scotland, caused by himself, Nov., 1640, to April, 1653. forcing him again to convoke it, the lower house usurped, in the Long Parliament, a power similar to that of the French national convention of later times.

5. The well-planned attacks of the Long Parliament on the king's ministers and prerogatives, led eventually to a 1642 to May, 1646. civil war, in which the king was finally defeated. But in the course of this war, fanaticism gaining ground in the Parliament, a party was formed of the wildest and most crafty fanatics, who, under the name of Independents—like the faction of the Mountain in France —made liberty and equality their object; only differing in this, that in accordance with the prevailing spirit of the times, religion was the moving cause. Their leaders, especially Oliver Cromwell, made themselves mas- Cromwell, 1644. ters of the army, and, by means of the army, of the captive king, who was finally brought to the scaffold. Conformably to the maxims of the party, England was declared a republic; and Scotland and Ireland were obliged to submit. But the military character of government had already given rise to a quarrel between the chiefs of the army and the parliament, so that Cromwell judged it expedient to dissolve it, and caused himself to be proclaimed by April 20, 1653. his council of war, protector of the republic.

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6. The protectorship remained a military government, nowithstanding the repeated attempts made to give it a tinge of parliamentary liberty; and consequently, being in opposition to the national character, it contained within itself the seeds of its own ruin. But the continental relations of England, which had sunk almost to nothing, were revived and carried to a high pitch by Cromwell. If passion had some share in this, it was kept, upon the whole, subordinate to commercial interest. The fruits of this were *the act of navigation*, and the successful naval enterprises in the West Indies, on the coast of the North Sea, and the Baltic. The first was maintained by the bloody maritime war with Holland; the latter were partially effected by the war with Spain, in alliance with France.

The act of navigation passed, 1651, renewed by Charles II., 1660, was, 1st, to secure to England the exclusive trade with its own colonies; 2nd, to allow to strangers no importation, unless of their own products and in their own vessels. It was a fruit of the rising exertions of states to monopolize all commerce to themselves; but affected almost exclusively Holland, who then enjoyed nearly the whole of the carrying trade. Dutch war, 1652. Great naval battles repeatedly occurred. At the peace, April 15, 1654, England preserved the honour of her flag.—In the war with Spain, 1655—1658; capture of Jamaica—1655; of Dunkirk, during the alliance with France, and ceded to England.

7. Upon the death of Cromwell, his son Richard succeeded him in the protectorship; Sept. 3, 1658. but finding it wiser to abdicate, the contests April, 1659. among the leaders brought about the restoration, May, 1660. finally effected by Monk. This was rather the work of party spirit than of reason, and was unaccompanied by any precautions for the future; and as Charles II., after he had regained the throne, retained the ancient prejudices of the Stuarts, the old elements of dissension between the king and people still remained, and the government continued destitute of any settled character.

Besides the sections in Rapin and Hume, we especially cite,

The history of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, from 1649 *to* 1660, by EDW. HYDE, earl of Clarendon. fol. Oxford. [The best edition, containing the suppressed passages, is Oxford, 1826, 8 vols. 8vo.]

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IV. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

8. When the peace of Westphalia secured to the republic her independence, she was in the full bloom of her prosperity. The late twenty-seven years' war with Spain had not diminished it, for the theatre of the war on land lay beyond her frontiers, carried on in the Spanish provinces, and at sea she had been decisively successful. Though not free from debt, her citizens were rich. But the germ
† 1625. of internal dissension, suppressed under Maurice
† 1647. from fear, and under his brother Frederic Henry from love, burst out under his son William II., and proba-
Oct., 1650. bly nothing but his early death averted greater misfortunes. The abolition of the dignity of stadtholder in five provinces procured for the grand pensionary of the states of Holland, Jean de Witt, so much influence,
1653—1672. that the management of foreign affairs fell almost entirely in his hands.

Renewal of the war with Spain, 1621. Rendered important on land by the sieges of Breda, Bois-le-duc, and many others, till the alliance with France, 1635. As a naval war, successful on the side of the Netherlands, through privateering, by conquests in the colonies, especially from Portugal; and by the naval wars in Europe, especially in 1639.—Peace negotiated at the congress of Westphalia, which France endeavoured in all ways, but in vain, to prevent from being concluded. At the peace, Jan. 24, 1648, not only was, 1. the independence of the republic acknowledged by Spain, but, 2. the dominions she then possessed, both in Europe (by which the republic retained the territory vested in the states-general and Mastricht) and in the colonies, were confirmed to her; 3. the closing of the Scheldt (a solitary example) was consented to by Spain.

V. AUSTRIA AND THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

9. Though the influence of the house of Austria in Germany had been contracted during this period within its proper limits, yet on the other hand its power increased in Hungary as well as Bohemia, which latter, being deprived of its privileges, now became an hereditary monarchy. More permanent tranquillity might have reigned here, had it not been disturbed by the prince of Transylvania and the Jesuits. Partial attempts to render Hungary an hereditary monarchy, were already made, however zealously the Hun-

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garians resisted every innovation; and when did a persevering policy ever fail to be finally victorious?

Any lasting quiet was made almost impossible by the relations of Transylvania, whose elective princes were at once vassals of the Porte and of Hungary. If these princes would or could have improved the advantages of their situation, they might have become the founders of a new empire. Austria was compelled to purchase peace of Gabriel Bethlen, (1613—1629,) who was already called king of Hungary, by cessions of territory, 1616 and 1621. Of his successors, George Rakozy I., († 1648,) and II., († 1660,) the former entered into a connexion with Sweden and France, 1643, and concluded, on the 24th of Aug., a peace advantageous for him and the Protestants; the latter was occupied with Poland more than with Hungary.—In Hungary the religious relations produced continual excitement, since the Jesuits were able to make their projects against the Protestants agree admirably well with those of the court.

10. The Turkish empire already showed symptoms of the internal decline common to the great monarchies of the East; inefficient rulers educated in the seraglio; arrogance in the Janizaries, who exercised the right of appointing to the throne; and rebellious governors. But as the personal energy of a barbarous nation does not die, nothing was wanting but a ruler like Amurath IV. to make it formidable. 1622—1640. Happily however for Austria and Germany, he sought no influence over the European political system, from his projects of conquest being levelled against Persia. And though his successor, Ibrahim, began the protracted war against Candia, which was wrested from the Venetians by his son Mohammed in 1668, † 1648. yet it was the part they took in the Transylvanian contests, that rendered the Turks so dangerous to their western neighbours in the following period. From 1675.

11. As regards practical policy, this period was important both for its forms and its fundamental maxims. General observations. The forms were rendered far more definite by Richelieu, the founder of cabinet policy, but the web at the same time more complicated. Yet it was the congress of Westphalia, which exercised the principal influence upon it. Never had Europe seen negotiations of such extent and importance. What was it not deemed possible to effect after this by congresses? The example of Richelieu and Mazarin, led ecclesiastics to be preferred as

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negotiators. Policy may have gained thereby in dignity, but certainly not in uprightness.

12. However political maxims had been developed, their consequences had not been foreseen. The work of HUGO GROTIUS, *de jure belli et pacis*, taught rulers, that there was a law of nations, and effected much from the high reputation of its author. The British revolution had occasioned the question respecting the rights of the people and the rights of kings, to be thoroughly discussed: both were defended by the sword as well as with the pen. Though Filmer was forgotten, Hobbes and Algernon Sidney did not write without effect. The obstinate unreasonableness of the Stuarts only animated these investigations; and prepared for the establishment of national liberty. The maxims of freedom and equality, promulgated by the Independents, were not lost. Though they were not received and acted upon in England, they took root and flourished in the soil of America, whence they have since been transplanted to Europe, though not in their original purity.

1625.

Political Discourses of ROB. FILMER. Lond. 1680. A poor, but at that time weighty defender of the sovereign power of kings; far excelled by,

TH. HOBBES, *Leviathan, sive de materia, forma et potestate civitatis.* Lond. 1651. [First printed in English.] *Discourses on Government by* ALGERNON SIDNEY, first printed at Lond. 1698. The famous defender and martyr of republicanism. He wrote in reply to Filmer.

13. Political economy made no essential advance. Richelieu only provided—no matter how—for the public exigencies of the moment; Mazarin, for himself as well. Little progress could be expected, in this department of government, during the wars of Germany, or the revolution of England. Even in the Netherlands, loans were the only resource on the renewal of the war. But the example of this state served to confirm more and more the fact, that manufactures and foreign trade are in general the principal sources of national wealth; from the misapplication of which so many injurious errors afterwards sprung.

14. The military art necessarily underwent great changes during such wars as that of the thirty years and of the Netherlands. These changes, however, did not consist in the increase of standing armies. The generals levied and

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disbanded their troops; what Mansfield and Christian of Brunswick had done on a small scale, Wallenstein did on a large one. Gustavus Adolphus was the only general whose genius struck out a new species of tactics, which aimed at quicker motion, by means of files less deep, lighter arms, and improved artillery. His brigades overthrew the imperial regiments, much the same as the Roman legions of old did the Macedonian phalanx.—In discipline, also, he set a good example; but murdering and pillaging did not cease, till the private advantage of the pillagers taught them to set some bounds to their outrages.

III. *History of the affairs of the European Colonies, from* 1618 *to* 1660.

1. The history of the colonies during this period is not so important for the changes they underwent as for their rapid advance. The Dutch, already the first commercial people, had established their system in the last period, which they extended, but without any essential alteration. The same holds good of the English. Least of all among the Spanish and Portuguese were any voluntary changes to be expected. Dutch.

2. The commerce and manufactures of the Dutch, favoured by national liberty, which was perfected during this period, became so flourishing as to awaken the jealousy of their neighbours. Their industry was directed to manufactories by the peculiar character of their country; but these could only have been carried to the extent they were by the happy concurrence of two circumstances: the facility of procuring funds in consequence of the immense accumulation of national capital, and the increasing wants of Europe and the colonies, through the accelerated improvement of the social condition.

Scarcity of fuel naturally occasioned handicraft and manufactures performed by human labour to flourish, rather than manufactories impelled by machinery, such as the steam engine in modern times have given rise to in England. Among these stand the manufacture of woollens, hemp linen, paper, and ship building, besides innumerable smaller wares.—The propelling power was obtained by various kinds of mills. The contrivance of these called forth the mechanical skill of the

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inhabitants, and rendered Holland unrivalled, or indeed unique, in that branch of industrial art.

3. As with all great commercial nations the colonial trade stands foremost, so amongst the Dutch the East Indian remained the principal branch. The company, even as a political body, was now seen in its full power; and, notwithstanding the treaty concluded with the English, contrived at length, chiefly by the horrible transactions in Amboyna, to drive its rivals entirely from the Moluccas. The maintenance of this monopoly, in the most odious forms, remained therefore its chief object. To obtain the
1619. productions of these countries they subjected the natives by arms and treaties. The Dutch them-
1623. selves were not colonists; for there was nothing at home to drive them in any numbers beyond the sea.

4. The new settlement of Batavia remained the seat of government, and the centre of the Dutch possessions in India. As a city, however, its rise was comparatively slow. It was the point from which their conquests and traffic spread; the former on Malabar, Coromandel, Ceylon, and other islands; the latter by their relations with China and Japan.

Possessions taken from the Portuguese: 1. Paliakata on the Coromandel coast, 1615, instead of which Negapatam, from 1658, became the principal residence. 2. On the Malabar, Calicut, 1656, Cochin and Cananor, 1661, by which the whole pepper trade fell into their hands. Factories also were spread over both coasts, as far as Bengal. 3. In the island of Ceylon they gained possession of Columbo, 1656, being their share of the spoils captured from the Portuguese, in the war with the latter as allies of the king of Candy, whom they had assisted since 1638. Mannaar and Jaffanapatam in 1658. But the Dutch became involved in a war with Candy, which soon ceased and as soon broke out again. 4. On the further side of India, Malacca was conquered, 1640, and Pegu and Siam invaded. 5. They extended their power on the Sunda islands, as they became masters of the greater part of Java, on Celebes, 1660, Sumatra, etc., partially by forts and factories. 6. In Japan they succeeded, by the revolution of 1639, in driving out the Portuguese, and, although under great restrictions, in gaining a footing for themselves. The Dutch trade with China was less important, especially after their expulsion from Formosa, 1661.—The whole territory of the company was divided into five governments: Java, Amboyna, Ternate, Ceylon, and Macassar, in addition to which there were settlements under directors and commanders. All were subordinate to the government at Batavia.

5. But the surest bulwark of their Indian possessions was

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the settlement founded at the Cape of Good Hope. According to the intentions of its founders, it was an agricultural colony, and its situation, joined to the judicious regulations which were at first adopted, would have rendered it far more important, had not the company made it the place of call for vessels in their voyages to the East Indies. It constituted a government by itself, making the sixth.

ROLBE *Beschreibung des Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung.* Nurnb. 1719, folio.

SPARRMANN *Reise nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung.* (From the Swedish of GROSFORD.) Berlin, 1784, 8vo.

Vollständige Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der guten Hoffnung, von O. F. MENTZEL. Glogau, 1785, 2 parts, 8vo.

BARROW'S *Travels in Southern Africa*, Lond. vol. i., 1801; ii., 1804, 4to. With the first good map.

6. The success of the East Indian company led the Dutch, immediately after the breaking out of the second war with Spain, to incorporate another privileged company. It was formed on the same model, and the West Indian trade was intrusted to it. Brazil was the object of its attacks, but it soon discovered that war, carried on either openly or by privateering, is in the end no very lucrative employment.

Foundation of the company, June 3, 1621. Its privileges comprised the western coast of Africa, from the northern tropic to the Cape; almost the whole of the eastern and western coasts of America; and the islands of the Pacific. It was divided into five chambers, and their funds amounted to about seven millions of guilders. During the first years, privateering was a profitable pursuit, especially the capture of the fleet laden with silver, 1628.—Conquests in Brazil from 1630, Olinda in Pernambuco taken and burned; where the fortified suburbs of Recif become the principal seat of the Dutch; the resistance, however, made by Mathias Albuquerque, prevent their subjugating more than the coasts of Pernambuco. But in 1636—1643, Count John Maurice is sent out as stadtholder-general, with unlimited power. He seemed exactly calculated to form a state beyond the ocean, founded on freedom of commerce and religion. All Pernambuco and some contiguous provinces were brought under the dominion of the Dutch; who were unable, however, to make themselves masters of St. Salvador; and although by the truce with Portugal, now again independent, June 23, 1641, the Dutch were to retain their conquests, they were lost again in the course of a few years, when envy and distrust at home led to the recall of John Maurice (1643). Even while peace still existed between the mother countries, the war revived here in 1645; and to the heroism of Don Juan de Vieira, Portugal was indebted for the preservation of Brazil. Recif was surrendered to Vieira, Jan. 27, 1654, and all the

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Dutch expelled.—Conquest of St. George della Mina on the coast of Africa, 1637.—Settlements made in the West Indies, on the island rocks of St. Eustatia, 1632, of Curaçao, 1634, and on the isles of Saba, 1640, and St. Martin, 1649; these settlements were never very important as colonies, but more so for their contraband trade.

7. The Dutch herring and whale fisheries had no direct connexion with their colonies; but the disputes which arose with England, respecting the herring fishery on the Scottish coast, led to political quarrels, as well as to the claims of England to the dominion of the sea.

The question respecting the herring fishery on the British coasts was first raised by James I., 1608; renewed by Charles I., 1635, and by Cromwell, 1652. The Dutch, however, maintained the right of fishing to within about forty miles from the coast. The whale fishery, after the abolition of the company in 1645, was left entirely free.

8. Of the branches of European trade, that of the Baltic deserves more especial notice, from its political importance, as it involved the republic in the disputes of the north; though the commerce of the Rhine surpassed it in other respects. But the carrying trade was beyond all the most extensive, owing to the other countries being entirely without ships; this however received a powerful blow from the British navigation act.

9. While the republic thus raised her commerce to an extent which rendered it almost a monopoly, English. it was inevitable that a rivalry must ensue with England, who was struggling to attain the same advantage. This rivalry contributed essentially towards the two wars under Cromwell and Charles II.; but political relations subsequently prevented its continuance, and the opposition of trading companies did not, at this time, lead to national hostilities. In England monopolies were, during this period still more than in the former one, a principal source of revenue under the arbitrary reign of Charles I. These nourished discontent, yet, notwithstanding their baneful effects, trade flourished and national prosperity increased, for these were the work of the nation, not the government.

J. Selden, *mare clausum seu de dominio maris*, liberi ii. Lond., 1635. Written by order of the government. A prolix historical deduction, which proves nothing. It maintains that the four seas around England were its property. But where were their limits in the north and west?

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10. The British East Indian trade remained, during this period, in the hands of the company, although great changes were made in it. Driven from the Spice islands by the Dutch, its only remaining factories were in Bantam, and on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts; even the acquisition of Madras improved its situation so little, that it seemed on the verge of ruin; and a free trade with India had 1653. begun, till Cromwell in some measure restored it 1656. by the renewal of its privileges.

Expulsion of the English from the Spice islands, after the massacre of Amboyna, 1623; in lieu of these, they were promised, at the peace, 1651, the spice island Poleron; but were unable to keep it.—The expulsion from the Moluccas turned their attention to the Carnatic. Madras obtained, and fort St. George established, 1640, with the consent of the king of Golconda. At first dependent on Bantam, but raised in 1658 to a presidency.—The Persian silk trade was carried on from Surat to Ispahan by way of Grambron, after the English had assisted the Persians, in 1622, to conquer Ormus. But the competition of the Dutch, and the insecurity of the route, rendered it difficult; and the company still needed the firmans of the Sophis and Moguls.—The domestic troubles of England were unfavourable to this trade; from the maxims which now prevailed there, and the needy state of the government.

11. The possessions of the English in the West Indies consisted of settlements made by private persons on several of the smaller Antilles, which were little valued, as inferior tobacco and cotton were almost their only produce. Nor was it till the cultivation of the sugar cane began to thrive in Barbadoes, where it had been introduced from 1641. Brazil, that their value was appreciated. This, and the conquest of Jamaica, laid the foundation of the future commerce of the British in this part of the world.

First settlement on Barbadoes and part of St. Christopher, 1625; on Bermuda and Nevis, 1628; on Montserrat and Antigua, 1632. Conquest of Jamaica, 1655, and introduction of the sugar cane there, 1660. The English settle also on Surinam, 1640. Capture of the uninhabited Bahama islands, and a settlement on Providence, 1629, the key, as it were, of the West Indies.

The History, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies, by BRYAN EDWARDS, 3 vols. 4to, 1793; reprinted in 6 vols. 8vo. The principal work for the general history of the British West Indies. The third volume comprehends the wars of St. Domingo.

12. The North American colonies, however, America. above all others, made such rapid strides during this period, that their importance was already felt by the

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nation. The persecution of the Puritans, and the internal convulsions of England, drove great numbers of its inhabitants across the Atlantic. The various states, as comprised under the general names of Virginia and New England, began to separate; and received, after the breaking up of
1624. the London company and the ruin of the Plymouth
1637. association, constitutional governments, which, though intended to promote a greater dependence on the king, were united with a considerable leaven of republicanism, which the state of society in these colonies naturally produced.

Rise of Massachusetts, 1621, and settlement of Boston, 1627, chiefly by enthusiastic lovers of religious and civil liberty, whose lives made their principles prevail on that side of the ocean. Introduction of a free representative system as early as 1634. Rhode island founded in the same year, by emigrants from Massachusetts. From this state likewise proceeded the first settlement in Connecticut, in 1636. Settlements were likewise made from it in New Hampshire and Maine, in 1637; subject, however, to the government of Massachusetts. Union of these provinces for their common defence, under the name of New England, 1643.—Maryland settled under Lord Baltimore, and the city of Baltimore founded, mostly by Catholics, 1632.—Virginia, as the southern portion of the coast, still undivided; it increases in proportion to the spread of tobacco.—The Act of Navigation renewed, embracing also the North American colonies, 1660; an acknowledgment, on the part of the mother country, of their importance to navigation and commerce.

For the earlier history: *A General History of the British Empire in America*, by J. H. WYNNE, in two volumes, London, 1770, 8vo. Comprehending Canada and the West Indies.

ROBERTSON's *America*, see above, p. 89.

CHR. LEISTE, *Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika*, Wolfen. 1778, 8vo.

French.

13. The French, too, fixed their regard on both Indies, and began to make some figure on account of their colonies. But the attempts under Richelieu, to acquire a share of the East Indian trade, were without success: on the other hand, the plantations on several of the West Indian islands flourished, but as they were founded by individual perseverance, they remained private property.

First settlements on St. Christopher at the same time with the English, 1625. Thence on Guadaloupe and Martinique, 1635, which produced a considerable supply of sugar towards the end of this period. —About this time, the first attempts were made to form settlements on Cayenne; and at Senegal, on the coast of Africa.

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For the earlier history, ***Histoire générale des Antilles, habitées par les Français,*** par LE PERE DU TERTRE, Paris, 1667, 4 vols. 4to.

14. Spain lost all the colonies of Portugal with the exception of Ceuta, when the latter regained its independence. All her old possessions, however, she still retained. But although Portugal repelled all the attacks of the Dutch in Brazil, their conquests deprived her of all her East Indian possessions, except Goa and Diu, while Ormus was taken from her by the Persians, with the assistance of the English. Nothing but the rising importance of Brazil enabled her to maintain her rank among the colonial nations.

Spain and Portugal.

1622.

Next to Philip II., Philip IV. is the king who made the greatest number of regulations in the colonies. But the principal ancient regulations were preserved; and no important changes took place either in the administration (some regulations in Chili excepted, see *Leyes*, L. VI. tit. 16) or in commerce. Many things were more accurately settled, such as the time of the departure of the fleets. Greater freedom was not to be expected.

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FIRST PERIOD.

From the end of the Fifteenth Century to the time of Louis XIV. 1492—1661.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN POLITICAL SYSTEM, FROM THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION OF CALMAR TO THE TREATIES OF OLIVA AND COPENHAGEN, 1523—1660.

J. J. Schmauss *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft. Zweiter Theil; die Historie aller zwischen den Nordischen Potenzen, Dänemark, Schweden, Russland, Polen, und Preussen geschlossenen Tractaten in sich haltend*, 4to, Leipzig, 1747-8.—Extending down to 1743. Hitherto the principal work for the general diplomatic history of the north.

1. The beginning of the sixteenth century constitutes no less an epoch for the north of Europe, than for the west. In the five principal northern states, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, and Prussia, as it then existed, revolutions took place, which either at once determined their future form and character, or had a vast influence upon them.

2. These revolutions were brought about by two great events, by the re-establishment of the Swedish throne by the dissolution of the union of Calmar; and the Reformation. The formal dissolution of that alliance, which aimed at placing the three northern kingdoms under one ruler, without having fully obtained its object, created a number of independent states in the north, whose relations, as soon as common points of collision arose, became extremely intricate.

3. The Reformation had a still greater political influence, if possible, in the north of Europe than in the south. It was so favourably received in the three principal countries,

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Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, that it soon prevailed; in the last, it immediately became the principal basis of the constitution, in the two others it became so after a very short period. It affected all the subsequent relations of Prussia; and in a great measure prepared the future fate of Poland.

4. The ruling nations of the north were of twofold descent, partly German, partly Slavonian; and this diversity showed itself in their governments. Among the former, the feudal system had been established in the same manner as in the west; but the citizens here formed a separate order, although the nobility and clergy possessed a great preponderance. In the Slavonian countries of Poland and Russia, on the contrary, the nobility, without any distinct feudal relations, had reduced the people to slavery; and no class of citizens could be formed, as there were no commercial cities. The two therefore differed essentially in this, that the former contained the elements for the construction of a civil constitution, while in the latter they were wholly wanting.

1. DENMARK. Its kings, elected since 1447 from the house of Holstein Oldenburg, intended to be kings of the three united northern monarchies; they, however, but seldom were so; and when Christian II. attempted in vain to enforce the union in Sweden, a rebellion broke out even in Denmark, 1523, which cost him his throne, and soon after his liberty, 1532. The Reformation first introduced into Denmark, 1527, under his successor Frederic I., and gradually into Norway. Denmark and Norway united into one kingdom, 1532. The Danish elective kings much restricted by their capitulation, by the council of the kingdom, and by the administration of the nobility.

J. M. SCHROECKH, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation.* Zweiter Thiel, 1804, 8vo. For the history of the introduction of the Reformation into the kingdoms of the north.

2. SWEDEN. The Swedish monarchy was re-established in 1523, by Gustavus Vasa, († 1560,) and strengthened, 1st, by a change in the relations with Denmark, under Frederic I., and by the treaty with him at Malmo, 1524; 2nd, by the aid of the Reformation, and the confiscations connected with it, of the property of the clergy, 1527; and 3rd, by making the crown hereditary in his family, in the diet at Westeräs, 1544. Happy was it for Sweden that he reigned long enough to secure the succession to his house.

Geschichte Gustav's Wasa, König von Schweden, von J. W. VON ARCHENHOLZ. 1801, 2 vols. 8vo. From Swedish historians. But superseded by, RUHS, *Geschichte von Schweden*, 1803, 2 vols. 8vo.

3. POLAND was united with the grand duchy Litthau under one king, (but not into one kingdom till 1569,) and continued till 1572 under the

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Jagellos. Whether it was an elective or an hereditary kingdom, was not exactly known in Poland itself. The seeds of domestic and foreign discord were no where more thickly sown; no where was there so little hope of amelioration as here. Who could define its boundaries with respect to Russia, the Tartars, and the Teutonic order? or who could define its internal relations? Small as the immediate connexion between the forms of a state and its happiness may appear, there are yet some which are so prejudicial, and at the same time so incapable of improvement, that their annihilation by a despot is the only means of escape. These forms Poland possessed, but Poland unfortunately never obtained so beneficent a despot.—Even the Reformation, though it soon found access to Poland, had little influence on the nation, as local causes for a long time prevented the new sects (among which, besides the Evangelicals, were the Socinians) from forming a political party.

4. PRUSSIA. Neither by its situation or extent did this country seem calculated to play any considerable part in the general affairs of Europe, yet by a strange concatenation of events, occasioned by the introduction of Christianity, and afterwards by the introduction of the Reformation, it became one of the chief actors. By the former, 1230—1283, the dominion of the Teutonic order was established. The natives were subjugated. German commercial colonies arose, but perpetual and bloody wars were carried on with Poland and Litthau, and at last, in 1525, between the order itself and the country and towns. By the introduction of the Reformation, the country was secularized under the grand master Albert, of Brandenburg, 1525, and transformed into an hereditary duchy, but as a Polish fief (in as far as it had not already become, by the peace of Thorn, 1466, a Polish province, under the title of Polish Prussia). It passed to the electoral line, 1618, which prepared its future fate and high political importance.

5. RUSSIA. Under Ivan Vasilevitch I., 1462—1505, Russia, by its liberation from the dominion of the Mongolians and the conquest of Novgorod, was rendered an independent empire, which, although nearly bounded by the Dneiper and the Don, was already formidable from its size and its desire of conquest. As this empire, however, lay quite beyond the reach of the Reformation,—that common spring of national advancement,—its internal civilization required some other strong stirring principle. But the frame-work of society would have seemed as unpromising here as in Poland, had it not happened that the energy of the rulers possessed a freer space for action. The reign of Ivan Vasilevitch II., the first czar, the founder of Russian dominion in the north of Asia, in Casan, and Astracan, 1533—1584, the precursor of Peter the Great, affords an example of this which we in vain seek for in the history of Poland.

I. *History of the Affairs and Wars respecting Livonia, to the beginning of the Struggle for the Swedish succession.* 1533—1600.

5. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century there was no event which affected the common interest of the

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states of the north, so as to become the centre point of their politics. Each was engaged with its own domestic affairs, or at most, with those of its nearest neighbour. Ivan Vasilevitch had, indeed, among his other conquests, aimed at that of Livonia; but the truce of fifty years suppressed the dreadful hostilities respecting this country, till they were renewed by Ivan Vasilevitch II., when Livonia became for the north of Europe, what Milan had been for the south.

The political relations of Livonia (with Courland and Semigallia) similar to those of Prussia from 1525. Christianity introduced, and the country conquered by the Knights of the Sword, 1205, who, however, attached themselves, in 1238, to the Teutonic order. But in 1520, their Heermeister, Walter of Plettenburg, purchased his freedom from this dependence, and made use of the introduction of the Reformation, by means of the subjugation of the city and archbishopric Riga, to constitute himself master of the whole country, though without either having recourse to a formal act of secularization, or rendering the sovereignty hereditary. Previous to this the Heermeisters had only been rulers over the western portion of the country, as the archbishops of Riga possessed dominion over their archbishoprics. This partition was the source of contests and wars, in which all the powers of the north were involved.

Essai critique sur l'histoire de la Livonie suivi d'un tableau de l'etat actuel de cette province, par L. C. D. B. (M. LE COMTE DE BRAY.) à Dorpat, 1817, 3 vols. 8vo. An equally critical and lucid exposition of the relations of the country, which are often extremely intricate.

6. Attack on Livonia by Ivan Vasilevitch II., 1558.
and a treaty concluded between the grand master, Gotthard Kettler, and Poland, by which, 1st, Courland and Semigallia are ceded to him as an hereditary duchy under the protection of Poland; on the other hand, 2nd, Livonia itself is united to Poland, for which Esthonia and Reval are united to Sweden. Thus Livonia became the subject of contention between the three leading powers of the north; and the claims of the czar necessarily caused a general war, (in which even Denmark became implicated from her jealousy of Sweden,) till Russia was compelled, after a contest of twenty-five years, to relinquish its attempts, and Livonia was left to Poland and Sweden.

Nov. 28, 1561. 1562.

Invasion of Livonia by the czar, 1558. War between Russia and Poland, and also between Poland and Sweden, 1562. Livonia ravaged in a dreadful manner. A war broke out in 1563 between Denmark and Sweden, under pretence of the contested claims of right to the armorial bearings of the empire; it was at the same time a war by sea and land;

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and although peace was restored between the two latter at Alt-Stettin, Dec. 13, 1570, in consideration of a mutual surrender of claims, yet the war continued in Livonia, on which the czar sought in vain to impose Magnus, a Danish prince, as king, till Sweden and Poland united, in 1577, against Russia, by which the Russians, in the peace with Poland, Jan. 15, 1582, and the truce with Sweden, 1583, not only lost all Livonia, but also resigned Carelia to Sweden, and were totally excluded from the Baltic. Livonia remained, though without any fixed adjustment, till the treaty of May, 1595, in the possession of Poland, Esthonia in that of Sweden.

7. While these wars were going on, and immediately after their close, the reigning families of two of the northern states became extinct. In Russia, the czar Feodore I., son of Vasilevitch, being the last male of the dynasty of Rurik, this line of monarchs closed at his death;
1598. a circumstance which was followed by an anarchy of fifteen years, and which plunged the states of the north into a general war, till the dynasty of Romanow ascended the throne. But the extinction of the house of Jagello in Poland, which had happened some time before,
1572. was of still greater importance. From the erection of that kingdom into an elective monarchy, a volcano, in a manner, burst forth in the midst of Europe, whose eruptions, at almost every change of government, threatened in turn every country, far and near.

Of the eleven kings of Poland, from Henry of Valois, 1572, to Stanislaus, 1764, hardly three were unanimously elected; foreign influence and a wild spirit of faction continued from first to last.

II. *History of the Polish and Swedish war of succession, and other matters connected with it, to the peace of Oliva and Copenhagen*, 1600—1660.

Besides SCHMAUSS, the great work for northern history, from 1578—1637, is KHEVENHÜLLER'S *Annales Ferdinandei*, etc., see above, p. 61.

1. While Livonia had become the object of contention between the northern powers, and continued to be so between Sweden and Poland, there arose between these kingdoms the much more dreadful war of succession, which lasted for more than fifty years, being nourished by religious differences and foreign policy. It was one of the earliest fruits of the Polish freedom of election, and was occasioned by the Poles electing Sigismond of Sweden,
1587.

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the future heir of that country, their king, and thereby opening an avenue to the monstrous union under one monarch of two kingdoms, separated not only by their geographical situation, but far more so by their difference of religion.

Sigismond, son of John III., and the Polish princess Catharine, was, like his mother, a zealous Catholic, and the tool of the Jesuits. By his means they hoped to effect the great object of their wishes, which they seem almost to have done under his father; viz. the restoration of the Catholic religion in Sweden.

2. But when upon the death of John III. of Sweden his son Sigismond actually succeeded him, the consequences soon displayed themselves. No credit was placed in Sweden in his assurances. His uncle, who was appointed regent in his stead, felt more inclination to rule in his own name; and all measures, even the most severe, became to him justifiable. Thus there soon arose altercation, which led to wars, that ended in the banishment of Sigismond and his heirs from the crown of Sweden, which was conferred on the new king Charles IX. Hence a war of succession arose between these two princes and their descendants, which lasted till the peace of Oliva, when it was decided in favour of the dynasty of Charles IX.

May 21, 1592.

1598.

1600.

3. The anarchy, however, which at this time reigned in Russia, prevented an immediate war from breaking out between them, both parties having their views turned towards that country, with the hopes of being able to seat one of their princes on the Russian throne. The elevation, however, of the house of Romanow, finally disappointed their expectations, and led to the treaties of peace at Stolbova and Moscow.

1613.

On the death of Feodor, Jan., 1598, whose brother Demetrius had been murdered, 1591, he is succeeded by his brother-in-law Boris, who, in 1605, being supplanted by a false Demetrius, poisons himself. The latter, after ascending the throne, is slain, May 17, 1606, by Vasil Schoniski the conspirator, who had already been declared czar by his party. The Poles and Swedes now interfere, in hopes of placing their own princes on the throne, or of making conquests. The Poles, espousing the cause of a second false Demetrius, take Moscow, and cause their own prince Uladislas to be appointed czar; while on the other hand Schoniski attaches himself to Sweden, by a contract at Wiborg, 1609; but is nevertheless overthrown in 1610, when Charles IX., after the taking of Novgorod, endeavours to raise his second son, Charles

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Philip, to the throne of Russia; but dies Oct. 30, 1611, and is succeeded by his eldest son, Gustavus Adolphus. The Russian nation settle this matter by unanimously appointing czar, in a solemn election, the young Michael Federovitsh, a descendant of the house of Romanow, and connected with that of Rurik, on the 12th of Feb., 1613. The war with Sweden continued after this to the peace of Stolbova, Feb. 27, 1617, in which Sweden obtained Ingria and Karelia (Kexholm); and the war with Poland till the fourteen years' truce before Moscow, Jan. 3, 1619, (afterwards changed to a peace at Wiasma, June 15, 1634,) by which Uladislas renounced his claims to Russia, which in turn relinquished to Poland, Smolensk, with its territory Severia and Tchernigov.

Geschichte der Russen. Versuch eines Handbuchs von JOB. PHIL. GUST. EVERS, Erster Thiel. Dorpat, 1816, 8vo. Far more than an attempt. The first part, all that has yet appeared, comes down to Peter the Great.

4. The Poles and Swedes were no sooner free from these wars, than hostilities broke out between themselves. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to transfer it to Livonia, 1620. and as the Poles were by no means disposed to support the claims of their king to the crown of Sweden, both Livonia and a part of Polish Prussia fell into the hands of the young Swedish hero. Had he not been allured by the nobler scenes of Germany, what would have become of Sigismond? By the mediation of France a truce was effected, which gave Gustavus Adolphus time to enter 1625. upon his heroic career in Germany.

Truce of six years concluded between Poland and Sweden, at Altmark, Sept. 26, 1629; prolonged, Sept. 12, 1635, for twenty-six years. Sweden was placed by this in possession of almost all Livonia.

5. The deep participation of Sweden in the thirty years' war, now gave the north a period of repose; especially as the Turks were at this time occupied against the Persians (see above, p. 109). But the jealousy entertained by Denmark towards Sweden, which had its foundation partly in the personal characters of Christian IV. and Gustavus Adolphus, partly in the rapid increase of Sweden, caused a distrust between these states, which broke out into repeated wars; Denmark, however, was unable to prevent Sweden from acquiring a predominancy at the peace of Westphalia.

Christian IV. had already, in 1611, taken advantage of the embarrassment of Sweden, caused by the Polish and Russian wars, to make a successful attack on Charles IX., which did not terminate till after his death, at the peace of Siöröd, Jan. 20, 1613, when restoration was made by Denmark of her conquests in consideration of Sweden paying

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a million of dollars. The part which Christian IV., so unhappily for himself, took in the German war, (see above, p. 92,) had forced him to remain quiet since the peace at Lubeck, 1629; but the extensive views of Sweden during the negotiations of the peace of Westphalia, irritated anew the jealousy of Denmark, stimulated as it was by Austria, and caused the war of 1643—1645. Invasion and conquest of Holstein and Jutland by Torstenson, Sept., 1643. Schonen, then belonging to Denmark, attacked. The Dutch fleet also came to the assistance of the Swedes. Peace at Bromsbro, Aug. 13, 1645. Sweden obtains, 1st, full freedom from duties and search in the Sound and on the Elbe at Gluckstadt: 2nd, Jamtland, Herjedalem, and the islands of Gothland and Oesel resigned by Denmark for ever, and Halland as a pledge for thirty years.

6. This peace and that of Westphalia raised the superiority of Sweden in the north so high, that it appeared to depend solely on the personal character of its kings what use should be made of it. Under the personal dominion of Christina, whose foreign influence since the peace of Westphalia had been confined almost exclusively to fruitless negotiations, no danger was to be apprehended: but the case was different when she resigned the government to her cousin Charles Gustavus. Already proved an able general, full of ambition and activity, the new Pyrrhus ascended the throne with projects of conquest, which rendered peace in the north impossible during his life. 1654—1660.

7. A new war with Poland, because its king, John Casimir, would not acknowledge him and renounce his pretensions to the throne of Sweden. The extraordinary progress made against Poland, (which was besides entangled in an unhappy war with Russia, on account of the Cossacks,) by which the whole kingdom appeared on the point of becoming a Swedish province, roused the interests of the neighbouring nations, in proportion to the greatness and boldness of the plans of Charles Gustavus, who, aiming immediately at the annihilation of Denmark, seemed to have no less a design than the erection of a universal monarchy in the north. His views, however, were interrupted by the active part which nearly half Europe took in opposing them, and were wholly frustrated by his sudden death. 1655. 1654.

The king invades Livonia and Poland, 1655, Warsaw taken, and John Casimir flies to Silesia. But Poland was easier to conquer than to maintain; great insurrection, and a battle of three days at Warsaw, July 18—20, 1656, to the disadvantage of the Poles. The extent of

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the war much enlarged, when the Czar Alexis, Emperor Leopold II., Frederic III. of Denmark, (May and June, 1657,) and soon also Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg, (Sept., 1657,) declared against Sweden. All Poland, with the exception of Polish-Prussia, was soon lost, but the scene of the war was transferred to Denmark, when Charles Gustavus attacked the Danes. Denmark was subdued, the frozen Belt crossed in Feb., 1658, and peace made at Roschild, Feb. 26. Conditions: 1. Denmark resigns for ever to Sweden, Halland, Schonen, Blekingen, Bahus, Drontheim, and the island Bornholm. 2. The freedom from duties in the Sound is confirmed. 3. The feudal allegiance of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp to Sweden is given up.—But the weakness of Denmark had only renewed the schemes of conquest of Charles Gustavus. Zealand was therefore suddenly invaded again from Holstein, Aug., 1658, in order to annihilate the kingdom by the destruction of the capital. But the siege of Cronberg, (Aug. 16—Sept. 6, 1658,) gave the Danes time to recover their faculties; and the bold defence of Copenhagen gave time to foreign powers, Austrians, Poles, Brandenburgians, and several German princes, to come to their aid on land, and above all, to the Dutch, (who feared for their commerce on the Baltic,) to reach them with a fleet. The siege was raised, and Charles Gustavus died suddenly, Feb. 23, 1660.

8. With Charles Gustavus died his wild projects. Peace was now easy, for it was desired by all; and these treaties were the more beneficial, because by them were exterminated the seeds of the former wars, with the exception of the Cossack disturbances. Thus the liberty of the north was preserved, notwithstanding the dangers with which it had been menaced.

Peace was concluded at Copenhagen, May 27, 1660, under the mediation of France and of the maritime powers. The peace of Roschild was renewed; Denmark retaining the re-conquered district and city of Drontheim, and, by a particular compact, the island of Bornholm.

Peace concluded between Sweden and Poland at Oliva, April 23, 1660. Conditions: 1. John Casimir renounced, for himself and descendants, all claims to Sweden. 2. Poland resigns Livonia to Sweden, (excepting the southern part, or former Polish part,) Esthonia, and the island Oesel. 3. The duke of Courland, taken captive by Sweden, is released and restored to his possessions.

Peace concluded between Sweden and Russia at Cardis, June 21, 1661. Conquests mutually resigned, and matters restored to their former footing.

SAM. PUFFENDORFII, *de rebus gestis Caroli Gustavi*, lib. vii. Norimberg, 1696, fol. The leading work for the history of the wars of this king.

Mémoires du Chev. de Terlon, depuis 1656—1661. Paris, 1681, 2 vols. 12mo. The author was the French ambassador to Charles Gustavus, and enjoyed his confidence.

9. If Sweden, by these treaties of peace, secured to itself

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not only the possession of Livonia, but also of the Danish provinces along its coast, Prussia and Denmark reaped from it, as a counterbalance, other advantages. The elector Frederic William, under whom Brandenburg rose to be a considerable power, availed himself with rare ability of the war between Poland and Sweden, to break the feudal relations of Prussia to Poland. By appearing at first inclined to embrace the Swedish interest, he purchased this independence by the treaty at Welau. Sept. 19, 1657. But when Charles Gustavus desired to render him his vassal, in accordance with his design of founding a great monarchy, the elector was fully aware of the danger of his own situation, and became one of Charles's most violent enemies. The treaty of Oliva confirmed the entire independence of Prussia, on the side both of Sweden and Poland.

10. To Denmark, the storm that had arisen was the occasion of a civil revolution, by which Frederic III. became hereditary and absolute sovereign. Oct. 16, 1660. The cause of this revolution had long existed in the great disproportion which had grown up between the different classes of the community, and the constitutional states of the realm; but there was need of a concurrence of circumstances like the present to bring it to maturity. A royal couple, like Frederic III. and his wife, seconded by a faithful servant like Gabel, can do much of themselves; but how much more, when aided by such ministers as the bishop Svane and the burgomaster Nansen; who, however, can prescribe the limits of a revolution? The original object of the king was to render the throne hereditary, instead of elective; and to destroy the great power of the aristocratic nobility. He had hardly expected the annihilation of the constitutional assembly would follow. Thus Frederic III., by the *act of sovereignty* and the Jan. 10, 1661. *royal law*, was made the most absolute monarch of Europe.

Geschichte der Revolution in Dänemark, von L. T. Spittler. Berlin, 1796. Principally from the materials made public by von Suhm.

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SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV., TO THE DEATH OF FREDERIC THE GREAT, AND THE RISE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. 1661—1778.

1. THE reader is now commencing a new and highly interesting portion of the history of modern Europe. If the last period derived its general character from an extraordinary interference of religion with politics, the present is no less determined by the influence of the monied system upon them. The continually increasing importance of money matters in politics, was certainly, upon the whole, a consequence of advancing civilization, which drove the states to the formation of numerous projects, mostly of an expensive nature. Based, however, upon no fixed principles, it led to errors, with which it is necessary to be acquainted, in order to understand the subsequent history of Europe. Men now discovered that a certain relation always exists between the means of government and that of the nation; and endeavoured, accordingly, to promote the wealth of the latter. But the three great questions, which from their nature constitute the foundation of political economy, namely: 1st, What are the nature and sources of national wealth? 2nd, What influence may a government exercise in the promotion of national wealth? And, 3rd, What relation exists between the revenues of the nation and that of the government? were left untouched, till a routine had become established, against which even better principles could do but little.

The system formed from the maxims to which this routine gave birth, is that comprehended under the name of the mercantile system, which is therefore nothing but this practice reduced to rules.

The best delineation of it will be found in,

Staatswissenchaften von v. JUSTI. Göttingen, 1755, 2 parts.

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2. While these principles, which we are accustomed to consider as the most correct, place the nation's means, not so much in its material, as in its moral wealth, that is, in the talents and knowledge which alone make the former available; this practical system, on the other hand, placed it merely in the amount of its ready money. Since, then, the increase of this was alone deemed a real gain, and the diminution of it a real loss, the highest aim of political economy was naturally very limited; for industry was to be encouraged only on the principle of turning its produce into money, while the everlasting truth, that all productive industry is actually useful only in proportion as it is adapted to the character of the country, and the wants and circumstances of its inhabitants, at the same time impeding no more useful application of their power, was entirely kept out of sight. While the whole horizon of political economy was circumscribed in this incredible manner, there resulted from it a series of the most perverse measures, which were the more oppressive, as hardly a doubt arose respecting their justice, and even their expediency.

Though the resources of a nation consist in its possessions, yet the (material) wealth of a government consists principally in its ready money; because this, above all things, is needed for accomplishing its purposes. Thus the increase of ready money was regarded as the chief object of political economy by the governments; but does this excuse the mistaken views entertained of national wealth?

3. It will scarcely be expected that the ideas formed respecting the resources of national wealth, were more enlarged than those respecting its nature. Mines, and the acquisition of money from foreign countries, were considered as the only means of increasing a nation's wealth. As manufacturing and commercial nations were found to become the richest, men were confirmed in the belief that manufactures and commerce were the prime sources of wealth,—that to increase by art the value of raw materials and to sell to foreigners, was more important than to produce for home consumption and home trade. Participation in foreign commerce, and the establishment of large manufactures, became, therefore, now the great object of domestic policy.

4. But as navigation and foreign commerce depend almost entirely upon colonies, it naturally follows that these

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acquire a greater importance; and that the maritime powers, who alone were able to possess and defend, should obtain a greater weight in the political balance than would have been possible under other circumstances.

5. These ideas obtained at once a practical consequence, because the governments felt every day less hesitation in directing the whole force of national industry to the acquirement of money—particularly by commerce and artificial industry. To do this, rulers established privileged manufactories, partly by tariffs, partly by the entire prohibition of the importation or exportation of certain articles. It mattered not whether the articles purchased were either bad, or dear, or both, provided the money did but remain in the country. Even knowledge and information were only to be fabricated and produced at home. In consequence of these mistaken views respecting the fundamental principles of finance, commerce, and the influence of government, and the confounding together the entirely distinct objects of political and commercial independence, there became formed *a system of isolation*, according to which every nation was to be as much as possible sufficient for itself,—to buy nothing, but to sell all it could. Strange infatuation! that while every government was seeking to extend its commerce, all were taking the most effectual means to destroy it.

By leaving the industry of nations to itself, and to the management of those engaged in it, it is by no means intended to exclude the influence of government entirely from it. It may be asked, where is the limit of this influence? No general formula can mark this for particular cases. It must be left to the discernment and knowledge of the government.

6. At the first glance it may seem astonishing, how commerce, notwithstanding this, contrived to raise itself to the importance it did, and obtained an extent never before known. But it is to be considered, that this system only came into operation by degrees; that nature is still more powerful than government; and finally, that many commodities produced in remote quarters of the world, found so ready an access into Europe, that they ceased to be articles of luxury, but became of the number of necessaries, and consequently immeasurably important. It is only

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single branches of commerce among single nations, that have been rendered flourishing by the ordinances of governments; the commerce of the world, as a whole, has risen into prosperity, not through them, indeed, but, absolutely in spite of them.

7. The consequences, which the application of these maxims had upon the mutual relations of the states, could not but be highly pernicious, both in peace and war. In peace, on the one hand, a continual distrust was maintained, as each one was apprehensive of being overreached, a state of feeling to which the many commercial contracts only gave fresh encouragement. And on the other, those states which were enriching themselves by commerce, inasmuch as their gain was supposed to be the loss of others, were the means of exciting a general envy, which became vehement in proportion to the increase of commerce, and but too often broke out in violent wars.—But in war itself, there arose, 1st, Attempts to annihilate the commerce of the enemy, and thence privateering with all its abuses, a mode of warfare which is never decisive. 2nd, The extension of war to the colonies. 3rd, The restrictions and oppressions of the neutral trade, as soon as ever a nation deemed itself strong enough to impose them.—The gradual development of these principles eventually led to extremes, such as no age had witnessed, and no statesman could have foreseen.

8. With this mercantile character of the age, the military, also, was in a peculiar manner combined. From the general state of society, in connexion with the continual dissensions to which the mercantile system gave rise, proceeded the system of standing armies, which, having been previously founded, received its ultimate perfection from Louis XIV. and Frederic II. By the separation of the military class, this system accorded with the character of an age, which placed so high a value on the arts of peace; and for that reason it succeeded. It had no beneficial re-action either on the diminution of wars, or on morality; but it brought with it the advantages of more secure tranquillity in peace, and of a considerable mitigation of the evils of war. But is it not evident that nations must grow ripe for subjugation, in proportion as they lay aside the instruments of defence?

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9. Though frequent attempts were made in this period, to give a single state the preponderance in Europe, by the destruction of the balance of power, they were always frustrated; and their failure naturally contributed to confirm that balance. The maritime powers operated in this period far more powerfully than in the former; since their interest demanded the preservation of their own influence, and the value placed on commerce and colonies would of course render it decisive. Standing armies are not fit for great conquests; they have their natural limits of themselves. Thus the political system of Europe, though the inequality of its members was so great, still remained a system of self-existent, independent states.

10. The relations between the states became in this period much closer, owing to the perfection which diplomacy had attained; the natural fruit of a political system, where it was not an authoritative decree, but negotiation that was the efficient power. The custom, which had become prevalent in the great courts, ever since the time of Richelieu, of keeping continual embassies even at the smaller, was thus enlarged, and the whole reduced to system. If the web of political negotiations was in consequence rendered much more complex, the introduction of personal influence into politics was, perhaps, the most pernicious consequence, because the petty passions of the potentates, and those who immediately surrounded them, were too frequently roused by unfavourable despatches, which even produced and prolonged wars. But, on the other hand, these embassies contributed very much towards settling the forms of foreign policy, and whoever, in examining these forms, sees something more than mere ceremony, will not hesitate to appreciate them accordingly.

Ferdinand the Catholic had established the maintenance of permanent embassies, but only at single courts. It was not till the French policy under Louis XIII. and XIV. comprehended almost all Europe, that the system of diplomacy was enlarged, and with the enlargement of it, the etiquette also became permanently fixed.

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FIRST PERIOD.

From 1661 *to* 1700

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

1. The following period is generally called the age of Louis XIV., as it includes the golden years of this monarch's reign. The name itself shows that France was, at this time, the prominent state of Europe. But although this precedence was founded partly on arms, it was far more so on the preponderating influence of civil refinement, which attracted the observation of foreign countries, by its splendour no less than its variety. To it the nation owed the dominion of their language; and does not a well-grounded dominion of the language in some degree establish a correspondent dominion of the nation? Conquests by arms are, after all, extremely limited; but these peaceful conquests comprehended the whole civilized world; and were imperishable because they were based, not on compulsion, but on freedom.

Le siècle de Louis XIV. (par M. de Voltaire). à Berlin, 1751. Rather a sketch than a complete account.

For the history of Belles Lettres; La Harpe *cours de littérature.* But also compare:

F. Bouterweck *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur.* B. ii. Gottingen, 1807; and the masterly critiques of Lessing and A. W. Schlegel.

2. Not only from its population, situation, and extent, was France the most powerful state of Europe; but also in consequence of the royal power, so much increased by Richelieu; this power, however, was still very remote from pure despotism. The constitution was too complicate to admit of this. In fact, what limits were not set to the royal will by the nobility and clergy, by prescription and local privileges? It could become formidable only to individuals,

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and not to the whole nation; nor easily even to single powerful bodies. Thus, in defiance of it, national spirit was preserved, and was elevated by the splendour of the age. The internal relations of the other leading states of the south of Europe, Spain, England, the Netherlands, and Germany, seemed especially adapted to exalt France, by serving as a foil to her.

1. After the death of Philip IV., († 1665,) SPAIN seems to have been in a passive, rather than an active state, under Charles II., († 1700,) a minor who never became of age, though it still continued to be the aim of French conquests in its Netherlands. But although the causes of the debility of Spain are to be attributed in part to the weakness of the government and its mistakes, (see p. 78,) they lay yet more in the constitution and the manners. In a kingdom, where the high offices of government are but benefices, purchased for three or four years, where the landed property is vested almost entirely in the hands of the nobility and clergy, a kingdom, where, from the want of circulation, no capital is accumulated, and where wealth consists in silver plate, a general impoverishment must ensue in the midst of riches. What an entire stagnation must then take place, when in seasons of war the treasures of America failed to be received!

Lettres de l'Espagne (par MD. D'AULNOI). Paris, 1682; and—

Relation de la Cour de Espagne. Paris, 1687. Incontestably the most lively description of the miserable condition of the country.

2. ENGLAND, given up to foreign influence under the government of the unworthy Charles II., and (since Clarendon's fall, 1667) of his venal minister, was destitute of any stable character; because there was a perpetual contradiction between the maxims of the Stuarts and those of the majority of the nation, which necessarily terminated in a catastrophe, such as the revolution of 1688, which hurled James II. from the throne, and raised to it William III.

3. The republic of the UNITED NETHERLANDS, powerful on the ocean, was so much the weaker on land, since the interest of the now prevailing party of the states, under the grand pensionary of Holland, Jean de Wit, 1653—1672, required the weakening of the land force. Great as a statesman, that is, as far as diplomacy could make him so, De Wit was obliged to find by experience, that continual negotiating hastens rather than averts a catastrophe.

4. AUSTRIA, under Leopold I., was, during its operations in Hungary, too much occupied with itself and the Turks, to be able ever to use its full power against France. But what an inequality was produced by the personal difference between the monarchs!—what an inequality, by the talents of their ministers and generals! And what could not be effected by means of the secret influence of the Jesuits, in whose hands Leopold was; for the Jesuits were also the confessors at the French court?

5. Under the political relations of this period, the GERMAN EMPIRE could not conceal its weakness; and its subsequent history demonstrates, that Louis XIV. had discovered but too soon, what force and

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policy might here accomplish. But the new roll of the empire in 1681, though it could not remove the actual deficiencies in its military constitution, proved that the nation would not remain behind the age; and the weight thrown into the balance of politics by the great elector, showed what even individual states of the empire were competent to effect.

I. *Public Contests in Europe from* 1661 *to* 1700.

Besides the general works on the history of France and the Netherlands, there belong here:

Histoire de la vie et du règne de Louis XIV., publiée par M. BRUZON DE LA MARTINIERE. à la Haye, 1740, 5 vols. 4to. This work is valuable, as it is not written in the court tone.

Histoire du règne de Louis XIV., par M. REBOULLET. 1746, 9 vols. 12mo. The author was a Jesuit.

Of memoirs:

Mémoires Historiques et instructions de Louis XIV. pour le Dauphin son fils, in the *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* Paris, 1806, 6 vols. Especially the two first volumes.

Œuvres de Louis D. de St. Simon. Paris, 1791, 13 vols. 8vo. A lively delineation of the principal personages, from personal observation.

1. There was no room in the existing political system of Europe for the plans of conquest formed by Louis XIV. They had reference to countries, with the fate of which the fate of the whole was intimately connected; and in case of success they would at the same time have overthrown their political principles. Frustrated in their principal aim, they served only to consolidate the existing order of things.

2. The commercial spirit, now excited in France by the government, acted no less strongly on the rest of Europe than the spirit of conquest. The genius of one man created for this empire, not only well-arranged finances, but also manufactures, commerce, colonies, ports, canals, and a powerful navy; all this surrounded by the splendour of high scientific, social, and military refinement. But the manner in which Colbert raised France to the rank of one of the first commercial powers, established the future influence of the mercantile system on general practical politics.

France was placed in an entirely new political situation, by its colonies, its monopolizing commercial companies, its treaties of commerce, and especially by the new tariffs of 1664 and 1667, regulated altogether according to the maxims of the mercantile system. Colbert's manufactures flourished, because the condition of society was ripe for them; his foreign commercial projects, modelled after the example of Holland,

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could hardly flourish, because France neither was nor could become like Holland.

Tableau du ministère de Colbert. à Amsterdam, 1774.

Eloge politique de Colbert, par M. PELISSERY. à Lausanne, 1775. Neither of the two exhausts the subject.

3. The commercial regulations of the English and Dutch contributed no less on the other side towards fomenting mutual jealousy. What else could have resulted from the
1660. confirmed and renewed Navigation Act of the former, the great commercial companies of the latter, and from the mutual exertions of all to supplant one another, or to spoil the market by excessive duties.

Mémoires de J. de Wit, traduits de l'Hollandois. Ratisbon, 1709, 12mo. An instructive exposition of the interests of the republic, with respect to politics and commerce; and generally of the political prospects at that time.

4. Besides this newly-awakened commercial policy, an effect more speedy and more powerful was produced by the ambition and plans of conquest of Louis XIV., supported
1661. by Louvois. The contest respecting precedence
1662. with Spain, the disputes with Rome respecting matters of police, however insignificant in themselves, were made very important by the claims to be in every thing the first. Could this be reconciled with the previously existing relations between free states?

5. But the favourite idea of Louis XIV., as it had previously been that of Richelieu, was the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, or Belgium. What could be more inviting? The accomplishment would have established the sovereignty of France in Europe. The freedom of the republic and of the German empire must have fallen of themselves; and Spain would ultimately have been obliged to submit. The preparation, in the mean time, involved Louis XIV. in a series of negotiations, and at the same time in closer connexions with the republic of the United Netherlands, which soon, however, became burdensome to him, as they disturbed his more important relations with England,
1662. which had already procured for him the acquisition of Dunkirk.

Negotiations were commenced between the grand pensionary De Wit and the Marquis d'Estrades, at the Hague, in order to retard, or at least to modify the project. A treaty of commerce and alliance was concluded with the republic on the 27th of April, 1662.

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Lettres, Mémoires, et Négociations de M. le Comte d'Estrades. Londres, 1745, T. i.—ix. The true school for the formation of diplomatists.

Brieven van de Wit. Amst. 1725, 6 vols. The leading source for the historical details.

6. Meanwhile war broke out between England and the republic, occasioned partly by commercial jealousy, partly by the personal hatred of Charles II. towards Holland. Although France and Denmark were the allies of the Dutch, the war was in reality carried on between the parties themselves only on the ocean, though with great obstinacy. The peace of Breda, by which the war was terminated, gave neither of the two maritime powers a decided superiority.

Hostilities were commenced on the coasts of Guinea as early as 1664. War was declared, March, 1665. Naval battles were fought, June 21, 1665, June 11, 14, and Aug. 4, 1666. France took an inefficient part, Jan. 26, 1666. The weakness of the Dutch on land was strikingly displayed in the contemporary war with the bishop of Munster, 1665. Peace was made at Breda, (after Ruyter had sailed up the Thames, June, 1667,) July 31, 1667. 1. Between England and France. The islands St. Christopher, Antigua, and Monserrat were restored to England, and Acadia to France. 2. Between England and Holland, on the principle of the *Uti possidetis.* In accordance with this, England retained New Belgium, (New York and New Jersey,) Holland retained Surinam. The Navigation Act was modified in favour of Holland, with respect to the navigation of the Rhine.

7. However, even before the conclusion of the peace of Breda, Louis XIV. had taken up arms to enforce his alleged claims to the Spanish Netherlands, founded principally on the *jus devolutionis*, after the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. king of Spain. Such a violation of the just right of possession was certainly an offence, not against Spain merely, but against all Europe. There were statesmen who were aware of this; and Sir William Temple formed at the Hague, with De Wit, and afterwards with Dohna, the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden.

The negotiation and the conclusion of the triple alliance, Jan. 23, 1668, consisting of a preliminary defensive league, and a further agreement of an armed mediation between France and Spain, for the liberty of Europe, is one of the noblest spectacles of modern history. Thus nobly do great statesmen feel, and thus openly and boldly do they act.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE; *Biographie von Heinrich Luden.* Göttingen, 1808. Derived mostly from SIR WILLIAM's own account in his *Letters*, (*Works*, vol. ii.,) and worthy of that great man.

8. Under these circumstances Louis XIV. considered it

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judicious to conclude the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But why did not the allies perfect their work, and leave the conqueror no portion of his booty? The maintenance of the sanctity of rightful possession can never be bought too dearly, in a system of states. But they were obliged to make haste, and the chief object was attained.

Peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle, May 2, 1668. France retained twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, among which were Douai, Tournay, and Ryssel. The war between Portugal and Spain, (see p. 104) was also terminated by a peace with the latter country, Jan. 13.—Spain retained Ceuta only.

9. Even after the restoration of peace, the political relations remained essentially changed. The conqueror was, or at least seemed to be, restrained by an alliance. What was not afterwards expected of alliances? On the other hand, France maintained a large army, equipped even in peace. Her relations with the republic were severed, and of all others they were apparently the most difficult to form anew, because the pride of the king was mortified, and defenceless Spain had shown all its weakness.

10. What else could arise from these incongruities, increased yet more by commercial disputes, but a project of revenge on the republic? with the downfal of which, it was likewise hoped, as if such a thing were possible, to gain by conquest her commerce and industry. But the more it was felt that such an attempt must raise a mighty storm, so much the more active was French policy in its endeavours to avert it.

The commercial disputes had their origin in the prohibition of the importation of Dutch goods, or the high duties laid on them by the augmented tariff of 1664, which the Dutch retaliated, 1671, by similar duties on French wines.—Thus the mercantile system, now in its development, afforded at least a pretext for ruinous wars.

1670. 11. To produce a dissolution of the renewed triple alliance, was the first object of French policy. And how could it fail of success, since this combination, the work of the ministers, had never seriously occupied the attention of Charles II., and to Sweden was a mere financial speculation?—But that it should not merely be dissolved, that it should, on the other hand, be converted into an alli-

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ance with France, was certainly more than could have been expected.

A secret alliance was formed between England and France by the Cabal ministry, not merely to produce the fall of the republic, but also of the British constitution; and, in consideration of subsidies, as usual, an alliance was soon after made with Sweden, April 14, 1672, nominally only for protection.—Sir William Temple, having been deceived by the king, retired into private life.

12. But it was principally the negotiations, which preceded this peace, that established the influence of Louis in the German empire. Negotiations were made with every one; and who, the great electors alone excepted, could resist the proposals of neutrality, subsidies, and marriage? Cologne and Munster actually became allies. Austria and Spain were silenced; while the duke of Lorrain, as the friend of the latter, was expelled from the country. 1670.
But can this seem strange, when De Wit himself could be deluded? That high-minded man, like so many ministers, viewed his state through a magnifying medium.

13. Policy appeared therefore to have prepared every thing with unexampled care, though to a senseless purpose. And, nevertheless, how falsely had it reckoned! When the storm of annihilation burst forth, the republic did not sink; but by the fall of De Wit, Louis himself was instrumental in raising up, in the person of William III., the man who subsequently stood in opposition to him, as the first Prince of Orange had done to Philip II. But if the latter fought only for the freedom of his country, William III. contended,—equally unwearied, and with equally varying success, in the cabinet as on the field of battle,—for the liberty of Europe. And he maintained it.

An attack was made on the republic by water and by land, in May, 1672. A naval battle was fought at Solbay, June 7, and a landing was frustrated, July 15. But great advances were made on land in connexion with Cologne and Munster; and four provinces were conquered in June and July.—Amsterdam was preserved by putting the country under water.—A revolution took place at the Hague; the brother of De Wit was murdered, Aug. 20. William III. was made hereditary stadtholder in five provinces.

Histoire de la vie et de la mort des deux illustres frères, Corneille et Jean de Wit. à Utrecht, 1709, 2 vols. 12mo.

14. The actual progress of France created, moreover, an entirely different sensation in Europe, from what mere diplo-

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macy could have done. All were filled with consternation at the imminent overthrow of a state like the republic. She soon found allies in Austria, Spain, Germany, and Brandenburg; while France lost those that it previously had, and not without trouble induced Sweden to take an active part, in order to employ Brandenburg and the empire. Thus unoffending countries had to suffer in a foreign cause; but the republic was saved, as soon as the war was removed from her boundaries. Without the loss of a foot of territory, she eventually withdrew from the contest; but the cost of affording satisfaction fell upon the weaker of her allies; as the superiority of the French generals held victory, as it were, in chains.

An alliance was formed between the republic, the emperor, Spain, and the duke of Lorrain, Aug. 30, 1673. The German empire engaged in the quarrel, March 31, 1674. The elector of Brandenburg, who had previously been compelled to conclude a separate peace at Vossem, June 6, 1673, renewed his alliance, and Denmark joined, July, 1674.—Already, in 1673, the war was transferred to the regions of the Rhine. The French conquered Mastricht, July 1. A disembarkation was prevented by three naval battles, on the 7th and 14th of June, and the 21st of August. On the other hand, a separate peace was made by England, Feb. 19, 1674, demanded by the voice of the nation. The Spanish Netherlands and Upper Rhine were subsequently the principal theatre of combat. In the former were Condé and Orange; and a bloody but indecisive battle occurred at Seneffe, Aug. 11.—In the latter were Turenne and Bournonville, at last joined by the elector of Brandenburg. Battles were fought at Sinsheim, June 16, at Ensisheim, Oct. 4, and a sudden attack was made at Mulhausen, in Alsace, Dec. 29. Turenne was always superior.—The Swedes invaded Brandenburg in 1675, but were defeated at Fehrbellin, June 28. Denmark and the empire declare war against them. Turenne and Montecuculi met on the Upper Rhine. The former died at Sasbach, July 27. But with the master of higher tactics, his school did not perish. In 1676 and 1677, Luxemburg and Orange were in the Netherlands. A battle was fought at Mont Cassel, April 11. The superiority of the former opened to Louis, in 1678, the way to the frontiers of Holland.

15. During the war, all sight had been lost of the original object, the annihilation of the republic. But the question was rendered so much the more complicate by the participation of so many powers. After a useless attempt
1673. to bring about a peace at Cologne, Nimwegen was finally fixed upon as the place for the meeting of a general congress. The manifold claims, the form of the negotiations, the intermediate events of the war, which pro-

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ceeded in the mean while, no less than the disputed points of ceremonial, gave reason to expect long and perhaps useless negotiations; but did not all these forms, not excepting the contests respecting rank, spring from the nature of a free political system, where each member felt its own independence, and mere physical superiority dared not dictate laws?—The proceedings were, at least, successful, being promoted by the zealous love of peace on the part of the states of Holland, and the apparently threatening position which England took by an alliance with Holland. But French policy severed the combination, by inducing the republic to make a separate peace, notwithstanding the resistance of the hereditary stadtholder. July 26, 1678.

The congress at Nimwegen had been slowly convening since 1676, and was opened in 1677. From the nature of things, a series of treaties of peace ensued.

1. Peace between France and the republic, Aug. 10, 1678. Complete restitution was made, in consideration of a promise of neutrality. —Of greater consequence to the Dutch than the treaty of peace, was the commercial treaty, concluded at the same time. The old commercial relations were restored.

2. Peace between France and Spain, Sept. 17, 1678. France retains *a*. Franche Comté; *b*. twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, with their territory; including Valenciennes, Condé, Cambrais, Ypres, etc.

3. Peace between France and the emperor and empire, Feb. 5, 1679. *a*. France retains Freiburg, in lieu of the right of holding a garrison in Philipsburg. (See p. 101.) *b*. To the duke of Lorrain a very imperfect restitution was made, which he refused to accept.

16. More difficulties were caused by the treaty of peace between Sweden, now deprived of its provinces, and Brandenburg and Denmark; for Louis made it a point of honour not to desert his ally. Peace was concluded by France and Sweden, with Brandenburg at St. Germain, and soon after with Denmark. To the latter, full restitution was made; to the former, one almost complete. The treaties between Sweden and the other allies contained nothing remarkable. June 29, 1679. Sept. 2.

The principal ambassadors to the congress at Nimwegen were: from France, the Counts d'Estrades, Avaux, (nephew of the ambassador to Munster, see p. 100,) and Colbert-Croissy. From Holland, van Beverning, van Haren, Boreel. From Austria, the bishop of Gurk and Count Kinsky. From Spain, the Marquis de los Balbasos, Count Fuente, etc. As mediators; from England: Temple, Hyde, Jenkins; from the Pope, Bevilacqua.

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Actes et mémoires des négociations de la paix de Nimegue. à Amsterd. 1680, tom. i.—iv., 12mo.—A collection of documents.

St. Didier, *Histoire de la paix de Nimegue.* Paris, 1697, 8vo. The author was secretary to the embassy of Count Avaux.

Histoire de traités de paix de Nimegue. 1754, tom. i. ii.

The memoirs of Lord Temple, both the older, from 1672 to 1679, and the latter, from 1679 to 1681, are replete with information for this period.

17. The concessions that France acquired by the treaties of peace, were by no means very dangerous for Europe, though the possession of the fortresses opened to it a door for perpetual invasions of the Netherlands. The greatest dangers arose from the manner in which the peace had been accomplished. France had not only sustained with success the combat with half of Europe; she had also severed the combination formed against herself; and when is the powerful more powerful than at such a moment? The disorder which prevailed in the public relations, and seemed to render a new combination impossible for a long time—and no individual state dared any longer to defy the preponderance of France—gave Louis time to reap all the advantages of his policy. Whether the projects that now appeared were a consequence of the peace, or whether the peace was a consequence of those projects, Europe had never before witnessed such encroachments on the sanctity of the rights of property as she now beheld.—Was the Prince of Orange wrong, in opposing, to the last, the conclusion of the separate peace? Was it the interest of the house of Orange alone, or was it the interest of all Europe?

The changes in the French administration of foreign affairs had an important influence on politics. The intriguing and luxurious Lyonne (since 1663) was followed, in 1671, by the reasonable and upright Pomponne, who was dismissed in 1679. His successor, the rough and violent Colbert-Croissy, (brother of the minister of finances, and father of Colbert-Torcy, his successor,) till 1696, accorded too well with the wild Louvois, to leave any thing to be hoped for but the worst.

18. Acts of violence were committed in Alsace, immediately after the peace; reunions (so called) were made of the countries of the German empire, (as dependencies of the new concessions,) and soon after, open violence was used against the Spanish Netherlands. It seemed clear that the Upper Rhine was to constitute the boundary of France.

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The chambers of the reunions were erected at Metz, Brisac, and Besançon, in 1680. Was not the form more irritating than the reality? —Possession was taken of Strasburg and Casale, Sept. 30, 1681, the keys of Upper Germany and Lombardy, in one day.—The Spanish Netherlands were invaded in 1683.—Luxemburg was conquered and Treves subdued, June, 1684. Lorrain still continued to be occupied by the French; and Genoa, which had become the friend of Spain, was obliged to find, by experience, what ideas Louis entertained of the laws of nations.

19. Loud remonstrances were not wanting in Europe; but the political relations of almost all the principal states, the weakness of Spain and the empire, the partiality of Charles II., the desire for peace entertained by the party of the states in Holland, which Louis managed by means of his ambassadors, and above all, the distress of Austria from the Turkish war, (see below,) appeared to destroy every hope of future resistance. Nevertheless, the unwearied activity of the Prince of Orange produced an alliance between the four leading states. But how careful were they to make it only defensive. Thus Louis advanced from conquest to conquest, always offering peace; and could still speak of generosity, when in the truce of twenty years he retained the greater part of his booty.

A defensive alliance was made at the Hague, Feb. 6, 1683, between the emperor, Spain, Sweden, and the republic, preceded by particular contracts, for the maintenance of the peace of Munster and Nimwegen. But it was the interpretation of this peace which was contested. A truce was finally agreed upon for twenty years, Aug. 15, 1684, partly with the emperor and empire, with the retaining on the part of France, of Strasburg and the reunions which dated from before the 1st of August, 1581, partly with Spain, with the retaining of Luxemburg, and the conquests made before the 26th of August, 1683.

Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Hollande depuis 1679—1688. Paris, 1751. T. i.—vi., 12mo. He was French ambassador at the Hague.

J. V. Luchesini *Historiarum sui temporis libri XIV.* Romæ, 1779, 3 vols. 4to.

20. But was it possible for a truce thus purchased, to defer the war for so long a period, as that for which it was formed? Was any barrier opposed to the devastations of the stream? Nothing could effect an alteration, but the exhaustion, with which the preponderating state purchased its superiority, and perhaps the change of very important personages. But in such a state, exhaustion must proceed

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very far in the interior, before it becomes externally visible; and although Colbert died, yet Louvois lived; one, to whom war was an absolute necessity.

1683.

21. Notwithstanding the temporary preservation of the peace, the materials of a new war were very naturally accumulated, by a series of single occurrences, which however heterogeneous in other respects, contributed to aggravate the animosity against the too overwhelming power of France; but the elements of combustion were spread so abundantly and so extensively, that should a war break out, it could hardly fail to become general. The new contests with the Pope, the altercation respecting the succession to the palatinate, and the quarrels about the election of bishop at Cologne, all concurred to produce this effect. And the persecution of the Huguenots, which was long ago organized, and which terminated in their banishment by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, must have contributed so much the more to involve Louis in continual difficulties with the Protestant powers, because such scenes were no longer common in Europe. And in addition, there were still perpetual petty altercations between France and the republic, on account of tariffs and prohibitions.

1685.

Disputes arose, in 1673, with Pope Innocent XI., respecting the *regale;* and led, in 1682, to the convocation of a national council, which by its four articles determined the relations with Rome, or the rights of the Gallican church; and in 1682 respecting the absurd freedom of quarters.—The altercation respecting the succession to the palatinate had its origin in the attempt of Louis, after the extinction of the palatine Simmerian male line with the elector Charles, in 1685, to assert the claims of his sister, the duchess of Orleans, to the allodial succession, and also to the greater portion of the country.—Quarrels arose about the episcopal election at Cologne in 1688; Louis supported his client, the bishop of Fürstenberg of Strasburg, in opposition to John Clement, prince of Bavaria, who, though chosen by the minority of the chapter, was nevertheless confirmed by the Pope.

22. While all thus felt themselves injured, and were apprehensive for themselves, it was more easy for the Prince of Orange to negotiate a new league, for maintaining the truce, which was concluded at Augsburg. As Louis considered it to be formed against himself, the immediate breaking out of a great war hardly appeared any longer doubtful; and though the embarrassment of Louvois precipitated the

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eruption, this was only what must have taken place at a somewhat later period.

The league of Augsburg was concluded July 29, 1686, between the emperor, Spain, Sweden, the elector of Bavaria, the Suabian, Bavarian, and Franconian circles, and some German princes. As the breach was already wide enough, the choice of elector of Cologne (see above) brought the matter to a crisis. War was declared against the emperor and empire, Sept. 24, 1688.

23. But scarcely had the war broken out, when an event occurred, that alone would have rendered war inevitable; the revolution in England, which raised William III. to the throne of his father-in-law. The reception given by Louis to James II. as a friend and a king, was a virtual declaration of hostilities. Jan., 1689.

24. Thus there was kindled in Europe a new war, the extent of which was as uncertain as its duration. In three months there was no longer a neutral state in the west of Europe; and Louvois took the best care to spread the flames most widely.

The declaration against the emperor and empire was followed by one against the Pope, as a secular prince; against the republic, Nov. 6, 1688; against Spain, April 15, 1689. War on France was declared by England, May 17. A grand alliance was formed at Vienna, May 12, 1689, to which the duke of Savoy also, forced by Louvois, acceded, June, 1690. Denmark promised auxiliaries to England.

25. It seemed inevitable, that the fearful nine years' contest, (remarkable also for new interdictions laid upon commerce,) in the Netherlands, in the Rhine lands, in Italy, in Ireland, and on the Spanish frontiers, and moreover on the ocean and Mediterranean, would terminate either in the subjection, or the most decisive triumph of France. And yet neither was the case. The superiority of the French generals, the unconquered Luxemberg, and the modest Catinat, still continued; but the progressive exhaustion of the interior became too apparent abroad, and Colbert had formed no pupils like Turenne.

Were not the horrible devastations of the palatinate, in 1688 and 1689, with fire and sword, by Louvois (†1691) in order to protect the frontiers, proofs of the consciousness of internal weakness? The French could never penetrate much beyond the Rhine, especially as they were opposed, after 1693, by the bold Louis, prince of Baden.—The principal theatre of the war was in the Netherlands, where Luxemberg gained a victory at Fleurus, July 1, 1690; one at Steenkerke, August 3, 1692;

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and at Neerwinden, July 29, 1693, the two latter over William III., and took Namur and several fortresses. Yet the Prince of Orange, often defeated but never vanquished, stood his ground; and what Luxemberg († Jan., 1695) could not effect, how could his successor Villeroy accomplish?—In Italy, a battle was fought between Catinat and Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy. Catinat obtained a victory at Stafarda, Aug. 18, 1690, and subdued Savoy, and a part of Piedmont in 1691. A battle was gained at Marsaglia, Oct. 4, 1603, when secret negotiations were commenced between the duke and France.—The war on the boundaries of Catalonia was for a long time a matter of secondary importance, but terminated, 1697, in the conquest of Barcelona.—The naval war, successfully begun by France, by Tourville's victory at Dieppe, July 10, 1690, was connected with the project of a landing in England and Ireland, in favour of James II. The latter, executed indeed by France, but badly sustained, was frustrated by the victory of William III. on the river Boyne, July 1, 1690; the former was frustrated by the naval victory of the British at La Hogue, May 29, 1692, the result of which insured to them the superiority.—The war reached also the East and West Indies. Carthagena in South America was conquered, May 5, 1697.—A strict embargo had been imposed by England from the commencement of the war; (the interdiction previously laid on all commerce with France, by an act of parliament, 1678, having been invoked by James II.;) for not only was the contraband trade, as usual, forbidden, but all commerce with France, either by natives or foreigners, Aug. 22, 1689. Scarcely, however, were any foreigners to be found who were neutral.

26. It was to be expected, that, in this war also, the separation of the grand confederacy would be the aim of French policy. It was hoped at least to gain the duke of Savoy, and secret negotiations were begun in 1694, that finally led to a treaty, by which France attained its object.

By the treaty at Turin: 1. The duke recovered all his territories and Pignerol itself, though much curtailed. 2. His daughter was espoused to the eldest grandson of Louis, the Duc de Bourgogne. 3. He promised to effect with Spain and Austria the neutrality of Italy, which was done by the treaty of Vigevano, Oct. 7.

27. Though this separation was of great moment, yet the acknowledging of William III. and the requisitions of Austria, placed great obstacles in the way of a pacification. But it was promoted on the side of France by the projects on the Spanish monarchy, (the preparations for which, possible only in peace, could be no longer protracted,) and on the other side by distrust among the allies. A congress, which was convened at the castle near Ryswick in Holland, prosecuted the negotiations under Swedish mediation; and

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Louis attained his object the sooner by creating new divisions among the confederates.

Treaty of Ryswick

The congress was opened at Ryswick, May 9, 1697. A preliminary agreement was made with the maritime powers; and after the expiration of the period of time assigned to the emperor and empire, peace was concluded between them and Spain, Sept. 20, in which the emperor and empire were soon forced to acquiesce, Oct. 30.

a. Peace between France and England. 1. William III. was acknowledged. 2. Conquests were mutually restored.

b. Peace between France and Holland, on condition of mutual restitution; and a commercial treaty.

c. Peace between France and Spain. All conquests and annexations in Catalonia and the Low Countries were restored, with the exception of some villages as adjusting the boundary.—Without any especial concession, France retained the already occupied part of St. Domingo. (See below.)

d. Peace with the emperor and empire. 1. France retained all the annexations in Alsace; and also Strasburg. 2. All others, except those of Alsace, were restored (yet according to an inserted clause, the Catholic religion was to remain *in statu quo*). 3. The quarrel respecting the palatine succession was to be decided by arbiters. 4. Full restitution was made to the duke of Lorrain.

The principal ambassadors were: from France, Callières, de Harlay; from England, the earl of Pembroke, Lord Lexington, etc.; from Holland, A. Heinsius, J. Borcel, etc.; from the emperor, Count Kaunitz, Stratman, von Sailern; from Spain, Don Quiros; from Sweden, as mediators, Count Bonde, von Lilienroth.

Actes, mémoires, et négociations de la paix de Ryswic, par AD. MOETJENS. T. i.—v. à la Haye, 1707.

Mémoires politiques pour servir á la parfaite intelligence de la paix de Ryswic, par DU MONT, 1699, T. i.—iv. contain a diplomatic history of the disputes of the states since the Westphalian peace, but go only to 1676.

28. Although by this tedious war, the wish of the allies, to restore things to the standing of the peace of Nimwegen, or if possible of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, was by no means perfectly satisfied, yet the principal object was attained; the mutual freedom and independence of the states was maintained and secured. The wars prosecuted for this end, and terminated by three such treaties of peace, had made the importance of the political balance of power to be so strongly felt, that there was no danger of its being soon lost in practice.

29. In close connexion with this, as a result of the war, stood the adjustment of the British continental policy in its leading forms. It proceeded from the rivalship with France,

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Span. p. 64 vol. II.

which, originating in the commercial jealousy existing between the nations, was permanently rooted by William III. Too weak to resist France on land, it attached itself to Austria, the second power of the continent, and very naturally to the house of Hapsburg, so long as it ruled in Spain. The close connexion with the Netherlands was a consequence of William III.'s accession to the throne; in Italy it had just learned to appreciate the importance of the Duke of Savoy, and in the German empire it could hardly want single allies.

30. But while those wars shook the west of Europe, storms no less violent raged in the east. The danger from the Turks was never so threatening to Germany as during this period, when it seemed inevitable that the fate of Vienna would decide that of the empire. The contests respecting Transylvania, and the tyranny of the Austrians in Hungary, did not leave the Turks without adherents; and though in regular battles they had to bend to German tactics, there were found some leaders who understood what might be effected by great masses of light troops, animated by national pride and religious hatred. Those wars had no small influence on the contests of western Europe. Louis XIV., in policy as in private life, never untrue to decorum, was not indeed the formal coadjutor of the enemy of Christendom; on the contrary, he sent an auxiliary force against it; but his ambassadors were not for this reason the less active in Constantinople, or his diplomatists in Hungary.

War was already, 1661—1664, stirred up in Transylvania, by the contested election between Prince Kemeny, supported by Austria, and Michael Abaffi, who was favoured by the Porte. The fortress of Grosswardein was taken 1661, and Neuhausel 1662. Imminent danger finally induced the empire, and even France, to afford assistance to the emperor. Montecuculi obtained a victory over Achmet Kiuprili, at St. Gotthard on the Raab, July 22, 1664; but in the truce of twenty years, Aug. 22, the Turks remained in possession of Neuhausel and Grosswardein.

31. The second war was much more lasting and important, which began under French influence, before the lapse of the truce, and was terminated at the close of the century by the peace of Carlowitz. How much were the contemporary undertakings of Louis XIV. favoured by it! But though, at its commencement, the siege of Vienna menaced

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the freedom of Germany, yet as the dominion of Austria was established by it in Hungary, Germany was in future secured from the attacks of the Turks. By the participation of Poland and Russia, the war was extended to the north of Europe. (See below.)

The truce of twenty years was broken by the assistance afforded to Count Tekeli in Hungary, 1682. Austria was invaded, and Vienna invested, July 22, 1683. The city was relieved by the combined German and Polish army, under the Duke Charles of Lorrain, and John Sobiesky, Sept. 12. The German princes subsequently took a more decided part, and Venice acceded, 1684. Hungary continued to be the theatre of the war. Neuhausel was conquered, Aug. 19, 1685, and Ofen by the Germans, Aug. 2, 1686. The Turks were defeated at Mohacz, Aug. 7, and Slavonia was lost, 1687. Venice makes conquests in Dalmatia, the Morea, and Attica. The vizier Kiuprili Mustapha, (since 1690,) shortly after demonstrated what may be effected in a barbarous nation by quickening the national spirit. Nissa was conquered, and Belgrade (Oct.); but in the battle of Salankemen, Aug. 19, 1691, the hero fell without finding a worthy successor. In the field the contest began to languish, while the contest of French and British diplomacy at Constantinople was proportionably active. But the latter impeded the peace; and when Mustapha II. placed himself, 1695, at the head of affairs, the war revived. When, however, Prince Eugene acquired the chief command, 1697, the war was decided by the battle at Zeutha (Sept. 11). Peace was concluded at Carlowitz, Jan. 26, 1699. 1. With Austria, which retained Transylvania, the Porte retaining Temeswar. 2. With Venice, which retained the Morea, besides the islands St. Mauro and Egina. 3. With Poland and Russia (see below).

DE LA CROIX, *Guerres des Turcs avec la Polonge, la Moscovie, et la Hongrie.* à la Haye, 1698, 8vo.

II. *Cursory view of the principal contemporary changes in each of the leading States of the West of Europe, and of their results.*

I. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

1. These two kingdoms, now separated, continued to exist without the renewed independence of Portugal being sufficient to give a new impulse to the national spirit. But the state of this country was better than that of Spain, where all the germs of internal corruption were so fully developed, (see p. 134,) that it is difficult to explain even the continuance of its political existence. But a great state can go a long way in the career of error, before it is overtaken by political death.

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II. FRANCE.

2. A reign so splendid as that of Louis XIV. harmonized too well with the character of the nation, to allow discontent, in spite of all oppression, to find a central point of resistance. The moderate aggrandizements that were made, were purchased at so high a price that they could scarcely be regarded as a gain. French influence, however, increased in a far greater degree than French power; and even the expulsion of the Huguenots, while at the same time this outrage upon humanity was compensated, in some measure, by the diffusion of French capital and industry, powerfully contributed thereto, by a corresponding diffusion of the French language and manners.

3. Yet in the midst of this period of royal unlimited power, religious controversy produced a germ, of slow growth indeed, but the less easier on that account to be exterminated, and which subsequently became of multiplied fruitfulness. Jansenism, as opposed to Jesuitism, was necessarily allied to freedom of thought and a spirit of inquiry; and thus afforded some amends for the immeasurable injury that France suffered in this respect from the expulsion of the Huguenots. The political influence of the Jesuits gave it, inevitably, though gradually, a political character, and was able to make it, afterwards, the vehicle of opposition to the government.

Jansenism had its origin in the controversy with the Jesuits respecting the book of Jansen, bishop of Ypres, († 1640,) *Augustinus s. de gratia.* By the condemnation of the five positions of Pope Alexander VII., 1656, and the form of the oath required, the contest became of practical importance among the clergy, as early as 1665. It did not, however, acquire any political importance till the following period.

III. ENGLAND.

4. No state experienced internal changes of such moment as England. They fully determined its future character as a state; and its part as a member of the European
1688. political system. The revolution which raised William III. to the throne, that had been vacated by his father-in-law, restored harmony between the nation

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and the government; and was, therefore, productive of incalculable benefit for the future. The supremacy of the Protestant religion and constitutional freedom were the desire of the people; both were secured to them by the present revolution; and formally ratified by the Bill of Rights.

5. But it was not the giving greater stability to forms, (generally the ancient ones,) that gave to the British constitution its subsequent life. This proceeded from the nation itself, from the long struggle of the lower house against the projects of the Stuarts, and from the national spirit, which was thereby brought into action; even the survival of the parties of whigs and tories, (for how could all parties have disappeared on a sudden?) was only another symptom of life.

6. The great advantages of this constitution by no means consisted in an equilibrium of powers, effected by artificial forms; on the contrary, they lay in the increased practical authority of parliament, especially in the lower house, and of the unrestrained intercourse of the monarch with it, by means of his organs, the ministers. As mediators between king and parliament, their weight was necessarily increased; but after the secret was disclosed, that a breach could never occur between the two houses, the maintenance of a majority in parliament was the condition of their efficiency. The public opposition secured them from secret cabals; though unity among themselves was naturally requisite; and for this, provision was made, in the manner of forming the ministry.

7. There could not therefore be, in any of the leading states of Europe, so much political life in the nation itself as in this country; and certainly not without reason was Great Britain, for a century, the object of admiration as the model of a constitutional monarchy; though men sought in forms for what lay much deeper. The constitution, however, unavoidably contained within itself the seeds of corruption. These lay in the imperfect state of representation; yet not so much in that alone, as in the subsequent abuses of the elective franchise, by which the ministers endeavoured to secure a majority in parliament.—Foreign powers had ample cause to use circumspection in their relations with England; for a change of ministers implied a change of

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political maxims, and the successors deemed themselves but slightly bound by the engagements of their predecessors.

De Lolme *sur la Constitution d'Angleterre.* Genève, 1771, 8vo. Schmalz, *Staatsverfassung von Gross Britannien.* 1806, 8vo.—Both very valuable works; but neither have exhausted the subject.

IV. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

1672–1702. 8. The making of the office of stadtholder hereditary in five provinces, a work of necessity, and ultimately the means of preservation, (see p. 139,) would probably have been attended with results of great consequence to the interior, had the new stadtholder possessed heirs. But while his activity was turned almost exclusively to foreign policy, it was limited at home principally to bringing men of his own principles into the states, and placing them in the offices of government. More of a statesman than a soldier, (though he was justly admired as a general in misfortune,) William III. formed rather a political than a military school; and as his spirit survived in Heinsius, Fagels, etc., his peculiar maxims of policy, which were opposition to France and union with England, continued in operation after his death.

V. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

9. After the settlement of contested political relations by the peace of Westphalia, we might indeed have expected internal quiet as the result; but the elements of diplomacy, and even of quarrel, could not be wanting in a body politic, whose internal relations were not only so infinitely involved of themselves, but also became even more complicated, owing to the distrust of religious parties, which pro-
1653. duced the formation of the *Corpus Evangelicorum.* But such disputes could hardly be called evils;
1663. and while they gave rise to the perpetual diet, the whole acquired a greater degree of solidity. The form of the ancient diet had its advantages in its time; but after the court manners had changed, it necessarily grew antiquated. A perpetual congress therefore arose, simply be-

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cause it was needed; it was scarcely known how! But for that very reason scarcely any one troubled himself to inquire how it might be most suitably organized.

10. Great changes were produced in the life of the German princes by the influence of the French court; but similar changes were also produced in their power, civil and military. As Louis XIV. found it conformable to his interest to treat the several princes as such, they felt themselves to be petty powers. An elector of Brandenburg threw an important weight into the scale of general politics, and the erection of the new electorate for Hanover seemed an occurrence of no less universal interest. The individual members of the German body politic acquired an increased importance, and through them the whole, though not in an equal proportion.

11. Consequently this state, though assaulted on two sides by powerful conquerors, contrived to maintain itself entire, with but few exceptions. The formidable Turkish wars, the school of courage for the Germans, rendered the sons of the princes generals, and likewise created a common point of union for the emperor and the states. Even the wars with France contributed to the same end; for notwithstanding the influence of French policy during peace, yet in war attachment to the common country was, on the whole, the predominant feeling.

VI. AUSTRIA AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

12. Great changes were to have been effected in the interior of the Austrian monarchy. Political unity, especially in the principal country, Hungary, was to have been enforced; for this was regarded as the sole method of establishing power. The consequence was an almost perpetual revolutionary state of affairs, which, joined with the formidable wars in the east and west, might have become highly dangerous to the monarchy. But there was not much cause for apprehension on the side of France, powerful as it was, so long as the empire, undivided, served as a bulwark. Austria.

13. Of much greater danger were the disturbances in Hungary, which were excited by the Hungary.

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persecutions of the Protestants, and had for their aim the establishment of hereditary and, if possible, of absolute power; and were prosecuted with a cruelty which drove even patriots to insurrection. Hungary became an hereditary monarchy; but the people preserved, on the whole, the rest of their constitution, and with it their nationality. This would have been a great gain, notwithstanding the defects of the constitution, had not the disposition for making the necessary reforms been crushed at the same time.

Great disturbances were created during the truce of twenty years, 1664, (see p. 149,) by the palatine Wesseleng († 1670); executions took place and a tribunal of terror was erected at Eperies.—The government at length appeared willing to adopt milder measures, but Tekeli, who had fled, transformed the disturbances into a Turkish war, of the victorious termination of which Austria availed itself for establishing the hereditary kingdom, Oct., 1687.—But this did not put an end to further plans in Vienna.

14. One very essential advantage, however, which Austria derived from the disturbances, was the union of Transylvania with Hungary; the last prince Michael Abaffi II. having been made a pensioner. This was important, not merely on account of the country itself, but because the most dangerous source of Turkish wars was thereby closed.

The prince Michael Abaffi II. abdicated, in 1699, in consequence of the peace of Carlowitz.—Tranquillity, however, was again interrupted by the rebellion of the younger Rakotzi, 1703, and his complete subjugation was not accomplished till 1711.

Turkish empire.

15. The Turkish empire was, during this period, for the last time the terror of Germany; for even in time of war Hungary was ever after a firm bulwark. That empire was usually in a state of anarchy; but even in such a state, experience has repeatedly shown, how difficult it is to overcome a people, when animated by national pride and religious fanaticism.

General remarks.

16. The changes which practical politics in general underwent, may be gathered from the history itself. They now began to be actuated by another and a different spirit. Religious interest ceased to be the mainspring of general policy; it no longer exercised much influence on the mutual relations of states. But it did not, therefore, lose its influence on internal affairs, partly in con-

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sequence of the arts of the Jesuits, and partly because it was the basis of the several constitutions. If the Protestants were persecuted in France and Hungary, the Catholics were no less so in Ireland.

17. The commercial and monied interest, which, being introduced by Colbert, was substituted in its place, soon disclosed its influence on the governments and people, by producing envy, altercation, and public feuds. After it was confidently believed, that the secret of the balance of trade was discovered, (the climax of folly!) an inexhaustible source of national hatred and envy was opened.

The investigations into the balance of trade, (or the loss and gain of specie, in international commerce,) had their origin in England under Charles II. They flowed immediately from the error, that specie is the criterion of national wealth, and occasioned all those measures, teeming with misfortune, intended to guide it by commercial restraint. The faith, however, of practical men is not to be shaken by the opposition of theory, or even of experience.

Among the authors of that time, consult,

Discourses on Trade, by S. Jos. Child. London, 1670.

18. The forms of civil administration were more strictly determined. As there was no longer any prime minister in France, a division was naturally formed into certain departments, at the head of which ministers were placed. This example was more or less followed by other states, though in most of them this separation of the branches of the administration, and the organization of the cabinet formed upon it, were far from being made on fixed principles. It was seen in France how much depended upon the choice of men; but the number of great ministers remained, nevertheless, much smaller even in these times, than the number of great generals. But has it not always been so?

19. Political economy reached in this period a much higher degree of perfection than in the preceding. It was not mere necessity that effected this; the subject stood in too close a connexion with the whole spirit of the new policy, not to engross general attention. Was not the wealth of the governments the ultimate object of the wealth of the nations, which it was attempted to promote by commerce, industry, and colonies? Here too Colbert's example led the way; but if he never found a worthy successor in France, how could this be expected in foreign countries?

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How does Colbert compare with Sully, as a financier? Both indeed were great reformers, but Colbert was also a creator. He merited this latter appellation, partly on account of the relation in which he placed an increased and varied national activity (though in accordance with the narrow views of his age) to the finances; and partly by his system of loans founded on safe credit. The great difficulties that he had to surmount, consisted, not so much in the greater sums which he had to procure, as in the repeated interruptions from expensive wars, while Sully was able to act undisturbed. The fabrics of both fell with their authors, because they had no support in the constitution.

20. It was entirely different with the British financial system, which arose about the end of this period, by funding the interest of the loans, without entering into any obligation to pay back the capital, which was transferable to any one. Who at its origin had any conception of its importance and future extent? But it immediately found a support in the constitution by the guarantee of parliament, and its gradual extension in the wealth of the nation, which had been on the increase for a century. It was not, therefore, the work of one man, but a fruit of the whole social condition, as it was formed by means of, and subsequent to, the British revolution.

The funding system had its origin in the establishment of the Bank, 1694, when it lent its capital to the government, at a lower rate of interest than was ever done before, in consequence of the existing war. The extension of this system of loans was possible, therefore, only in case of the continual increase of the national wealth of Britain. It is true, indeed, that no right at home or abroad was thus violated; but even what is good may be abused.

21. In other states the necessity was soon felt, of resorting to new resources for paying the public debt, and sinking funds were established by a reduction of interest: this measure, however, for want of being prosecuted with earnestness, was not so productive as it should have been. But the idea was suggested and continued to exist.

The first sinking fund was established in Holland, 1655; this example was followed by Pope Innocent XI., 1685. In Holland, the reduction was from five to four, in the States of the Church, from four to three per cent.

22. Not only the art of war, but all the affairs of war, acquired in these times an altered aspect; since in France great armies were maintained even in peace, trained for battle as for parade. Other powers, great and small, (among

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which was Austria in particular, on account of the Hungarian disturbances,) followed more or less the example of France; but England and Holland, where fears were entertained for the national freedom, followed the most slowly, and not without perpetual resistance from the parliament and the states. The reformation and perfection of the art of war in all its parts, necessarily proceeded from the new system.

If the new art of war was carried to perfection by Turenne and others, the authors and improvers of the new military system in general, were Le Tellier, and his son and successor, Louvois. Instead of the fourteen thousand men under Henry IV., Louis XIV. maintained since the peace of Nimwegen, one hundred and forty thousand men. What changes in the whole condition of society does the mere possibility of effecting such a measure imply!

Recherches sur la force de l'armée Françoise depuis Henri IV. jusqu' en 1805. à Paris, 1806.

23. In an equal degree with the land forces increased the marine, as a natural consequence of the formation of a mercantile system. In the course of a few years France assumed a station among the first maritime powers, and would perhaps have become the first, had she not been prevented by the coalition of two others after the defeat at La Hogue. 1692. At no period has the French navy become again what it was at that time. But the political influence of the maritime powers, as such, was so firmly settled, that it was impossible for it subsequently to decay.

III. *History of Colonial affairs, from* 1661 *to* 1700.

France.

1. The principal change that the colonial affairs of Europe endured in this period, was caused by the participation of France, which likewise determined in a great degree the character of their successive development. It was the period when the French government first began to think seriously of planting colonies. Those of the British were now strongly attached to the mother country, (an illustrious example for others!) with regard to navigation and trade, by means of the renewed Navigation Act, (see p. 116,) and prospered remarkably well; whereas

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those of other nations remained most of them in their former state.

2. The colonies that France has attempted to found, are in general of three sorts, commercial, agricultural, and for planting; but with very different success! The character of the government, desirous of forcing every thing by regulations, was but little calculated to form commercial colonies; while on the other hand the character of the nation itself, impatient as it was of long-continued and quiet exertion, was equally unsuited to the purpose of establishing agricultural colonies. The case is different with regard to the plantations, where the planter alone constitutes the overseer, and labour is soon rewarded by ample gain. Colonies of this kind only have prospered in the hands of the French.

3. In point of commercial compulsion, the maxims of French colonial policy coincided with those of other nations; in other respects they were more liberal. No one, not even strangers, were obstructed in visiting the colonies and settling in them. In France they stood under no especial board, but under the minister of the marine; and in their interior, their military and civil administration was divided between the governor and the intendant, who consulted in common on affairs of moment.

4. But while Colbert did homage to the prevailing spirit of his time by the foundation of colonies, he did so no less by the forms which he gave to commerce. It was committed to chartered companies. But great as were the privileges conferred upon them, no one of the companies subsisted long; commerce flourished only when it was left to itself.

5. Establishment of the French colonial system in the West Indies. French settlements had already been made on several of the islands there, (see p. 116,) but they were the property of private individuals. Colbert made them by purchase the property of the government. Not till this time, therefore, could a fixed administration be introduced.

The islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, and the Grenadillas, the small islands of Mariegalante, St. Martin, St. Christopher, St. Bartholomew, St. Croix, and Tortola, were purchased of their original cultivators by individuals, the last five by the Maltese. In 1664, Colbert bought them of the last mentioned, on the part of the government, for nearly a million of livres.—New colonists were sent

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out to Cayenne, in 1664, by a company; but with the same want of success.

RAYNAL, *Histoire philosophique et politique des isles Françaises dans les Indes occidentales.* Lausanne, 1784.—An abridgement of the great work mentioned p. 23.

6. But the portion of St. Domingo, acquired during this period, was to become of more importance to France than all these possessions put together. This, as well as the first settling of the other islands in general, was occasioned by the tyranny of the Spaniards, who, by treating all strangers as enemies, organized a perpetual war in the West Indies, and thus obliged foreign settlers to become corsairs and warriors. Thus arose the pirate state of the buccaniers, from which proceeded the French settlements on the western portion of St. Domingo. These settlements were retained by France after the peace of Ryswick, without any express contract, a Bourbon having soon after ascended the Spanish throne. Who then anticipated their future importance!

The expulsion of the French and English from St. Christopher gave rise to the buccaniers and pirates, after 1630.—They founded a piratical state on Tortuga, and made settlements on the western coasts of St. Domingo, being recognised and assisted by France, after the year 1664.

The history of the Buccaniers of America, by OEXMELIN. London, 1742, 2 vols.—For a more general view consult,

VON ARCHENHOLZ, *Geschichte der Flibustiers.* 1803. The sources for the history of their deeds and cruelties require to be more closely examined, as they may very likely have been disfigured by the Spanish writers. See BRYAN EDWARDS' *History of St. Domingo*, p. 128, note.

7. A privileged West Indian company was established. But it had to be abolished ten years after, being 1664.
unable to support itself, on account of the smuggling trade. Such restrictions were imposed upon the trade, even after it had been made free to all the French, that it was of little benefit. So long, moreover, as the West Indian produce was not as afterwards diffused through Europe, the colonies necessarily thrived slowly. Sugar and cotton, before the introduction of the coffee tree, were the chief produce of the islands.

The West Indian company, established by Colbert in 1664, comprehended not only all the American possessions from Canada to the river Amazon, but also the coasts of Africa from Cape Verd to the Cape of Good Hope, on account of the slave trade.—The company was abolished in 1674. The high duties on West Indian produce, and the restriction of the commerce to a few harbours, concurred to keep the colonies in a

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feeble state.—The African trade still remained in the hands of chartered companies. The Senegal company was established in 1679, at first for all the western coast from Cape Blanca to the Cape of Good Hope; although subsequently obliged to share it with the Guinea company, which was erected in 1685, and privileged to trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape.

J. B. LABAT, *nouveau voyage aux isles d'Amerique.* Paris, 1692, 8 vols. The leading work for acquiring a knowledge of the state of the French West Indies at that time.

8. Canada, augmented by Acadia, belongs to the class of agricultural colonies; but the cultivation of the soil, limited then to Lower Canada, continued to make but small progress; since the traffic in peltry and the fisheries of Newfoundland were more and more regarded as the principal object (see p. 90). The settlement attempted in Louisiana, after exploring the Mississippi, was wholly unsuccessful.

After long contention with England respecting Acadia, and frequent changes, France eventually remained in quiet possession of it, by the peace of Breda, 1667.—Plaisance was established on Newfoundland, but the fisheries were subsequently the occasion of perpetual quarrels with England.—La Salle sailed up the Mississippi in 1680, and made an unsuccessful attempt at a settlement.

Description de la Louisiane, par HENNEQUIN. Paris, 1685. The author was a missionary.

9. The participation of France in the East Indian trade must have been attended with still greater obstacles, as she had to encounter more powerful rivals, and possessed as yet no settlements. An East Indian commercial company was, nevertheless, chartered by Colbert; but it remained in such a languishing situation, that at the end of this period it was near its dissolution.

The French East Indian company was established in 1664, with the exclusive right of trading for fifteen years, of being the proprietors of their conquests, (invested, therefore, with the right of war!) and a fund of fifteen millions. The first experiment at conquests and settlements was made at Madagascar, under the active Carron, 1665. It was to become a second Java. A commercial colony, where there was nothing to buy or sell!—A factory was erected at Surat on the coast of Malabar, in 1675.—In 1679, Pondicherry was founded on the Coromandel coast, and was afterwards the principal place. But wars in Europe, which excited a lust of conquest even in the Indies, together with the measures of the government, especially after Colbert's death, reduced it to so low an ebb, that it could not maintain its monopoly. How could it have been otherwise? The mercantile system was at war with itself. In order to support domestic manufactures the importation of Indian fabrics was

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prohibited. The company was, therefore, only to carry on a coasting trade.

England.

10. The increase of the British colonies, attached more firmly to the mother country by means of the renewed Navigation Act, was more certain, because it depended less on the government than on the nation. The continual political and religious ferment under Charles II. and James II. was favourable for them. To what extent did not commerce and wealth even then increase? The peaceful relations, and even compacts with Spain, favoured the possessions in America; and the West Indies, on account of the progressive culture of Jamaica, began to be more important to the British. The advancement of these colonies was incontestably promoted by their free constitution, being placed under a governor and his council, assisted by an assembly of deputies from the several parishes. Commerce to them was free; the slave trade alone remained in the hands of a privileged company.

A compact was made with Spain, 1670; the sovereignty of Britain over its possessions in that quarter was expressly acknowledged; and the foundation of permanent harmony was laid.—In 1674, the fourth African company was established (the former ones of Elizabeth and Charles II. had fallen to decay); but this was unable long to maintain the monopoly. Forts were founded on the Gambia (St. James), and Sierra Leone.

11. Far more flourishing than the possessions of the British in the West Indies were those in North America. The circumstances of the times exerted a peculiarly happy influence upon them; not only by means of increased emigration, but also by the political revolutions in the parent land. The first obstacles in the way of colonization were mostly surmounted by the perseverance of the cultivators; England acquired the sole possession of the whole line of coast from Canada to Georgia; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, were formed into distinct provinces; others, as Connecticut and Rhode Island, obtained important privileges and improved constitutions.

The political alterations in the northern provinces, were especially caused by the expulsion of the Dutch, in 1664, from the regions near the Delaware (New Belgium, New Holland); these possessions being retained by England in the peace of Breda. (See p. 137.) This gave rise to the provinces of Delaware (afterwards united with Pennsylvania,

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1682—1704); New York and New Jersey, 1665; and New Hampshire, which was separated from Massachusetts, in 1691, and had a governor of its own.—The Carolinas had their origin, in 1663, in the grant, by Charles II., to eight lords, of the country between 31° and 36° N. lat. Thus separated from Virginia, (see p. 89,) it became an independent state, (divided, first in 1729, into North and South Carolina,) to which Locke gave a constitution (the worst of all his works).—The colonies in Pennsylvania were founded by the Quaker, William Penn, son of the admiral, 1682. He received the country on the Delaware, between 40° and 42° N. lat. from the king, in payment for a debt, as proprietor and hereditary governor. A contract was peaceably made with the Indians. He introduced perfect religious liberty, for which there was no room in Europe; and Philadelphia and Germantown were founded. A glorious idea was for the first time realized by Penn in a remote corner of the earth; and the example has not remained fruitless!

C. D. EBELING, *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Nord-Amerika.* Th. i.—vii. 1793—1803. This classical work comprises the ten northern provinces, to which is added of the southern, Virginia. For their domestic history, the leading sources are the collections of laws and statutes of several of them, such as New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, and N. Carolina.

12. To the north of the colonies, not only the fisheries of Newfoundland remained of great importance, but England appropriated to itself all the regions on Hudson's Bay, and with them the trade in peltry, which has since been prosecuted by a chartered company, without ever having been very lucrative.

The Hudson's Bay company was established in 1669, with a common fund.—Some geographical discoveries were made; but disputes always existed with the French in Canada.

13. The East India trade of the British remained in the hands of the chartered company, which underwent, however, several changes, and finally had to see a second company spring up by its side. Their possessions were somewhat augmented, but their trade was not so in an equal proportion; the Dutch were too powerful competitors. An essential change was produced in Indian commerce, by the great quantity of Indian muslins and silks imported into England after 1670. The clamour excited by it, contributed, not a little, towards increasing the general hatred against the company.

The patent of the East India company was renewed by Charles II., 1661, with political privileges, extended to the erection of forts.—Possession was taken of the island of St. Helena, deserted by the Dutch after the settlement of the Cape colony. This island, so important as

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a resting-place for ships returning from the Indies, was granted to the company by a royal patent, April 3, 1661. Bombay was acquired in 1661, by the marriage of the king; and was shortly after, in 1668, conferred on the company by the crown. Bombay increased in importance as a secure harbour and a commercial place, while Surat sunk lower and lower, owing to the oppressions of the Great Mogul, as sovereign, the rise of pirates, like Sevagi, together with the influx of smugglers and French, and the decline of Persian commerce. For this cause, the government was at last formally transferred from Surat to Bombay; which, as well as Madras, was declared a presidency in 1687, independent of Mogul dominion.—After the natives had been expelled from Bantam, by the aid of the Dutch, 1683, a factory and fort were erected at Bencoolen on Sumatra, 1687, for the pepper trade. Factories were established at Hoogly and Calcutta; and when hostilities commenced between the Great Mogul and the nabob of Bengal, 1687, exertions were made to maintain a fortress there also. The district of Calcutta was purchased and Fort William built, 1699, it having been declared a presidency.—A great outcry was raised against the company upon the introduction of cotton and silk goods, partly by the manufacturers, partly by the Levant association. Here too the mercantile system was at a loss.—Complaints were made against it in parliament, 1692. It purchased, however, a renewal of its patent, Oct. 7, 1693. A second company was finally formed, called the English East India Company, which obtained its privileges by the advance of two million pounds sterling to the government, Sept. 5. It was not, however, till the following period, that the intended union of the companies was accomplished.

F. RUSSEL, *Collection of Statutes, concerning the incorporation, trade, and commerce of the East India Company, with the statutes of piracy, lists of duties, etc., and an abridgement of the Company's charters.* Lond. 1786, fol. This indispensable collection contains, in full, all the acts respecting the company, from 1660 till 1786, as also all the charters abridged. Its utility is increased yet more by an excellent index.

BRUCE, *Annals, etc.* vol. ii. (see p. 88).

14. Thus the Dutch still remained in possession of the Indian trade, and their company received the renewal of its charter; though De Wit was superior to the common views of his age. They were now in exclusive possession of the spice islands. Continued hostilities with the Portuguese, gave them an opportunity to obtain a permanent footing on both coasts of the peninsula, by the conquests of Cochin and Negapatam (see p. 112); but they continued to be the masters of the islands, and grocery wares and spices were the principal objects of commerce; essentially different from those of the British and French, which consisted more in manufactures and raw materials. Holland.

A compact was made with Portugal, 1669, by which each party re-

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tained in the two Indies, its existing possessions.—In the spice islands, also, the company enlarged its territory by the war of three years, and by making a firm settlement in Celebes, 1669; and by the subjugation of Bantam, 1683. The Dutch resisted with decided success the attempts of the French company on Ceylon, in the war of 1672.

15. In the West Indies, too, the Dutch enlarged their jurisdiction by the possession of Surinam. Time, and Dutch perseverance, were able to form of this unhealthy country one of the most flourishing of colonies.

The colony of Surinam was first founded in 1642, by Portuguese, especially Jews, who fled from the inquisition. The English soon after settled there; but the Dutch reconquered it in 1667, and retained it in the peace of Breda.—It was sold to the West India company in 1679, and Paramaribo was founded. The plantations of Essequibo and Berbice also remained in the hands of the Dutch.

Spain. 16. The Spanish colonies, now more quiet on account of the connexion of the mother country with the maritime powers, underwent no important changes either in point of extent or of regulation. Though the missions of the Jesuits on the banks of the Paraguay and the Maragnon penetrated farther and farther, who heard any thing of it in Europe? The internal decay of the mother country seems to have had little influence upon them; of what consequence indeed was it who manufactured the commodities, with which they were supplied? They constituted a world in themselves, but then, it was a Spanish world; protected from conquests by its immense extent. The maritime cities, however, frequently suffered severely from the attacks of the buccaniers.

The missions of the Jesuits on the Paraguay were commenced in 1609, and had already made considerable progress in the present period.

Portugal. 17. Since the recovery of her independence, Portugal had saved only a few fragments of her East Indian dominion (see p. 117); in Brazil she was more fortunate. The treaty with Holland in the beginning of this period, insured to her the quiet possession of it. What might not Brazil have become, had the government so willed it? But the promotion of the smuggling trade, and the aggrandizement of territory as far as the river

1681. La Plata, by founding St. Sacrament, were regarded as more important that the promotion of

colonization. But this too was an advantage; and it was in all probability fortunate for Portugal, that the mines of gold were not discovered till the end of this period. In the interior the missions of the Jesuits advanced along the Maragnon, till they at last came in contact with those of the Spanish.

Almost all the northern coast was conquered by the Dutch, between 1630—1640, in the possession of which they remained, agreeably to the truce of June 23, 1641, till their expulsion by Juan de Vieira, 1654 (see p. 113). The definitive treaty with Holland, 1660, secured to the Portuguese, in consideration of a sum of money, their second country.—The great gold mines were discovered, first in Minas Geraes, at Villa Ricca, 1696. It was the work of the Paulists, a people collected under Spanish dominion in St. Paul, who, forming a state of freebooters and soldiers, turned from the slave trade to the seeking of gold, and for that purpose penetrated into the interior.

18. Even one of the northern states, Denmark, took a stand among the colonial powers, and by the possession of Tranquebar, sought to gain a share, however small, in the East Indian trade. Denmark.

The Danish East India company was founded as early as 1618, under Christian IV. First attempts were made to create a commerce, and Tranquebar was obtained from the rajah of Tanjore. But the company was dissolved in 1634. A second was nevertheless founded in 1670, which survived, though in a state of weakness, till 1729.

19. Thus the colonial system of the Europeans in the two Indies, while it became greater in extent, became also more and more complicate in geographical situation. Already in this period the wars of the Europeans reached their colonies; but the time was to come, when contests in the colonies would excite wars in Europe.

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FIRST PERIOD.

From 1661 *to* 1700.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

J. J. Schmauss, *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft*, etc. 2 Th. (see p. 118).

1. As the political relations of the south, fixed by the treaties of peace at Munster, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimwegen, and Ryswick, rested on these treaties, so the relations of the north were based on the pacifications of Oliva, Roeschild, Copenhagen, and Cardis (see p. 126). In the mutual relations of the states, therefore, there seemed to remain little matter for quarrels, provided the general quiet were not interrupted by any foreign influence, or Turkish wars, against which no policy could guard.

Poland.

2. But the internal relations of the individual states were unhappily so replete with the elements of disorder, that the preservation of peace in the north was almost hopeless.

1652.

Since Poland had become an elective kingdom, and unanimity of votes was requisite in the diets, how was a peaceful election to be expected, when it was so easy for strangers to interfere? When foreign policy went so far as even to attempt to appoint a successor in the lifetime of the king, a confusion was produced in the interior, which in such a state might at any time have produced a civil war.

A Polish royal election was henceforth nothing more than a double auction of the throne, partly in public, for the benefit of the state, partly in secret, for the benefit of the voters. Polish power was, nevertheless, maintained, so long as the rude vigour of the Sarmatians was not enervated by foreign manners, and their art of war was not surpassed by that of their neighbours. In the field and in the cabinet, characters like the Roman were not rare; but a mistaken national pride allowed no correct political intelligence to become prevalent.

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Polens Staatsveränderungen und letzte Verfassung, von FR. JOH. JEKEL. Wein, 1803, 3 Th. Very valuable for obtaining a knowledge of the interior of this state.

3. Sweden, possessing provinces almost surrounding the Baltic, still shone as the first power of the north. But these provinces, which occasioned a participation in the wars of the east and west, were an advantage of very doubtful character; and in the interior, during the minority of Charles XI., a condition, not much better than that of Poland, seemed on the point of obtaining, had not the king, at the decisive juncture, vindicated his rights and his revenues. But the regal power thus became almost absolute; and the time was to come, when Sweden would have to deplore the pernicious consequences. Sweden. 1680.

4. Prussia, though now a sovereign state, remained, nevertheless, a province of Brandenburg, because the latter was the residence of the court. What difference would there have been, had it been removed to Königsberg? This state partook, therefore, much more in the public contests of the south than in those of the north, except in so far as the latter were caused by the former. Prussia.

Already under the elector Frederic William, Prussia became independent in her foreign policy, as far as was compatible with the duties of a state of the empire; and the autocracy was established in the interior by arbitrary taxes, a consequence of the wars. But the great institutions, which constitute the character of the Prussian state, are of later origin.

5. The participation of Russia in the affairs of the north was at first very far from decisive; for this country needed a radically new internal organization, before it could exert any external influence; and this difficulty was still more aggravated by the family relations of the reigning dynasty. But the conquest of Azoph and the settlement in the Ukraine, showed what was to be expected in future. Russia.

Under the reign both of czar Alexis († 1676) and his son Feodor, († 1682,) the influence of Russia on Poland was limited to taking a part in the contests of the neighbouring countries. Some connexions were, nevertheless, contracted with remoter kingdoms, by means of embassies, as with France, in 1687; those with England originated in commercial relations.—The endeavours of Sophia, in the name of her incompetent brother Ivan, to usurp the government by the insurrection of the *Strelzi*,

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(the imperial life-guards,) 1682, caused a dissension with her half-brother Peter, which terminated, in 1689, with her downfal, and made Peter the ruler of Russia, Ivan († 1696) retaining nothing but the empty title.

Denmark.

6. Denmark, possessing greater stability in itself after the introduction of the autocracy, was subjected to an internal evil, the consequences of which were far more extended than was probably foreseen. The dispute that prevailed between the two lines of the reigning dynasty, the royal and ducal houses of Holstein-Gottorp, gradually affected the relations of the whole north, and at last contributed materially to produce the great war, which in the following period involved the whole of the north in its flames.

The house of Holstein-Gottorp was derived from Adolph, the younger son of King Frederic I.; by a division of the inheritance, in 1544, the ducal line of Gottorp received the half of Sleswic and Holstein, the former as a fief of Denmark, the latter as a fief of the German empire. The cause of the quarrel (subsequent to 1654) was the abrogation of the feudal allegiance of Sleswic, demanded by Duke Frederic II., at the peace of Roeschild, (see p. 126,) through his son-in-law Charles Gustavus, and confirmed by the peace of Copenhagen, 1660. But obliged by artifice, a restoration of the feudal allegiance was made by King Christian V., by the contract of Rendsburg, July 10, 1675; and Sleswic was subdued after the flight and remonstrance of the duke. A restoration was made, under French mediation, at the peace of Fontainbleau, 1679. But the relations with France being altered, Sleswic was again taken away, 1684, until after much discussion it was again restored to the duke, under the mediation of the emperor, Brandenburg, and Saxony, in the contract at Altona, June 20, 1689. But what enmity is more difficult to be appeased than family enmity? A closer connexion was formed with Sweden, by means of the marriage of the young Duke Frederic IV. with Hedwig Sophia, eldest sister of Charles XII., since 1698. We shall have occasion to examine the consequences of this marriage hereafter.

7. Such being the situation of the northern states, there was hardly any interest that could constitute a common centre of politics, had not the disturbances of the Cossacks in some degree supplied it. These contests were both of importance in themselves, since they decided respecting the dominion of the Ukraine and its warlike inhabitants; and were also very comprehensive, as the situation of this country rendered the participation of all the contiguous nations, of the Russians, the Poles, the Tartars, standing under Turkish protection, and of the Turks themselves, almost in-

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evitable.—The war, caused by them between Poland and Russia, (see p. 125,) having been prosecuted, generally without success, by Poland, was terminated by the truce at Andrussov, by which the Cossacks were divided between Russia and Poland.

The Cossacks, sprung from an intermixture of free Russians, Poles, and Tartars, in Podolia, and Volhynia, (Ukraine,) on both banks of the Dneiper, had been under the protection of the Poles since the fifteenth century. Stephen Bathori made them, by a military organization, 1576, an excellent bulwark against the Turks and Tartars. But the oppression of the Polish nobles, strengthened by religious hatred, urged them to rebellion under their Hetman Chmelnizki, in 1648, which, although quelled for a time, was however renewed in 1651, and in the end obliged them to submit to Russia, June 6, 1654. Poland was in consequence plunged into a war with Russia, while that with Sweden (see p. 126) still continued: and there was also some danger of a war with the Turks, as a portion of the Cossacks submitted to the Porte. Poland thus saw itself forced to acquiesce in the truce of Andrussov for fifteen years, Jan. 30, 1667 (afterwards repeatedly renewed, and finally confirmed for ever by the peace at Moscow, April 14, 1686). By this truce, 1. The Cossacks on the eastern and western bank of the Dneiper were divided between Russia and Poland. 2. Russia remained in possession of the palatinates of Kiev and Smolensk, and the regions on the eastern side of the Dneiper, Severia, and Tsernikov.—Thus these wars deprived Poland of its best conquests; but they were the school where heroes and generals were formed, like John Sobieski and his compeers.
VON MÜLLER, *von dem Ursprunge der Cossacken;* in *Sammlung Russischer Geschichten.* B. iv.

8. During these occurrences, a continual ferment existed in Poland, which was kept up by the endeavours ot France to effect the appointment of a French prince as successor of John Casimir. But when the latter, fatigued with the cares of government, finally abdicated, the attempts of foreigners in the new election were unsuccessful, and the throne was bestowed on Michael Wisnowiecki, a Pole, who was himself conscious how little he was adapted for such a station. An unhappy Turkish war, occasioned by the Cossack disputes, and terminated by an ignominious peace, again disturbed the quiet of Poland and the north, when the death of Michael occurred opportunely enough to save him from being deposed.

John Casimir, brought into the French interest by his wife, Louisa Maria, of the house of Nevers, was desirous to elevate the house of Condé to the Polish throne, 1660. This gave rise to internal disturbances under Lubomirski, which led to a civil war, 1665. After the

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death of the queen, 1667, the king abdicated, Sept. 17, 1668. Six foreigners came forward as candidates for the throne, which was, however, destined for a Polish noble, in the person of Michael. The Cossacks rebelled again under Doroscensko, who joined the Turks, 1672. This gave the Turks a pretence for a war, which was carried on most unhappily for the Poles, though in alliance with Russia. Kamieniec was lost, and the Turks penetrated into the heart of Poland, favoured by internal commotions; till Michael in the peace of Oct. 18, 1672, consented to the emancipation of the Cossacks and a tribute. The nation was unable to tolerate such a peace; the war was therefore renewed, 1673; and a victory gained at Chozim under John Sobieski, Nov. 11. The king himself died Nov. 10.

May 19, 1674. 9. The election of John Sobieski seemed to be necessarily of great moment, not merely for Poland, but for the whole north. Hardened, however, at an early age, into a soldier and general, he never ripened into a ruler. He wiped away the ignominy of the last peace; but thorough internal improvements entered not into the political horizon of a Polish noble; and largely as Poland participated in the contests of the north, it was all transitory, because it was purely personal.

The Turkish war was terminated by a separate peace at Zurawno, Oct. 16, 1676, by which, 1. The tribute was abolished. 2. Kamieniec and a third part of Ukraine were kept by the Turks.—But even this was wrested from them by the Russians, to whom it was secured by the truce of Radzyn, 1680.

Histoire de Jean Sobiesky, roi de Pologne, par M. L'ABBE COYER. à Warsowie, 1771, 3 vols. As faithful as a very spirited narrative can be.

Sweden. 10. While the Cossack disputes thus occupied Poland and Russia, Sweden had allowed itself to be inveigled by France into the war between Holland and Germany, and encouraged to make a diversion against Brandenburg, by which it became entangled in a
1675. war with Denmark and the German empire. It not only lost its provinces, but also, what was of no less value, its military renown, at Fehrbellin. The for-
June 28. mer it recovered by the instrumentality of France in the peace of St. Germain and Fontainbleau (see p. 141): but to restore the latter, there was first need of a king, who like Charles XII. was a soldier.

The foreign policy was ever determined principally by subsidies, which it drew sometimes from Spain, sometimes from France. How could that government have a fixed policy, which offered its assistance to the highest bidder?

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11. A new war having broken out with the Turks, Poland, and soon after Russia also, formed a union with Austria. The relief of Vienna (see p. 149) was in truth the most glorious day in the life of Sobieski; but fortune seems subsequently to have favoured him less, and he had to purchase the participation of Russia by changing the truce of Andrussov into a permanent peace. Sobieski did not live to see the end of the war; and Russia, far more than Poland, reaped the fruits of the long contest.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to conquer Kamieniec and Moldavia, 1684—1687. Russia engaged in the war, 1686. Conquests were made by the Austrians, in Hungary, as well as by the Russians of the Ukraine against the Tartars, 1688; but the internal relations of Russia impeded the progress of the war, till Peter I. became sole ruler. Azoph was besieged and taken, 1695 and 1696. In the truce, Dec. 25, 1698, (confirmed for thirty years, 1700,) Russia retained Azoph, as a fortified place, with its dependencies, with free trade on the Black Sea. Poland, by the peace at Carlowitz, (see p. 149,) recovers Kamieniec and Podolia, which had before been ceded.

12. Thus ended these wars, without indeed absolutely deciding the fate of the north, but not without preparing the way for it. The change of rulers in all the northern kingdoms about this time, by raising two of the most extraordinary men to the throne, produced in the ensuing period far greater revolutions than all the Cossack wars could have effected.

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SECOND PERIOD.

From 1700 *to* 1740.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

1. THREE great wars had been carried on against Louis XIV., for the maintenance of the balance of power, and this period opens with a fourth, still more protracted, and undertaken principally for the same purpose; while the north was suffering under a contest no less obstinate, but which was entirely distinct from that of the west. When this was finally suspended by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, the claims of all parties were by no means adjusted; and Europe afterwards remained in a fluctuating condition, from which proceeded a new conflagration; and, after this was allayed, there followed a series of negotiations, of alliances and counter-alliances, that characterize in a striking manner the increasing intricacy of the relations of the European political system. But notwithstanding all imperfections, the principal object was attained; and this must always be the first question of the intelligent observer.

2. But in such a disposition of things, the mercantile system lost none of its influence. This was a natural consequence of the ever increasing importance of colonies, from the time that their productions, especially coffee, sugar, and tea, began to come into more general use in Europe. The great influence which these commodities have had, not only on politics, but also on the reformation of social life, is not easily calculated. Apart from the vast gains resulting to the nations at large from commerce, and to the governments from duties,—what influence have not coffee-houses exercised in the capitals of Europe, as central points of political, mercantile, and literary transactions? In a word,

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without those productions, would the states in the west of Europe have acquired their present character?

3. The previous great wars had already plunged most of the states into debt, which was accumulated by new wars, and in general by increased wants. Men were thus led to use paper money on a large scale; but from ignorance of its nature, sometimes too confidently, by making the wants of the government, and not of the circulation, the measure of its abundance; sometimes too timidly, by regarding the mass of specie as the pledge for its redemption, often to the great detriment of the state. But the resources of the government were still always temporarily increased by it; and without it would never have been capable of any great and continued exertion; and happily it was not immediately discovered how far public credit and the system of loans might be carried.

The expression paper money is frequently used in a more comprehensive sense, (improperly however,) of all papers which the state issues on its own credit, in as far as they may be transferred to a third person (as bonds, especially stocks, etc.). In a narrower sense, paper money can denote that paper only which serves as a substitute for specie, i. e. which is destined immediately and solely for general circulation, as a general medium of payment. This is either issued directly by the government, (in the shape of assignats, treasury notes, etc.,) or by associations chartered for the purpose, called banks, (bank-notes or bills,) the relations of which to the government may be very different (as free banks, or government banks). All paper money, issued either directly or indirectly by the government, must be insecure, because governments cannot always be masters of their wants; the paper money of free banks can lose its credit only by their own fault; as no external causes oblige them to suffer its accumulation.

I. *History of the public Contests in Europe.*

Collections of state papers. Besides the general works (see p. 2):

Rousset *recueil d'actes, négociations, etc. depuis la paix d'Utrecht.* Tom. i.—xxi. 8vo. à Amsterdam, 1728, etc. It comprises the period of 1713—1748.

The historical works are:—

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII. siècle, contenant les négociations, traités, etc. concernant les affaires d'état, par M. De Lamberty. à la Haye, 1724, tom. i.—xiv. 4to. The leading work for the period 1700—1718. A full and impartial narration, with the documents inserted. The author, having passed a long time in a diplomatic situation, wrote this work during his old age, in retirement.

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Mémoires de M. de Torcy, pour servir à l'histoire des négociations depuis le traité de Ryswick, jusqu' à la paix d'Utrecht. Tom. i.—iii. 12mo. Paris, 1756. The author was a French minister and ambassador.

Mémoires et négociations secrètes de diverses cours de l'Europe, par M. DE LA TORRE. à la Haye, 1726, tom. i.—v. 8vo. They go from 1698 to 1714.

The political journals of the day, moreover, now become sources of history; but having been naturally written in the spirit of the country where they appeared, they must be estimated accordingly. The most important are:—

Mercure historique et politique de la Haye. From 1686—1782, vol. 1—187.

Die Europäische Fama. Th. 1—360 (from 1702—1734). *Die neue Europäische Fama* (from 1735—1756). Th. 1—197. Strongly Antigallic.

As a sketch:

F. G. HÄBERLIN, *voltständiger Entwurf der politischen Histoire des XVIII. Jahrhunderts.* Th. i. 1748. It extends from 1700 to 1740. A simple chronological narration of the occurrences, with an index to the authorities.

4. The great question which engrossed the attention of the cabinets of the west since the peace of Ryswick, and which gave rise not only to a tedious war, but also to most of the public contests of this period, was that respecting the Spanish succession, the Spanish line of the house of Hapsburg promising to become extinct with Charles II. This subject, at all events of the highest importance to Europe, was viewed partly as a question of right, and partly as a measure of political expediency. But the whole was an affair of the cabinets; the nation itself, though possessed of a legitimate claim to a voice in the discussion, was not consulted.

5. On the side of right, three great competitors came into consideration, laying claim to the whole monarchy; Louis XIV., as husband of Maria Theresa, the elder daughter of Charles II. for the Dauphin; Leopold I., as husband of the younger sister Margaret Theresa, and by right of the will of Philip IV., for one of his sons by his last marriage; and the elector of Bavaria, in behalf of his minor son, Joseph Ferdinand, as grandson of Margaret Theresa. The right of birth was in favour of the Dauphin; but he was opposed by the most solemn renunciations of his mother to all hereditary claims upon Spain. After him, the elector of Bavaria was the next male heir; but it was in the power

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of Leopold to have anticipated both, had he known how to improve the moment. The duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., demanded only a part.

Conclusions of right in favour of Austria may be found in THUCELII *Reichs-Staats-Acten*. T. i. ii.

La défense du droit de Marie Thérese Reine de France à la succession d'Espagne, par M. D'ANBUSSON. Paris, 1699.

6. The political point from which the cabinets, especially the maritime powers, viewed so important a question, was the maintenance of the balance of power. Could it be otherwise in an age when this had become the basis of politics? Could it be indifferent to them, what was to become of Spain, and particularly the Spanish Netherlands? It was regarded as an axiom, that the union of the whole Spanish monarchy with Austria or France, especially with the latter, would destroy the equilibrium; and particularly if the two crowns should be united in the person of one monarch. To prevent this, Louis XIV. had already promulgated his intention of transferring the claims of the Dauphin to his younger son, Philip, duke of Anjou; while Leopold I. declared himself ready to transfer his to the Archduke Charles, his younger son by his last marriage.

7. At Madrid, during the lifetime of the king, the marquis of Harcourt, the French ambassador, soon acquired an ascendency over the Count Harrach from the imperial court. But Louis XIV. knew very well, that the consent of the maritime powers was necessary; and the first treaty of partition concerted with them, which assigned to the elector, Spain itself with the colonies, and to the other two candidates, the provinces in Italy and the Netherlands, seemed to accord with the interest of each party and the whole political system of Europe, when the electoral prince was unhappily carried off by a premature death.

Oct. 11, 1698.

Feb. 6, 1699.

Besides the above: *Mémoires et négociations secrètes du Comte de Harrach*, par M. DE LA TORRE, à la Haye, 1720, 2 vols. 8vo, go from 1695 to the first treaty of partition.

8. Notwithstanding a second treaty of partition, signed by France and the maritime powers, little hope could remain of a peaceful compromise; for Austria not only refused to acquiesce in it, but in Spain

March 25, 1700.

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itself the idea was prevalent, both with the king and the nation, that any division would be a misfortune for the monarchy. The cession of the provinces in Europe was regarded as a loss of political strength as well as of commerce. And yet without this division, a compromise was hardly possible. How much blood and money would have been spared by the exercise of a little reason!

9. The approach of death and the Cardinal Portocarrero finally induced Charles II. to make a will, in which he bequeathed the whole Spanish monarchy, undivided, to Philip of Anjou, and in case of his refusal, to the Archduke Charles. The death of the king, which occurred soon after, left Louis XIV. nothing but the alternative of accepting the whole testament, or of observing the treaty of partition. Not without serious reflection—for how gladly would he have avoided war—did he resolve on the former.

Oct. 2, 1700.

Nov. 1, 1702.

10. Philip V. was acknowledged both in Spain and in all the colonies and provinces; even peace with the maritime powers seemed of possible continuance. But Leopold II. felt himself the more deeply wounded, in proportion as he was obliged to admit that he had lost the Spanish monarchy solely by his own fault.

11. Preparations commenced on both sides, and exertions were made before the commencement of the war to secure allies. France having gained the duke of Savoy by marriage, and the duke of Mantua by money, acquired beforehand a strong hold in Italy. In the Spanish Netherlands, the French availed themselves of the first moment for garrisoning the fortresses with their troops; and the disorders that broke out again in Hungary, under Rakotzi, were very much in their favour. But in Germany, the acquisition of Maximilian II. elector of Bavaria, who was joined by his brother, the elector of Cologne, seemed likely to be of the most important consequence. For thus one of the leading German princes, on the very frontiers of Austria, might easily be converted into a formidable antagonist of the latter.

1702.

12. But all these preparations were as unable to prevent the rise of a powerful alliance on the other side, as France was to maintain the predominance. In Germany, Austria

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immediately found allies in the new king of Prussia, in several other states, and soon afterwards in the whole empire; and the maritime powers, already irritated by the occupation of the Spanish Netherlands, were likewise summoned to war, when Louis XIV., in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, after the death of James II., acknowledged his son as king. And although the British throne, and the dignity of hereditary stadtholder, were at the same time vacated by the death of William III., yet the system followed by his successor Anne, and in the Netherlands, continued the same, and a closer connexion of all was the consequence.

Sept. 16, 1701.

March 8, 1702.

A grand alliance was concluded at the Hague, Sept. 7, 1701, between the emperor, England, and Holland, having for its object the conquest of the Spanish provinces and colonies. The alliance was subsequently strengthened by the accession of the king of Prussia, Jan. 20, 1702; of the German empire, after the previous associations of the circles, Sept. 28, 1702; of Portugal in consideration of subsidies and promised aggrandizement, at the expense of Spain and the colonies, May 16, 1703; and finally of the dissatisfied duke of Savoy, Oct. 25, 1703.

13. Considered in itself, the new alliance could hardly appear a durable one, because the projects of the maritime powers, which aimed at a partition, did but ill agree with the demands of Austria, which desired the whole. It acquired, however, an unexampled degree of consistency, when men of high minds and rare talents, bound together alike by principle and interest, were raised to its head. A triumvirate, like that of Eugene, Marlborough, and Heinsius is rarely found to occur in history; but not merely their greatness, their very weaknesses contributed to make the alliance indissoluble. Would it have been so without the avarice and ambition of Marlborough, without the obstinate narrowness of Heinsius? The noble Eugene alone is without a blemish.

The personal situation of these men rendered their sphere of action extensive; of Eugene as a general, and since 1703 president of the council of war; of Heinsius, as grand pensionary, without a stadtholder; of Marlborough, at once as a general, a statesman, and the head of a party. He ruled in the cabinet as well as in the field, as long as the party of the whigs was at the helm; a crafty, uncertain, fascinating hero.

Mémoires du Prince Eugène de Savoye, écrits par luimême. Weimar, 1810, 8vo. Remarkable both in a military and a psychological point of view; they were not however written by himself, but by the late Prince of Ligne.

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14. Though the war, therefore, in its origin, was a war between Austria and France, the flame could not fail soon to spread over all the west of Europe. The country, however, the possession of which was, in fact, the subject of dispute, remained a secondary scene; Italy, the Netherlands, and above all Germany, again had the melancholy lot of becoming the principal theatres.

The war was begun on the side of Austria, by Eugene's invasion of Italy, July, 1701, and occupation of Lombardy. It was not till after the capture of Villeroy, Feb. 1, 1702, that he found in Vendome, a cynic with the eye of a general, a more worthy foe. An engagement took place, with doubtful issue, at Luzzara, Aug. 16. The war commenced on the upper Rhine, by the conquest of Landau, Sept. 10, and in the Netherlands, 1702, where Marlborough first entered the field. But in 1703 the war first became general, both in Germany by the formal alliance of Bavaria with France, and the invasion, though ultimately unsuccessful, of Tyrol by the elector, June—Sept.; in Italy by the defection of the duke of Savoy to the interest of the allies, severely as he was at first punished for it by France; and in Spain itself, as it was possible after the accession of Portugal to the grand alliance to transfer the war to this country, by sending thither the Archduke Charles. The campaign of 1704 was the first decisive one for Germany. A great victory was obtained by the allies at Hochstädt or Blenheim, Aug. 13. Bavaria was conquered and Germany delivered. Such a day Louis XIV. had never witnessed.—The war was begun in Spain between Charles and Philip; it was not however decisive, but for that reason, the more destructive as a civil war, Charles being chiefly supported in Catalonia, Philip in Castile. The operations, which commenced about the same time at sea, especially on the Mediterranean, made the English masters of Gibraltar, Aug. 4.—After the death of Leopold I., May 5, 1705, the war was kept up with equal spirit under Joseph I. A vain attempt was made by Marlborough and Louis, Prince of Baden, to penetrate into the interior of France. But the campaign of 1706 put the allies in possession of the Netherlands, after Marlborough's victory at Ramillies, May 23, (over Villeroy,) and of Lombardy also, by the relief of Turin, Sept. 7, as soon as Eugene had no Vendome to encounter.—The consequences were, the entire evacuation of Lombardy by the French, agreeably to the terms of a convention at Milan, March 13, 1707; the conquest of Naples, almost without resistance, (in May,) and even an attempt, of no avail however, against Toulon (July and August). Great exertions were made by Louis XIV. for reconquering the Netherlands, 1708, which were frustrated by the defeat at Oudenarde, July 11, which in its turn was followed by the siege and taking of the French fortified place Lille, Oct. 23. Even Vendome and Boufflers were not sufficient to meet the combined abilities of Marlborough and Eugene.

15. Such defeats, united with internal misfortunes, reduced France to a situation which Louis XIV. had never

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before experienced. But he has the reputation of having borne calamity better than his enemies did their success. Ready to resign all that he seemed unable to maintain, he showed himself inflexible in every thing that would have involved a moral degradation. The negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg are the most instructive school for princes in misfortune. Perseverance here met with its reward; the allies slighted the opportunity, because they did not desire peace; and a few years after, Louis concluded one on terms which he would previously have deemed impossible.

The negotiations were commenced March, 1709, between the president Rouillé and the Dutch delegates Büys and Van der Düssen, first at Moerdyck and afterwards at Woerden; till Torcy himself, the minister of foreign affairs, being sent to the Hague, (in May,) appeared in the ante-chamber of the grand pensionary.—The demands of the allies were, in general, the entire cession of the whole Spanish monarchy in favour of Austria: in particular, of the Dutch,—the erection of barriers (i. e. garrisoning the boundary fortresses) in the Spanish Netherlands, and the restoration of the tariff of 1664; of the English,—the acknowledgment of the Protestant succession, and aggrandizement in the colonies; of the emperor and empire,—the restoration of things to the footing of the peace of Munster.—All this was conceded; (preliminaries, framed in forty articles, May 28;) and was more needed for the indemnification of the confederates? or for the security of Europe? But Louis XIV. could not, without dishonouring himself, subscribe to the deposition of Philip of Spain by his own instrumentality (Art. 4. 37). The negotiations for peace were in consequence broken off.

16. The war proceeded, still unfavourably for France; and yet even after the victory at Malplaquet, the allies were unable to resolve on peace; though they were as little able to penetrate into the interior. While Vendome was victorious in Spain, Villars and Boufflers defended with spirit the frontiers of the kingdom; and the results of the victories in the field were confined to the taking of some places.

A great battle was fought at Malplaquet, Sept. 11, 1709, in which, scarcely less honour accrued to Villars and Boufflers from the defeat, than Marlborough acquired by their victory. Mons was taken Oct. 20; Douai and some other places, 1710. Before the end of the year, the advantages obtained by the Archduke Charles in Spain were frustrated by Vendome, even after the conquest of Madrid, 1710, and French generals made amends to Philip V. for the losses he sustained from French women and ambassadors. But his antagonist Charles found neither a Vendome nor a Berwick.—The negotiations of peace were renewed to no purpose by d'Huxelles and Polignac with the Dutch,

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March—July. Louis consented even to furnish subsidies against his grandson. But the allies demanded that he himself, and he only, should depose him.

17. But the great question was not, after all, to be determined by the sword. An alteration was produced in the political relations of all parties by the fall of the whig ministry in England, which soon involved the fall of Marlborough; and by the death of the emperor Joseph I. The tories had insisted for a long time on the termination of a war, which England was prosecuting at a vast expense without any immediate gain. As soon, therefore, as they succeeded to the administration of affairs, the way seemed open for a separate peace. And when, after the death of Joseph I., his brother and successor Charles VI. became the only support of the house of Hapsburg, it could hardly appear politic for the maritime powers to unite in one person the imperial crown, with that of Hungary, Bohemia, and Spain.

The fall of the whig ministry was accomplished by the dismissal of Sunderland and Godolphin, Aug. 10. A new ministry of the tories was formed under Harley, the Earl of Oxford, and St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. Secret negotiations were soon entered into with France by Gauthier, and afterwards by Prior. Carefully as the semblance of a separate peace was avoided, there was an end to the confidence of the confederates; and after Marlborough's removal, Jan., 1712, (who was followed by that of Ormond, merely for appearance sake,) and Villars' victory at Denain, July 24, the fortune of war turned in favour of France. The preliminaries of peace between France and England, Oct. 8, 1711, were communicated to the allies as a mere project, though the war, however, ceased from that moment.

Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, by W. COXE. 1820, 6 vols. 8vo. From original papers. A leading work for this period.

18. This separation of the alliance led, of course, to a peace, but one far different from that which might have been obtained a short time before; and as Holland was still regarded as the centre of politics, Utrecht was selected as the place for the meeting of the congress. The nature of things now rendered it necessary, that instead of a general peace, a series of treaties should be concluded, partly between Spain, and partly between France and each of the allies, in all of which treaties each party determined its own claims. But neither respecting these nor respecting the principal question, the fate of the Spanish monarchy, were the allies agreed among themselves. While Austria selfishly persist-

ed in its own demands, England, and even the rest, were not averse to leaving the Spanish throne to the house of Anjou, (with the exception of its European provinces,) provided there should be no union of the crowns of France and Spain on one head. Distrust arose, moreover, between England and Holland themselves, because each was jealous of the commercial privileges that the other wished to reserve for itself. Could France commence a negotiation under more promising auspices?

The congress opened at Utrecht, Jan. 29, 1712, at first between the plenipotentiaries of France, England, and Savoy only; those of the other allies arrived in February. The dissolution of the alliance was already decided by the determination, that each of the confederates should submit his claims singly.—The contests between the allies increased, while the negotiations were almost entirely in the hands of the English, and were carried on in secret directly between the cabinets of St. James and Versailles. The final results were, separate treaties of peace concluded between the other allies, leaving Austria and the empire to themselves. Preliminary contracts: 1. Mutual renunciation of France by the house of Anjou, and of Spain by the French princes, June 22, 1712. 2. A compact between Austria and France respecting the evacuation of Catalonia and the neutrality of Italy, March 14, 1713, at the instigation of England. These were followed, April 11, by the following treaties of peace with France.

1. *Peace between France and England.* *a.* Acknowledgment of the Protestant succession in England, in favour of the house of Hanover, and the removal of the pretender from France. *b.* Permanent separation of the crowns of Spain and France. *c.* Dismantling of the harbour of Dunkirk. *d.* The cession to England of Newfoundland; (with the reservation of Cape Breton and a participation in the fisheries;) of Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries; of Hudson's Bay and the contiguous regions, and the French portion of St. Christopher. *e.* That France should carry on no further trade to the Spanish colonies than she did under Charles II., and should possess no particular privileges there.—A more advantageous treaty of commerce was made for England. *a.* The ancient prohibitions were repealed. *b.* Perfect reciprocity was established, and treatment on the footing of the most favoured nations. *c.* The fundamental principle was recognised, that, with the exception of contraband articles, restricted merely to the necessaries of war, free ships make free goods.

2. *Peace between France and the Netherlands.* *a.* A barrier was established against France. The Spanish Netherlands were therefore relinquished to the republic, that she might resign them to Austria after the formation of a barrier treaty. *b.* France was restored to the possession of Lille, and the other frontier places which she had lost.—A commercial treaty, advantageous for the republic, was made at the same time. The rate of duties was diminished, and the free introduction of herrings permitted.

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3. *Peace between France and Savoy.* *a.* The boundaries were established favourably for Savoy. *b.* Savoy received the island of Sicily as a kingdom, and *c.* reserved its claims to Spain in case of the extinction of the house of Anjou.

4. *Peace between France and Portugal.* The boundaries were fixed in South America, by which Portugal retained the territory between the rivers Maragnon and the Oyapok.

5. *Peace between France and Prussia.* *a.* France recognised the Prussian royal title. *b.* Relinquished to Prussia, in the name of the king of Spain, the upper quarter of Guelderland. *c.* Recognised the king of Prussia as sovereign of Neufchatel. *d.* Prussia resigned to France its inherited rights to the principality of Orange.

Spain concluded peace at Utrecht with England and Savoy, July 13, 1713.

1. *Peace between Spain and England.* *a.* Spain relinquished to England, Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. *b.* Spain grants to England (conformably to the *assiento* or contract signed in Madrid on the 29th of March) the right, which France had before possessed, of importing for thirty years 4800 negroes into America ; and permission to despatch every year a ship of 500 tons to Porto Bello. *c.* It was not to confer either on France, or any other power, commercial liberties of trading to the Indies, nor was it to alienate any of its possessions.

2. *Peace between Spain and Savoy.* *a.* Cession of Sicily. *b.* Repetition of the terms contracted with France. So afterwards in the treaties of peace with Holland and Portugal, June 26, 1714.

The most important plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were: from France, the Marshal d'Huxelles, Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) Polignac, and M. Menager. From England, the Earl of Stafford. From the Netherlands, Van Buys and Van der Düssen. From the emperor, Count Sinzendorf. From Spain, Count Maffei, etc.

Actes, mémoires et autres pièces authentiques concernant la paix d'Utrecht. 1714. T. i.—vi. 12mo. The most complete collection of state papers.

Letters and correspondence of the R. H. Lord Visc. Bolingbroke, by GIBB. PARKE. Lond. 1798, vol. i.—iv. 8vo, containing the political correspondence of the minister during his administration from 1710—1714.

Histoire du congrès de la paix d'Utrecht, comme aussi de celle de Rastadt et Bade. Utrecht, 1716. 12mo.

19. Thus the emperor and empire were left to themselves, in concluding the peace. Though most of the provinces of Spain were reserved for the former, the latter on the contrary was offered only the fundamental articles of the peace of Ryswick, and a limit of time was peremptorily set to both, which was not accepted. The war still continued, especially on the Rhine, with little success for Austria. The consequence was, a renewal of the negotiations between the two, the next winter, at Rastadt, which led to a peace, that was afterwards changed into a peace of

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the empire at Baden. Austria obtained its share; the empire on the contrary—no longer at unity with itself, owing to the separate treaties of peace—went away empty; and the pleasing dream of a complete restoration to the footing of the peace of Munster vanished at once.

The war continued on the Rhine, 1713; Landau was taken, Aug. 20, and Freiburg, Nov. 16, by Villars. Negotiations were commenced between him and Eugene at Rastadt, Nov., and lasted till March, 1714. The peace was finally concluded March 6, under the name of preliminaries, which were afterwards offered to the empire for acceptance. Principal conditions: *a.* That Austria should take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, after having agreed upon a barrier for Holland. *b.* That she should continue in possession of her territories in Italy, viz. Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the *Stati degli presidi.* *c.* That restitution should be made of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been put under the ban of the empire, in consideration of the acknowledgment of the electorate of Hanover. *d.* The empire received only a restoration of the state of things that existed before the war, conformably to the provisions of the peace of Munster, Nimwegen, and Ryswick.—The preliminaries proffered to the empire were accepted and ratified at Baden, in Switzerland, Sept. 7.

20. The decision of the contest was, therefore, as far as respected the principal object, effected by the separation of the provinces in Europe, which would have been willingly relinquished even before the war. But the contest unhappily was not wholly decided; though the war ceased for the present. Between the two leading competitors, Spain and Austria, no formal peace subsisted, because neither would resign its pretensions. The fluctuating condition in which the European system remained for ten years, was thence inevitable, and the maintenance of the peace of Utrecht was one of the most difficult problems of policy.

21. The consequences, which this war and the treaties of peace by which it was terminated brought upon Europe, were alike various and important. As the Spanish monarchy belonged to a branch of the house of Bourbon, it put an end to the ancient rivalry between France and Spain, for which Europe had suffered so severely. But it soon became evident, that bonds of consanguinity are by no means strengthened by being made subservient to motives of policy. The consequences apprehended for the equilibrium of Europe, did not indeed ensue; though France was, in fact, so utterly exhausted, that the closest connexion with Spain could excite but little apprehension.

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22. The separation of the Spanish provinces from the mother country was particularly important to the states of Europe, inasmuch as the Netherlands thereby came into the possession of Austria. Always the immediate object of French conquest, it was one of the prevalent maxims of policy, that their maintenance was the interest of all, and the condition of the preservation of the balance of power. Did not in fact the fate of the republic, of the German empire, and with it that of Austria itself, materially depend thereon?

23. One of the most important consequences of these wars, was the enlarged influence of England. Its system of loans (see p. 156) enabled it to give to its subsidiary treaties an unparalleled extension; and the part it had already begun to resume in continental politics was enlarged and strengthened. The acquisition of the Low Countries by Austria, seemed to render its connexion with that country inseparable; the republic was blindly devoted to it; while Savoy and the single states of the empire were to be had in exchange for subsidies. The peace of Utrecht was concluded under its direction, and happily, therefore, the maintenance of this peace appeared its natural policy. Ought we to be astonished, then, that the management of the affairs of Europe were for a long time in its hands?

24. Though the war did not possess much of the character of a naval war, nevertheless, in the ensuing peace, the mercantile system began to manifest itself in all its strength. Grants of commercial privileges of the highest importance were made the conditions of peace with the maritime powers, and even territorial concessions were made partly on account of commerce. The foundation of the great commercial preponderance of England was in reality laid by the peace of Utrecht, and with it, the germ of two future mighty wars; but these consequences necessarily had a gradual development, and the republic still remained for a considerable period the first commercial state of this quarter of the globe.

25. The situation of the single states was altered, not merely by the war, but partially also by the change of governments. In Spain, a new dynasty ascended the throne; but Philip V. was not the prince to raise up a fallen king-

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dom. For this purpose his wife, Elizabeth of Parma, would have been the fitter person, had she not been swayed, more by the interest of her family, than by the interest of the state. But nothing was too dear to her, when the question related to providing for her sons; and without gaining any thing for itself, Spain acquired by her means a greater influence—unhappily, however, a pernicious influence—on the system of Europe, than it had had under the last of the house of Hapsburg.

26. Portugal, bound to England during the war by the ties of policy, was upon its termination still more closely connected with it by the ties of commerce. 1703. But though the treaty of Methuen was injurious to industry, did the fault lie in the treaty, or in the nation and government? If the woollen manufactures no longer found support, were there no other? Was there no soil to be cultivated? As long as Portugal, however, continued to find in England a market for its wines, the bonds of political union were strengthened at the same time with the mercantile, and in fact rendered almost indissoluble.

27. The greatest change, however, occurred in France. Sept. 1, 1715. Louis XIV. outlived the war but a short time, and in his great grandson Louis XV. left a weak and minor child for his successor. His authority died with him, and, contrary to his will, his nephew Philip of Orleans obtained the regency, with all the till 1723. plenitude of power. Though without morals, or even any sense of shame, he was yet looked upon as a greater profligate than he really was; and the long-continued anxiety respecting the life of the young king, who was, moreover, weakly, had a strong influence on the politics of the time, and especially on the relations with the Spanish line. Who, in such event, was to succeed, Philip of Spain, or the Duke of Orleans? The mistrust between the two was therefore as natural as it was momentous; since it could not but determine the character of foreign connexions.

Changes took place in the administration of foreign affairs. A *Conseil* was established under Marshal d' Huxelles as president. The patriotic and honest Torcy resigned, 1716, after nineteen years of service (see p. 142). After the abolition of the *Conseil*, the infamous Dubois was appointed secretary of state, 1718, and at last prime minister, 1722.

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St. Simon, *Mémoires secrèts de la regence,* (*Œuvres*, vols. vii. viii.) See p. 135.

28. In England, also, after the death of Anne, by the most wonderful course of Providence, the house of Hanover succeeded that of the Stuarts. Protestantism gave them the throne, and it was Protestantism that was to preserve it to them. No new maxims, no new system of continential policy, (for this was not determined for the first time by the possession of Hanover,) could therefore become prevalent; it was the ancient policy of William III. modified according to the circumstances of the times. Thus harmony was established between the nation and the government; and, fortunately for the new dynasty, there was for a long time yet a pretender, who did not permit these maxims to be forgotten.

Aug. 12, 1714.

The natural consequence of this policy was the fall of the tory ministry, which had made itself more than suspected by its conduct towards the pretender, 1714, and the restoration of the superiority of the whigs.

29. In this war the republic, from being powerful by sea, had become almost equally powerful by land. It had increased the burden of her debts to three hundred and fifty millions of guilders; so dear was the purchase of the barrier treaty, in which she saw the security of her existence. She derived, moreover, an important lesson from her experience in this war, that she had little to gain from participation in the contests of the greater powers; and from this time it was the fundamental axiom of her policy to keep as free from them as possible. For a power that had taken its station amongst the first, was not such a retiring more dangerous than participation? By lulling into slumber her military energies, especially in a country which possessed no stadtholder and captain-general since William III.; a decline in the opinion of the other powers was a consequence, which, though gradual, was inevitable and of the last importance. A state passes for the value it sets upon itself.

A barrier treaty with Austria was signed at Antwerp, under the mediation of England, Nov. 15, 1715; in which the republic, by relinquishing the Low Countries to the emperor, acquired in exchange the exclusive right of holding garrisons in Namur, Dornik, Menin, Warneton, Ypres, and Fort Knocke, and, in common with Austria, in Ruremonde.—But what are fortresses without soldiers?

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30. The Austrian monarchy was aggrandized by the possession of certain provinces, of Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Low Countries. Whether this aggrandizement was to be a gain or a loss, depended on the spirit of the administration. Adapted for serving, in connexion with the empire, as a bulwark to the main body of the monarchy, they would, nevertheless, if weakly defended, only offer so many points of attack to an enemy; and under an administration like that of Charles VI., the truth of this was soon experienced.

The possession of Transylvania was secured, in 1711, by the suppression of the disturbances caused by Francis Rakotzi.

31. The German empire, internally distracted by the policy of Bavaria, was reunited again by the peace, as far as it could be so. The example, however, once given, was not without its consequences. But the times approached, when entirely different schisms were to arise.

32. Two new regal thrones were erected, the one for the house of Brandenburg in Prussia, (see below,) the other for the house of Savoy in Sicily, which it soon after had to exchange for Sardinia. Both were then states of secondary rank, but differed in this important particular, that the former was yet to have its greatest rulers, the other had already enjoyed them. This fundamental difference afterwards afforded the criterion of their influence on the states-system of Europe.

33. The great point on which the politics of the west of Europe were now to turn, (in the east the Turkish wars, that soon ensued, formed an exception,) was the preservation of the peace of Utrecht, which was in a most tottering condition; and the diplomacy of the cabinets almost universally aimed at this, either directly or indirectly; because on it depended almost every other great political interest.

34. Those powers were of course most interested in the preservation of the peace, who were the greatest gainers by it. At the head of these was England, under whose direction it had been concluded. Its flourishing commerce with all parts of the world was in several essential particulars founded on the conditions of this peace; and the Protestant succession was no less confirmed by it. France had an equal interest from other causes; for with this peace was

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involved the renunciation of the French throne by the house of Anjou, to which Philip of Orleans was indebted for the regency. Austria had to seek in the peace of Utrecht for the secure possession of the conceded provinces; and even the republic, indifferent, as she soon showed herself, in the Italian contests, could enjoy her new privileges only in time of peace. Such an interest occasioned closer relations between those powers; and even the ancient rivalship between France and England expired, so long as personal interest outweighed the interest of the state.

An alliance was formed between England and Austria, May 25, 1716, and with France and the republic, Jan. 4, 1717, both for the preservation of peace.

35. Entirely different purposes were cherished by Spain. The loss of the provinces, especially of those in Italy, was not forgotten. And though Philip V. would never have disquieted himself on the subject, he was, on the other hand, under the dominion of persons who were interested in the renewal of the war. Elizabeth his queen, already mother of two sons, began even while they were in their cradle to meditate a provision for them. Through her instrumentality, the abbate Alberoni, her countryman, had made his way to the elevation of cardinal and prime minister; not without the talents of a great statesman, had he merely known how to distinguish between a statesman and a political projector. But while the whole character of foreign policy was changed, together with the internal administration, he entered upon such broad projects, that the boldest hopes could hardly cherish an idea of their feasibility.

Projects of Alberoni in respect to foreign policy and their connexion. While the reconquest of the Italian provinces was the immediate object, he not only entertained at the same time the project of securing the regency to his king, by the downfal of the regent, (to have been effected by Cellamare's conspiracy, Dec., 1781,) but also of reinstating the pretender in England, for which purpose he contracted a new alliance with Sweden.

St. Simon, *Mémoires de la regence*, vol. i., L. 4, contains a caustic sketch of the Spanish court at that time; and of Alberoni in particular.

Histoire du cardinal Alberoni et de son ministère, par M. J. R. à la Haye, 1720.

Schmauss, *geheime Geschichte des Spanischen Hofes.* 1720. Translation of some writings respecting Alberoni.

36. These plans of conquest, directed immediately against

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Austria, became more alluring in consequence of the Turkish war in which Austria was implicated at this time for the preservation of the peace of Carlowitz (see p. 149); and which, successful as was its issue, employed nevertheless the greater part of its army on the other side of Europe.

The war with the Turks began with Venice, and an easy conquest was made of the Morea, Cerigo, etc., alike badly administered and defended, July, 1715. Corfu alone was maintained. Austria engaged in the war, 1716. Against Eugene's name and tactics, Turkish valour was of no avail. A splendid victory was gained at Peterwardein, Aug. 5. Bannat was subdued, together with a part of Servia and Wallachia, Oct.; Belgrade was besieged, June, 1717. The grand vizier was defeated, Aug. 16, and the fortifications were taken, as also Orsowa, Semendria, etc. At the opening of the new campaign in 1718, a truce was agreed upon, and a peace for twenty years, under the mediation of the naval powers, according to the state of possession at the time, at Passarowitz, July 21, conformably to which, 1. Austria obtained Belgrade, Temeswar, Bannat, and a part of Servia and Wallachia, as far as the Aluta. 2. Venice retained the conquered places in Dalmatia; but resigned to the Porte, Morea, Cerigo, etc. The commercial treaty, concluded at the same time, opened to Austria all the Turkish states.—Who would not have expected from such concessions the rapid prosperity of Austria to have ensued, had it not been more difficult to improve advantages, than to effect conquests?

37. During this war attempts were made by Alberoni to execute his schemes; at first by a sudden invasion and conquest of Sardinia, which was followed the next year by the conquest of Sicily; while more remote undertakings against the continent of Italy were in agitation. Aug., 1717. July, 1718.

38. But the connexions already formed, made it easy for England to accomplish an alliance against Spain, for the preservation of the peace of Utrecht, known under the name of the quadruple alliance, though at first it was a combination of France and England only, in order to induce or compel the powers interested to accept the concerted preliminaries; to this it was assumed, that the republic would accede; and Austria actually joined.

A quadruple alliance was concluded between England, France, and Austria, Aug. 2, 1718, in the hope of the accession of the republic. Conditions: 1. Mutual renunciation of Spain and India by the emperor, and of Italy and the Netherlands by the king of Spain. 2. For Don Carlos, the son of Elizabeth, the reversion of Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza, as fiefs of the empire, to be occupied, for security, till the opening with neutral troops. 3. Austria was to exchange Sicily for Sar-

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dinia.—Three months were left to the kings of Spain and Sicily to declare their intentions.—A British fleet was sent to the Mediterranean for the protection of Sicily, and a naval battle was fought at Cape Passaro, Aug. 22, 1718.

39. Resistance was made by Alberoni to these conditions, which Savoy accepted, though unwillingly, and received the crown of Sardinia instead of that of Sicily. When the intentions of the minister against the regent and England were disclosed, the consequence was a formal declaration of war by both against Spain, while the Dutch still acted as mediators. Peace, however, was out of the question, as long as the hated Alberoni remained in power; and Elizabeth was soon gained, when a prospect of the French throne was opened to her daughter, now a child only three years old. Alberoni fell, and the conditions of the quadruple alliance were immediately accepted by Spain. The fire of war was thus extinguished; but many of the contested points were not to be adjusted till the great congress at Cambrais.

Nov. 8, 1718.

Jan. 9, 1718.

Dec. 5.

Jan. 26, 1720.

40. While England thus obtained peace with an armed hand, it became more deeply than ever entangled in the policy of the continent. It must needs have been, therefore, of high importance to Europe, that the minister, who was there placed at the helm, and managed it for twenty-one years under two kings, honestly desired the preservation of peace. Sir Robert Walpole, without the restless activity which is so often miscalled greatness, was a statesman well worthy of our respect. He introduced uprightness of principle into politics, at a time, when they were disgraced by the profligacy of Dubois, and the falsehood of Alberoni. But his maxim, to be on good terms with all, entangled him in a web of negotiations and political relations, from which none but an island state, like England, could have disengaged itself.

1721–1742.

Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, by WILLIAM COXE. 3 vols. 4to. 1798.

Memoirs of Horace Walpole. 1802, 4to.—Two of the most important collections of materials, from the best sources, for the history of the times.—Horace was his younger brother, and frequently employed in embassies, especially at Paris and at the Hague.

41. About this time, a double interest was created by the

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proceedings of Austria, which had a frequent and powerful influence on general politics. The anxiety of Charles VI. at leaving behind nothing but daughters, led him to frame, thus early, an order of succession, under the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which, if possible, was to be accepted and guaranteed by all the powers. It was the ground of negotiations and concessions, of which foreign cabinets well knew how to make an excellent use.

The Pragmatic Sanction was planned in 1713, and was accepted by the hereditary states from the year 1720. It was afterwards almost always a standing article in all foreign negotiations.

42. But commotions still more violent were occasioned by Charles VI.'s project to give his Netherlands a share in the Indian trade, from the port of Ostend. The establishment of his commercial company there, was regarded by the maritime powers as an encroachment on their rights, contrary to the peace of Westphalia. They, who had formerly maintained the freedom of the ocean against Spain, now wished to exclude others, as they themselves had been once excluded by the Spanish.

The Ostend company was chartered for trade to the East and West Indies 19th of December, 1722.—The remonstrances of the Dutch were founded on the conditions of the peace of Munster with Spain, that the trade to the Indians should remain within its limits at that time. Did this bind the present possessors of the Netherlands? Still more inconsistent were the arguments of the English!

43. It was these, and many other important and unimportant points, which brought about the congress at Cambrais, through the mediation of France and England. Austria, Spain, Sardinia, and Parma, all gave in their claims. But by wishing to accomplish every thing, nothing was actually done. The many petty interests roused as many petty passions; and as the congress, after long discussions, and interrupted by other intermediate events, at length separated without coming to any agreement, there wanted but little to produce a general war.

After long delays, the congress finally opened, April, 1724, the mutual renunciations of Austria and Spain, Sept. 27, 1721, being previously guaranteed by England and France. Besides the above chief points, disputes were occasioned by the feudal relations of Parma and Piacenza to the German empire, the right of conferring the Order of the Golden Fleece, etc. What could be expected of a congregation of

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men, who did but start difficulties, without a single leader to direct them?

44. During these negotiations, the change of a project of marriage caused an unexpected revolution in politics; and by becoming the source of animosity between Spain and France, led to a reconciliation and alliance between Spain and Austria.

The Spanish Infanta, yet in her minority, was sent back from Paris, April 5, 1724, because the duke of Bourbon, the new minister, wished to marry the young king at once. Louis XV. espoused Maria, the daughter of the Polish ex-king Stanislaus Lescinsky, Aug. 16, 1725. The queen-mother was in consequence exasperated; and the negotiations, already (Nov. 1724) commenced by the baron and adventurer Riperda at Vienna, were speedily concluded. A peace and alliance were made between Austria and Spain, April 30, 1725. Conditions: 1. Ratification of the peace of Utrecht, and a mutual guarantee of all possessions as they then were. 2. Acknowledgment of the mutual order of succession. 3. Mutual succour in case of an attack (as a secret article). In the commercial treaty, signed May 1, Spain recognised the Ostend company.—The congress at Cambrais was dissolved after the recall of the Spanish ambassador, June, 1725.

45. The less this compromise was expected, though it could have little difficulty in itself, the greater was the commotion it created in the several cabinets; and particularly as a part of the conditions were without reason made a secret. The ruling powers of England and France, felt not a little annoyed that such an agreement had been concluded without their co-operation; and it was at one time deemed to augur an attack, at another, a union by marriage, of the Spanish and Austrian monarchies. The natural measure of a counter-alliance was therefore resorted to, which was concluded at Herrnhausen, between England, France, and Prussia; and like that of Vienna, soon extended to the north of Europe, Denmark and Sweden being involved in it, as Russia was in that of Vienna.

The league of Herrnhausen was signed, Sept. 3, 1725, from which Prussia, however, soon retired and joined the imperial party by a secret treaty at Wusterhausen, Oct. 12, 1726. On the other hand, the league was strengthened by the accession of the United Netherlands, on account of the Ostend company, though with much circumspection, Aug. 9, of Denmark and Sweden, in consideration of subsidies, March 25, 1727, as also of Hesse Cassel and Wolfenbüttel. On the other hand, the emperor gained not only Russia, Aug. 6, 1726, but also several German states, besides Prussia.

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46. Thus the countries of Europe, they scarcely knew wherefore, not only stood opposed in arms to each other, but the fitting out of British squadrons, and the attack of Spain on Gibraltar, brought matters to the brink of an explosion, when, just as the flames of war were on the point of bursting forth, they were again fortunately extinguished. Where there was no good reason for war, this was not, in itself considered, so difficult; but what is more difficult than to still the tumult of petty angry passions? Happily, however, for Europe, a minister was placed at the head of the administration of France, who, already an aged man, was no less an upright friend of peace, than Sir Robert Walpole. If the seventeen years' administration of Cardinal Fleury was not free from faults in the interior, it was, nevertheless, generally beneficial to Europe. Without him, the various compacts would hardly have been formed, which now restored peace, and its longer duration appeared to be warranted by his amicable relations with Walpole, springing from similar principles, and sustained by Horace Walpole, as ambassador. Even a change of rulers in England, consequent upon George II. succeeding his father, made no alteration, because Walpole still remained at the head of affairs.

Jan., 1726, to Jan., 1743.

June 11, 1727.

Preliminaries were signed at Paris between Austria and the allies of Herrnhausen, May, 31, 1727. The principal obstacle was removed by the suspension of the Ostend company for seven years. It was joined by Spain, June 13, and peace with England was restored by the treaty at Pardo, March 6, 1728. The other points of contest were to be adjusted at the congress of Soissons, June, 1728. But the restless ambition of the Spanish queen Elizabeth, who, by a treaty concluded at Seville, Nov. 9, 1729, between England and France, had carried her point, that, in order to secure the succession of her son in Tuscany and Parma, these countries should now be occupied by Spanish troops, not only dissolved the congress at Soissons, but even drove offended Austria to arms. The guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was the talisman, by which Charles VI. was always to be gained over. Thence originated a treaty with England and the republic at Vienna, March 16, 1731, the emperor, in return for that guarantee, acquiescing in the occupation of the Italian countries and in the abolition of the Ostend company. To this treaty, Spain acceded June 6, and the empire July 14.

47. In this way, by singular good fortune, notwithstanding the destruction of the fundamental relations of the political system of Europe, peace was maintained, and even seemed likely to be permanent. France and Spain were

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reconciled; Austria, in harmony with Spain, saw its Pragmatic Sanction universally acknowledged and even guaranteed; England was in amity with all. The ancient moving principle of politics, the rivalship of powerful states, appeared to have grown obsolete; but the lust of aggrandizement, ever the prevailing malady of cabinets, was as active as ever, and nothing was wanted but an opportunity, which should promise satisfaction. This occurred not long after, upon the death of Frederic Augustus, king of Poland, when the choice of a successor produced a war in the north (see below). Russia and Austria declared in favour of Saxony, while France, by defending the pretensions of Stanislaus Lescinsky, considered it a favourable moment for aggrandizing itself at the expense of the empire, and Spain and Sardinia at the expense of the emperor. A short war now made greater changes in the state of possessions, than the previous long ones; and not merely the republic, as she effected the neutrality of the Spanish Netherlands, but even England itself, in spite of its guarantee and treaty, looked on quietly, while its ally, Austria, was deprived of its most important acquisitions.

Feb. 1, 1733.

France entered into an alliance with Spain, Oct. 25, and Sardinia, Sept. 26, 1733, principally brought about by the intriguing Chauvelin, who under Fleury had the management of foreign affairs till 1737. The French, under Berwick, made an attack on the empire. Kehl was reduced, and Lorrain invaded, war having been declared by the empire, March 13, 1734; the combined French and Sardinian troops under Villars took Milan, and the Spaniards Naples, 1733, whence they proceeded to Sicily, May, 1734. The aged Eugene no longer held victory in chains.—All the Austrian possessions in Italy were taken.—Preliminaries of peace were quickly signed at Vienna, after a direct negotiation between France and Austria, Oct. 3, 1735, to which Sardinia acceded, May 1, 1736, and Spain, Nov. 15. Conditions: *a.* Austria surrendered to Spain, as a secundogeniture, (stipulating, however, that they should never be united with it,) Naples and the Sicilies, the island of Elba, and the Stati degli Presidi, in favour of Don Carlos. *b.* France obtained the reversion of Lorrain and Bar, which were given to Stanislaus Lescinsky, after his renunciation of the crown of Poland (who immediately resigned it to France). *c.* Francis Stephen, duke of Lorrain, obtained the reversion of Tuscany, into possession of which he came, July 9, 1737. *d.* The emperor obtained as an indemnification, Parma and Piacenza. *e.* Sardinia obtained some districts of Milan. *f.* France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.—It was not, however, till Nov. 18, 1738, that the preliminaries were changed into a definitive peace.

48. In consequence of this war, Alberoni's formerly un-

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successful plans on Italy, were for the most part carried into execution. But if Spain only drew from it the advantage of placing one of its princes on the now independent throne of the two Sicilies, France on the contrary, as a power, enjoyed the much more substantial advantage—in as far as conquests can be called such—of obtaining in Lorrain, a province, the loss of which must have been, both in political and geographical respects, very sensibly felt by the German empire. Though this war was both carried on, and moreover terminated, without the participation of the maritime powers, yet, after the restoration of peace, Europe returned to its former relations, which were not altered even by the participation of Austria in the Turkish wars. But these, however, being prosecuted in common with Russia, belong rather to the north (see below).

II. *A Cursory View of the Changes in the single leading States of the West of Europe,* 1700—1740.

1. THE changes that took place during this period in the interior of the states of the west of Europe, were rarely of the kind to have any lasting influence. They were mostly the development of germs, that were previously formed: in some the change was of growth, but in others of gradual decay.

2. We have already noticed (see p. 185) how far the reign of the new dynasty was the commencement of a fresh epoch for Spain. The great share it took in the public contests of Europe, did not proceed from the restored energy of the nation, but was the fruit of personal ambition among the rulers. Even the successful efforts of its arms gave no new impulse; what could it have gained by conquest?

3. Though a change was produced in the external relations of France by its attachment to England, so little essential alteration was made in the character of its policy, that the seeds of future wars were disseminated during these amicable relations of the governments by the increasing commercial jealousy of the two nations. But in the interior, the accepting of the Bull *Unigenitus* by Louis XIV., towards the close of his reign, created a ferment, which did not remain a mere contest between Jesuits and Jansenists,

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(see p. 150,) but necessarily constituted an opposition to the government, which, soon finding defenders even in parliament, was the more dangerous to the state, inasmuch as it called to mind the suppression of the ancient national liberty.

The Bull *Unigenitus* was promulgated by Pope Clement XI., Sept. 8, 1713; and adopted in France, Feb. 14, 1714. The schism among the clergy immediately followed. The great political importance of this dispute, however, dates from the following period.

C. M. Pfaffii *Acta publica constitutionis Unigenitus.* Tübing. 1725.

Anecdotes, ou Mémoires secrèts sur la constitution Unigenitus. à Utrecht, 1732, 3 vols.

4. But the abortive attempt that France made, to pay off the burden of its debts by means of the paper bank of Law, and the Mississippi company connected with it, were of no small consequence to its future destinies, and its general influence on the European political system. The ruin of thousands of families might be repaired in time, but it was the arbitrary money operations of the government, that reduced its credit to irrevocable ruin. From this time no paper money could be issued in France under the old constitution; and the French financial system was ever afterwards in an unsettled state.

A paper bank was established by Law, a native of Scotland, May, 1716, on very reasonable principles; but it was driven so far by the government, which purchased it, Jan., 1719, that it became a terror to the government itself. A depreciation was made in the value of bank notes by the edict of May 21, 1720; and the bank itself was utterly ruined.

Histoire du système des Finances sous la minorité de Louis XV., 1719 *et* 1720. à la Haye, 1736, 6 vols. 12mo. But the most lucid exposition of this complicated subject is given in,

J. Stewart, *Inquiry into the principles of Political Economy.* Lond. 1767.

5. Hardly any other power enjoyed so high respect in the European system, as England, which was rendered yet stronger by its union with Scotland. (1707.) This respect was founded not merely on its power, but also on its policy, so beneficial for the continent. The path, which the rulers of the new house were to pursue, was most clearly marked out for them; and where could they have pursued it more faithfully and more conscientiously?

6. But the pressure of increased debt, gave rise to various projects in England also, which were followed by conse-

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quences no less extravagant than they had been in France. Here, too, it was believed possible speedily to perform by art, what can be the result only of continued exertion, the liquidation of the public debt; but the projects of the South Sea company foundered, like those of the Mississippi company in France. But as the English government allowed itself no despotic steps, its credit was preserved entire; and it found itself able, by a diminution of interest, to establish a sinking fund which only needed a better administration to effect its object.

The ancient sinking fund consisted in a free diminution of interest from six to five per cent., 1717, and again from five to four per cent., 1727.

7. The republic of the United Netherlands underwent, in this period, no important internal changes, after the death of William III. But when the title of Prince of Orange passed by right of inheritance to his cousin, William Friso; and after his death to his son William, governor of Friesland and Groningen, the Orange party continued to exist in the republic; and the restoration of the dignity of hereditary stadtholder might 1711.
be expected, should an opportunity offer. The further relations of this younger house of Orange were determined beforehand, by its closer connexion with the British, through the marriage of the prince with Anne, daughter of 1734.
George II.

8. The Austrian monarchy changed its policy and provinces, without suffering any internal revolution, other than that of a gradual decline. The emperor Charles VI., more occupied with the future than the present, had already obtained the guarantee of his Pragmatic Sanction from all the European powers—at least on paper. Providence, indeed, had given him an Eugene; but he was unable to prevent even the decay of the army, much less that of the finances, and the whole internal organization.

9. The German empire attached to Austria, partook of all the wars of this country, however foreign they were to itself. And how would neutrality have benefited it? But four of its first princes, Brandenburg, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse Cassel, had acquired, in this period, foreign regal crowns; and it was impossible to say what degree of

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influence this might have upon their German territories. Thus much appeared at all events certain; that the solidity of the federation of the empire, otherwise so weak, could not be much increased by it. Would it be always possible to separate the interest of their regal, from those of their princely dignities? And even if they themselves wished it, would their enemies be equally willing? In what disputes with the rest of Europe, must not at least some German states be involved! And how easily in that case the whole!

10. Politics in general—altogether in the hands of a few ministers and their confidants—obtained, during this period, in all respects, the character of cabinet politics. Never had there been so much diplomacy in Europe, and never were such ideas entertained of its efficiency. Its greater or less morality depended, of course, to a certain extent, on the morals of the ministers. So long as it was built on certain principles, so long as no one dared to violate directly the sanctity of legitimate possession, it must have exhibited, at least, the semblance of morality. Even the regent and the abandoned Dubois, did not appear so odious in their public as in their private life.

11. Political economy, based on no more enlarged theory than the mere acquisition of ready money, was conformable in its maxims to that principle; and the mercantile system continued to bear, with increasing truth, the name of a system. Foreign commerce remained the prime source of wealth; and happy the merchant, whose accounts showed a balance in his favour. The sudden accumulation of paper money, occasioned by attempts to pay off the public debts, ended in its depreciation; but if it reacted on the extension of internal trade, by increasing the medium of internal circulation, and on the whole condition of society, by raising the price of things,—what financial operations, both good and bad, has it not made possible to governments?

12. The progress of the art of war, which must have been considerable under such great generals as this age produced, can here be the subject of nothing but a general remark. It must have continued to become an art, in proportion as the system of standing armies was perfected, towards which a second step was taken by Prussia, after the example of France (see below).

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III. *History of Colonial Affairs, from* 1700 *to* 1740.

1. The colonies of the states of Europe were neither much enlarged in extent, during this period, nor, with the exception of some cessions made by France to England, did they undergo very great changes of masters. But so much the greater was their internal increase. Colonial productions, especially those of the West Indies, met with a sale in Europe that exceeded all expectation; the motives of cultivation increased in an equal degree; and as they naturally formed a considerable portion of general commerce, more than one state regarded them as the foundation of their commercial, and even of their political, greatness.

2. The importance of colonies being thus augmented, their influence upon politics was consequently greater. The mother states did not, indeed, on the whole, relinquish their ancient claims to the exclusive trade of their colonies; but they were willing to connive at the contraband trade which their colonies prosecuted with those of other powers, and necessity compelled them to allow greater liberties with respect to exportation.

3. If mutual jealousy was thus kept alive, it was no less promoted by the geographical confusion of the colonies, especially in the narrow West Indies. It was remarkably ordained by Providence, that in this very spot, the states of Europe should lay out their gardens, in which they laboured to raise products that otherwise grew spontaneously far and wide on the face of the earth. Thus as their importance increased, envy and jealousy became more intense; and at the end of this period a war broke out, for the first time, relating to colonial interests.

England.

4. Among the single states, England began, in this period, to take an elevated station in colonial trade. The concessions of the peace of Utrecht had given it, in several respects, the preponderance. The *asiento* treaty with Spain, (see p. 182,) which authorized it for thirty years to supply Spanish America with slaves, and to attend the great fair of Porto Bello, was not, in itself, very advantageous; but it opened the way to such a smuggling trade, that it brought almost the whole commerce of Spanish America into the hands of the English.

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The South Sea company was incorporated Aug. 1, 1711, with a monopoly of the trade lying to the south of the Oronoko, along the eastern and the whole of the western coast of America.—It prospered exceedingly after the peace at Utrecht.—The nature of the trade with Spanish America was such, as to enrich the agents rather than the company.

1732. 5. The possessions of the British in the West Indies made but small advances in this period, notwithstanding the newly introduced cultivation of coffee, which always remained behind that of the sugar cane. Their rise was obstructed by the smuggling trade of the North American colonies with the French islands, and the great prosperity of the latter. But this very circumstance paved the way for their ultimate prosperity, because parliament was obliged to grant them privileges, by which the oppressive commercial restraints were in some measure alleviated.

A tax was imposed in North America on the importation of all foreign sugar, 1733.—The immediate exportation of sugar was allowed, provided it were in British vessels, from the British colonies to the countries of Europe, south of Cape Finisterre, 1739.

6. The British colonies on the coasts of North America were in a far more thriving condition, notwithstanding the exclusive trade, which the mother country still attempted as far as possible to reserve for itself. But the extent of coast, the situation and contiguity of the French, and especially the Spanish possessions, would have made it impossible to prevent the prosecution of the lucrative slave traffic, even if the disproportion, that must inevitably exist between the mutual productions and wants of the mother country and the colonies, had not rendered various modifications necessary.

7. Though the increase of those provinces was general, it was, nevertheless, the southern that had particular reason to congratulate themselves on their rising prosperity. The
1702. culture of rice, first introduced into the Carolinas from Madagascar, contributed essentially to this effect; and the new emigrations, increased by the religious persecutions in the south of Germany, gave existence, in Georgia, to the youngest of the thirteen old provinces.

Georgia was separated from South Carolina, 1732, having been granted to a private association, as a distinct province, not without the resistance of the Spaniards, who pretended that it formed a part of Flo-

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rida. Emigrations were numerous, but it prospered slowly, because the trade in peltry was at first preferred to agriculture, until the year 1752, when the proprietors resigned their privileges to the government.

8. Nova Scotia, ceded to the British by the peace of Utrecht, was then little more than a wilderness; such also was the island of Newfoundland. But the participation in the cod fisheries, secured by the possession of this country, was of so much the greater importance both to the commerce and the navigation of England. Owing to the rights reserved by the French, this too became a new source of jealousy and altercation.

9. The East India trade of the British suffered a material alteration. This was, indeed, by no means the period of great possessions in India, which were almost solely limited to Bombay, Madras, Fort William in Bengal, and Bencoolen on Sumatra. But the perpetual wrangling between the old and new East India companies, (see p. 163,) eventually led to a union of the two, from which proceeded the still existing company of merchants trading to India. From this time, the East India trade continued to increase; especially as the cotton stuffs of the Indies came into universal use; which were, however, actually prohibited on the remonstrances of the native manufacturers.—Meanwhile, the resistance to the monopoly of the company still continued, and became particularly clamorous about the time of the renewal of their charter. It was, nevertheless, confirmed anew in 1733, for thirty-seven years; and the project of a free company without a common fund was abandoned,—who can say, whether fortunately or unfortunately for England?

The ancient disputes of the two companies were nourished by the spirit of political party, (the new one being supported by the whigs, the old by the tories,) and threatened to become dangerous to the public quiet.—The two companies were united, July 22, 1702, under the title of The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. Conformably to a preliminary compromise, the fund of the two was made one common fund, amounting to two millions of pounds sterling, with a division of the gains. A complete union under one directory was not effected till seven years after.

The acts of the union may be found in RUSSEL's *Collection* (see p. 163). Appendix, p. xxiii. The most copious history in BRUCE's *Annals*, etc. T. iii. (see p. 88).

10. Notwithstanding this continued monopoly, the com-

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mercial policy of the British government, especially under the house of Hanover, was altered essentially in favour of the colonies. All other monopolies by degrees disappeared; and with them, excepting a few prohibitions, almost all direct interference of the government in private activity and national economy ceased also. Without renouncing the principles of the mercantile system, or formally substituting any other in its stead, it was soon felt that the blessing of a free constitution flowed from the free application of private energy; and that the chief wisdom of the government consisted far more in not oppressing any branch of industry, than in attempting to encourage new branches. The British tariff conformed to this maxim. All this, it would seem, necessarily proceeded from the progressive funding system. Certain it is that the British commercial policy was relatively the most reasonable, though not exactly conformable to the rules of theorists. How much this was calculated to promote the welfare of the nation by means of continually increasing prosperity, was manifested in a striking manner, by the extraordinary improvement of the country towns. Yet let the eternal truth never be forgotten, that in our world a luxuriant growth is never free from noxious weeds.

France. 11. France, once placed by Colbert in the number of colonial states, never forsook it, and maintained her station during this period not without success. There was yet so much room in the two Indies, that she had to infringe on the rights of no other powers, and whenever single collisions arose, the amicable relation with England, since the death of Louis XIV., concurred to make them less momentous.

12. The French West India possessions, especially in Martinique, Guadaloupe, and a part of Domingo, prospered the best of all. The coffee tree, introduced into
1728. Martinique from Surinam, opened a new source of commerce; but the cultivation of the sugar cane, on the whole, maintained the ascendency. The prime causes, however, of the prosperity, and indeed of the superiority which the French islands acquired over the British, consisted partly in the far greater commercial privileges extended to them, partly in the slave traffic with Spanish America,

and partly also in the habits of the planters, who devoted their whole time to the plantations, in order that they might return the sooner enriched to their native land.

Great commercial liberties were given to the French islands by the regulation of 1717. The importation of French products was made free of duty, and the duties were very much diminished on colonial produce re-exported from French harbours; and permission was finally given to export directly from the islands of foreign ports.—Martinique was thereby rendered by far the most powerful of those possessions. Attempts were made to form settlements on the neutral islands, so called, (now belonging to the Caribbees,) of St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Lucia; a dispute respecting them arose with England, in 1722, which was terminated by the treaty of the 19th of Jan., 1723, for mutual evacuation.

13. In North America the territories of the French were brought within narrower limits by the loss of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; but as long as they possessed Canada and Louisiana, which was then becoming more important, they had no reason to complain. It is not easy to foretell what might otherwise have been the consequences, had the want of some line of separation from the English possessions not contributed to excite apprehensions for the future. But the attempts, then in their commencement, to establish a communication between these countries by a chain of forts in the rear of the British colonies, kindled a jealousy, which was afterwards to break out into a great war.

14. The East India trade of France underwent various changes during this period. The French remained, indeed, true to the maxim of always committing it to a chartered company; but this chartered company was always a mere instrument in the hands of the ministers, apparently used only to try whether they could make money of it. It might have single moments of prosperity; for these it was indebted to some few great men among its directors in India; but how could it reckon on any stable foundation, while it was subservient to the changing plans and the despotic will of the ministers?

The old East India company, which had long been in a state of decay, was renovated, May, 1719, by an amalgamation with the Mississippi, (West India,) African, and China company, founded 1717, under the name of the India or Mississippi company; which, united with the bank, undertook, in consideration of the privileges conferred on it, the

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payment of the debt of the crown (one thousand six hundred millions); till the bank fell to pieces, in 1721 (see p. 196).—The company was aided by great privileges, especially the monopoly of tobacco, 1723. Such were the pains taken to form an artificial East India trade at the cost of the nation!—But the peaceful relations of France with the other maritime powers promoted the interests of the company, especially as, under the ministry of Fleury, the minister Orry gave them a great share of his attention after 1737.

15. While the dominion of France extended no further on the continent of India, where Pondicherry still continued to be their principal station, permanent possessions, however, were gained by the occupation of two small islands, which were alike important to commerce by their productions, and by their situation and character as military stations in war.

The two islands, deserted by the Dutch, were occupied; the Isle of France, about 1690, and the Isle of Bourbon, 1720. Towards the end of this period they began to prosper, under the administration of Labourdonnais, 1736, owing particularly to the cultivation of coffee.

CH. GRANT, VISC. DE VAUX, *History of the Isle of St. Mauritius.* London, 1801, 4to. A rich collection of materials for the history of the two islands.—The father of the author was governor.

Holland. 16. The colonial affairs of the Dutch, in this period, underwent no great ostensible alterations. Things in the colonies took the same course as they did at home, only with this exception, that they were not always for the better. In the East Indies the Dutch were, without contradiction, the first European commercial nation; as no one attempted to disturb them on the islands they had occupied; and yet from this time dates the period of the gradual decline of their company. In the West Indies, the colony of Surinam began to rise, in consequence of the introduction of the coffee tree from Java, in which
1718. island also it was now first becoming important.

To give a documentary history of the decline of the Dutch East India Company—as far as the question respects its causes—would be impossible even from the archives of the company itself. It sank under age, as every human institution must do at last, and above all, a strictly monopolizing commercial association, in which the germ of dissolution must be finally, though slowly, developed. Although in the extracts now made public from the books of the company, (Saalfeld, II. p. 138,) for the years 1613—1696, we find a receipt of three hundred and forty millions of guilders, with a surplus of forty millions over the expenditure, yet after the year 1697 a gradually increasing deficit commenced, which did not again cease. The solution lies partly in the character of

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its first officers. Did not perhaps the frequent change of governors in this period,—as many as eleven in less than forty years, (1704—1741,)—contribute its part to the gradual decline?

Vies des gouverneurs généraux, avec l'abrégé de l'histoire des Etablissements Hollandois aux Indes orientales, par J. P. J. Dubois. à la Haye, 1763, 4to. Very meagre in its information respecting the history of the administration.

17. It might have been expected that the great changes and convulsions, experienced by the Spanish monarchy, would have had a corresponding influence on its colonies. But the storms of the mother country did not reach them. The Spanish war of succession was, by the genius of the generals, prosecuted merely on land; and the colonies were not yet ripe for a revolution; otherwise, would not the *assiento* treaty, which opened an access to strangers, have precipitated it? The new dynasty during this period effected still less for the colonies than it did for Spain itself. A quiet progress must, nevertheless, have been made by them, as is shown by the sketch of their condition at the end of this period. Spain.

Instead of enjoying greater privileges, the trade with America was laid under additional restrictions, partly by the high tariff of 1720, (which promoted, so much the more, the smuggling trade,) and partly by the incorporation of the Caraccas (or Guipuscoa) company, 1728, which put itself in sole possession of the commerce with that province. The transfer of the trade in Spain from Seville to Cadiz, to facilitate navigation, was not an equivalent for those disadvantages.

Don Ulloa, *Voyage historique dans l'Amerique méridionale.* 1757, 2 vols. 4to. The leading work. The author was employed by the French in measuring a degree.

18. Towards the end of this period, the colonies became, for the first time, the direct cause of war between two of the leading powers of Europe. The privileges gained by England from the *assiento* treaty, of which the great smuggling trade with the Spanish colonies was the result, led to counteracting regulations; and the disputes with the Garda-Costas produced a war, before the limit 1739. of the treaty of thirty years had elapsed, notwithstanding all the exertions which Walpole made to avoid it.

The real points of contest were: the pretensions of the Spanish to visit British vessels in open sea, as consequent on their old claims to the exclusive dominion of the Indian seas. A compact was made at Madrid, Jan. 15, 1739, which only protracted the decision. The war, demanded by the popular voice in England, broke out again in 1739.—

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Porto Bello was conquered, and the great fair afterwards ceased to be held there. But an unsuccessful attack was made on Carthagena in South America.—The war was then united with the Austrian war of succession (see below).

Portugal. 19. For Portugal, Brazil acquired an increased importance during this period, owing to its valuable gold mines, (from which, however, England derived the greatest advantage,) and the
1728. discovery of treasures of diamonds, which required some peculiar regulations, if these commodities were to sustain their price. But how dearly were these treasures purchased, if agriculture was retarded by them! The contrary, however, seems to be proved by the increased exportation of produce, of sugar, cotton, logwood, etc.

Thirst of gold drove the Paulists (who were brought under subordination during this period, partly by severe, and partly by conciliatory measures) further into the interior; and the provinces of Matto Grosso and Goyas rewarded them with a rich profit. The cities in the interior prospered rapidly: Villa Ricca, Villa Boa, Villa do Principe, etc., especially after the peace of Utrecht. Above all, Rio Janeiro (notwithstanding it was surprised and burned by Dugué Trouin, 1711) particularly flourished, it being the emporium of gold, and ultimately the capital. The crown's fifth amounted annually to twenty-five million crusados. Agriculture and commerce flourished; those who had become opulent investing their capital in them.

Denmark. 20. Denmark also maintained its station among the colonial states, having obtained Tranquebar in the East Indies, the value of which was increased by the
1706. evangelical missions established there; and it was also able to acquire possessions in the West Indies.
1731. In Sweden, too, an East India company was chartered, to take an immediate share in the trade with China, without, however, having any permanent fund, or possessions there.

The Danes took possession of the small island St. Jean, 1719, and purchased the island St. Croix from France, June 15, 1733. The island of St. Thomas had been occupied by the Danes ever since 1671.

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SECOND PERIOD.

From 1700 *to* 1740.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

Mémoires, etc., DE LAMBERTY, see p. 172.

SCHMAUSS, *Staatswissenschaft, etc.*, see p. 118.

The biographies of Peter the Great and Charles XII. The best of them are:

Leben Peter's des Grossen, von G. A. VON HALEM. 1804, 3 vols. 8vo. With an index and critical examination of the other auxiliary sources.

Nordberg Leben von Carl XII. 1745, 3 vols. fol.: together with,

Anmerkungen oder Anecdoten, vertrautern Freunden mitgetheilt. 1758, 8vo.

Histoire de Charles XII., par M. DE VOLTAIRE. 1754, 4to.

G. ALDERFELD, *Histoire militaire de Charles XII.* 1740, 4 vols. 12mo.

1. No one of the former periods was of such decisive importance to the north of Europe, as the present. It was not a mere renovation of the mutual relations of the states, it was a new world which was then formed. Previous occasions had already evinced great vigour, but rulers were wanting, who knew how to manage it with effect.

2. All the members of the system of the north had changed their rulers about the end of the former period; and the revolutions that the states experienced, had their origin for the most part in the peculiarities of character belonging to the new monarchs. But though all the states of the north were overtaken by the great storm, it was, in reality, Russia and Sweden whose contest gave the decision. In Peter the Great and Charles XII. two princes appeared as adversaries, both of equal energies and equally inflexible purpose; with the important distinction, however, that in the one, this purpose was linked with reason, in the other with passion. And it was this difference which at last

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necessarily decided the fate of their realms. Though both were capable of colossal projects, Peter never went beyond the capabilities of his empire.

1. **Russia.** Under the dominion of Peter I., after 1689, (see p. 168,) this was the greatest of empires in extent, reaching from Archangel to Azoph, (see p. 169,) but as yet excluded from the Baltic. It was inhabited indeed by a barbarous people, but constituting one grand nation. A reformation was already begun in the interior, both of the constitution, which was that of the most complete autocracy, and of the manners; for the nation was to be assimilated to the rest of Europe. But the higher classes were so only in part, for the ruler gave the example; language and religion were still powerful supports of nationality. The military department was reorganized altogether according to the European mode, after the dismissal of the Strelzi; a new army was formed in 1699. Single corps had been previously formed.

2. **Sweden.** Charles XII. came to the throne, when a youth of but fifteen years, in 1697. He inherited a well-ordered state, then the first in the north, with a full treasury, and an excellent navy and army. But the political greatness of Sweden was inseparably attached to the possession of the provinces, which almost surrounded the Baltic; and a nation of not quite three millions can hardly be destined to rule the world for a length of time, though it may perhaps conquer it.

3. **Poland** had been since 1696 under the sway of Augustus II., elector of Saxony. But the ancient anarchy did not end with the election of a new king; new projects excited new distrust; and the new manners introduced into the luxurious court, by enervating the old Sarmatian vigour, sapped the last pillar of the state. The nation carefully guarded against any reform, such as obtained in Russia; and the new king, though not without ambition, was by no means qualified for a reformer. The retaining of his Saxon troops brought upon him the dislike of the nation, and religious controversy soon gave fresh encouragement to the factious and discontented.

4. **Prussia,** from 1688 to 1713, was under the dominion of Frederic I., elector of Brandenburg, and duke (after 1701, king) of Prussia. The elevation of Prussia to a kingdom, first recognised by the emperor, and gradually by the other powers of Europe, was no immediate accession of strength, but a stimulant to the reigning house to assert its dignity, either by pomp, or economy, or aggrandizement. What measures should be resorted to, depended on the spirit of the regent; but the endeavour to place itself on an equal rank with the other leading powers of Europe, was the fundamental maxim of this state. The rise, in a political states-system, of any power to which aggrandizement is necessary, can never be any thing else than dangerous to the welfare of the whole. What would have been the result, had there not been long united with this love of aggrandizement, a certain moderation, to which it was bound in the west by its character as a state of the empire, and in the east by the superiority of its neighbours?

5. **Denmark.** At the very commencement of this period it obtained in Frederic IV., 1700—1730, a ruler, who with the man ripened into the king. Though immediately overtaken by the storm, it suffered, in

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the end, least change of any, either in its constitution, or in the character and spirit of the government. The fall of Sweden and the rise of Russia, were for the benefit of Denmark; for Russia, being more remote, was less oppressive than Sweden, which was nearer. But the family dissensions with the house of Gottorp assumed a more threatening aspect, owing to the marriage of the young Duke Frederic IV. with Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles XII. (see p. 168); and the personal friendship of the two young princes, even more than their relationship, tended to strengthen the connexion between Sweden and Holstein-Gottorp.

3. These were the internal relations of the northern states, when with the opening of the century, the fearful twenty years' contest began, which was to give a new form to the north. It could not but be a fearful contest; for men like Peter and Charles do not easily bend; and it would, moreover, necessarily prove a widely extended contest. Whether the superiority of Russia or Sweden was at first, or became afterwards, the particular object in view, the elements of war were so generally scattered, that the flame could not but spread in every direction.

Causes of the northern war. They consisted, 1. In the decided purpose of Peter to extend Russia to the Baltic; an object which was only to be attained at the expense of Sweden. 2. In the attempt of King Augustus the Second, encouraged by Patkul, to subject Livonia to Poland. 3. In the quarrel of Denmark with Frederic IV. of Holstein-Gottorp; and the exasperation and fear at its connexion with Sweden.

4. A secret league was made between Denmark and the king of Poland, (Augustus II. endeavouring in vain to induce the distrustful nation to join,) against Sweden; this league was soon joined by Peter, while he nevertheless acted as the friend of Sweden, till the truce with the Turks was signed (see p. 169). In the same year all three disclosed their plans, Denmark immediately against Holstein-Gottorp, the other two against Livonia. Charles XII. was attacked entirely without his own fault; and how must the consciousness of the justice of his cause, soon crowned by his almost incredible success, have animated and steeled the heart of the northern hero!

Nov. 21, 1699.

1700.

The Danes invaded Sleswick, and besieged Tonningen, April, 1700. Brunswick, England, Holland, etc., joined as guarantees of the peace of Altona, (see p. 168,) in favour of Holstein-Gottorp. Charles XII. disembarked in Zealand, (July,) and extorted a peace at Travendal, Aug. 18. It was stipulated: 1. That the peace of Altona should be ratified.

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2. That Denmark should promise to undertake nothing hostile against Sweden.

5. Thus freed from one enemy, Charles hastened to Livonia, to confront the king of Poland and the czar. But if the landing on Zealand had been sufficient to cripple Denmark, the strength of the north was first roused by that at Pernau. Even a battle like that of Narva, could not disarm Russia; and Charles himself caused the Poles to support their king.

Augustus II. invaded Livonia with a Saxon army, and invested Riga without effecting any thing, (Sept.,) while the czar, as the ally of Augustus, declared war on Sweden (Sept. 1) and besieged Narva.—Charles XII. landed and obtained a victory at Narva, Nov. 30, not a little facilitated by the disagreement of the Russian captains, under the forced command of the foreigner, the Duc de Croix.—Did Peter wish to be beaten?

6. The liberation of Livonia left Charles XII. free to choose against which of his enemies he would now turn his forces; whether against the czar, or the king of Poland; a choice, on which the fate of Sweden probably depended. But Charles did not consider which was the most dangerous of his foes; hatred, not prudence, decided; he left the czar, who needed nothing but time, in order to overthrow Augustus II., who had already sued for peace.

A meeting took place and a closer league was formed between the czar and Augustus II. at Birsen, Feb., 1701.—Charles crossed the Duna, and gained a victory over the Saxons at Riga, July 18, leaving behind only two weak corps to resist the Russians.—Possession was taken of Courland.

7. The resolution, now immutably adopted by Charles, imboldened by the spirit of faction in Poland, to dethrone Augustus II. and give the Poles another king, plunged him in a war with the greater part of this nation, which accelerated its downfal no less than the subversion of Swedish greatness. Besides all the other incalculable miseries brought in its train, it kindled in Poland the flame of religious contest, which was never extinguished; and robbed Charles of five precious years, for which nothing could afterwards compensate.

A union took place between the party of the Sapiehas and Charles XII.—Poland engaged in the war, and Charles was victorious at Clissow, July 19, 1702, and at Pultusk, May 1, 1703. A new confederation against Charles was concluded at Sendomir, Aug. 22, 1703, and a

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counter league at Warsaw, under the Prince Primas, Jan. 24, 1704. Stanislaus Lescinsky, voivode of Posen, was elected at Charles's suggestion, July 12, with whom, as king of Poland, Charles concluded a treaty and alliance.—The war proceeded in Poland and Lithuania, 1705, but the Saxons were defeated at Fraustadt, Feb. 13, 1706; Charles penetrated into Saxony, and extorted a peace at Altranstadt, Sept. 24. Conditions: 1. Augustus renounced the dignity of king of Poland, as also the compact with the czar. 2. He acknowledged Stanislaus Lescinsky as king of Poland; and 3. Conceded to the Swedish army winter-quarters, with sustenance and pay, in Saxony.

8. But during these wars Peter had found time to establish his new dominion on the Baltic. Ingria and Karelia, formerly lost to the empire, (see p. 124,) were recovered, and in a country hardly as yet conquered, the foundations of St. Petersburg were already laid. Well might Charles, five years before, have had no suspicion of what was here to take place; but that the advancing erection itself did not open his eyes, shows that Peter deserved to perfect it.

The corps left in Ingria and Livonia by Charles XII. were overcome, 1701 and 1702. Notteburg (Schlüsselberg) was conquered, Oct. 11, and Ryenschanz, May 1, 1703. St. Petersburg was founded immediately after, May 27.—A strong hold was gained in Livonia, and Narva conquered, Aug. 20, 1704.

9. Charles resolved to attack his yet remaining powerful enemy, in the midst of his own empire. But if Russia had been as easy to subdue as Poland, Peter was certainly not so easy to vanquish as Augustus. To him no measure was too dear, so that he promoted his principal object; and the devastation of his own country was a formidable impediment in the way of the Swedish conqueror. It obstructed his direct route to the capital; and when, deluded by the prospects that the Hetman Mazeppa held out to him, he turned his course to the Ukraine, the issue could scarcely seem dubious. If Charles was to conquer, he must have done it by the direct and shortest path.

The king left Saxony, Sept., 1707. He marched through desolated Poland, while Lewenhaupt received orders to join him.—He crossed the Dnieper, Aug. 11, 1708, and pressed forward to Ukraine. Lewenhaupt was defeated at Liesna, Oct. 8; and the king soon saw most of the promises of Mazeppa frustrated. Pultawa was invested, May, 1709, and Peter hastened to relieve it.

10. The battle of Pultawa decided the fate of the north. Much greater battles have been July 8, 1709.

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fought, but no one more teeming with consequences. Peter's new creation was at once confirmed; and Sweden's dominion at the same time overthrown. Thus fell a structure, which was too high for its foundations; and Sweden was to give astonished Europe the first grand example of the uncertainty of artificial greatness.

11. What was this issue but the natural issue? Or was this fall of Sweden in itself any thing more than a return to its natural condition? The continuance of the kingdom was not concerned, but its excess of power; and had a voluntary restriction, to what it must after all be restricted, been possible—in how much better a condition would Sweden have emerged from the contest? But how could such a resignation, which, however strongly reason might have advised it, was scarcely possible for a common man, have entered the breast of Charles XII.?

12. The immediate consequence of the defeat at Pultawa was the dissolution of all the political relations forcibly established by Charles XII. Denmark no longer deemed itself bound by the peace of Travendal, nor Saxony by that of Altranstadt; and while Augustus again ascended the Polish throne, deserted by Stanislaus, his friendship with Peter was re-established by the convention at Thorn. But Peter, as was reasonable, retained Livonia, which in the mean while had been conquered by him.

Saxony and Denmark renewed their connexion with Russia, Aug., 1709, but the invitation, proffered to Prussia, was refused.—King Augustus returned to Warsaw, and was acknowledged by the nation.—Denmark declared war anew, and invaded Schonen. (November.)

13. But while the Swedish-German provinces presented such attractions to the conquerors, after the war was renewed, and the Swedish troops had withdrawn from Poland into Pomerania, it appeared, that the northern war must extend to Germany, and perhaps give new aliment to the Spanish war of succession. The powers, however, who were implicated in such a contingency, procured an acknowledgment of the neutrality of these countries by the treaty of the Hague; but it soon appeared that it was to no purpose.

The treaty of the Hague was concluded, March 31, 1710, mediated by the maritime powers and the emperor, between the senate of Sweden,

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the allies, and the German empire; under the conditions: 1. of the neutrality of the Swedish-German provinces; and also, 2. of Sleswick and Jutland, under 3. the guarantee of the maritime powers, Prussia, Hanover, etc.—Charles XII. remonstrated, Nov. 30.

14. Deprived of his own strength, Charles sought to recover his fortune by foreign aid, and built his hopes on the assistance of the Turks, who had received the defeated hero with that respect, which semi-barbarians are wont to pay to personal greatness. Who, indeed, had greater reasons than the Turks not to allow him to fall? The influence of Charles in the Divan was at last victorious, and war was declared against Russia.

Charles was received in Bender, and resided there from Sept., 1709, to Feb. 10, 1713.—The thirty years' truce was broken, (see p. 171,) and war declared, Dec., 1710.

15. Thus the hopes of the Swedish hero revived; though there is but little probability, that even the successful issue of the war would have raised Sweden to its former elevation. But these hopes were to be most bitterly disappointed. In the very moment, when Peter, shut up with his whole army in Moldavia, was on the point of surrendering himself a prisoner, he was saved by the wisdom of a woman and the corruptibility of the grand vizier. The peace of the Pruth inflicted a deeper wound on the king, than had been inflicted even by the battle of Pultawa.

Peter concluded a treaty with Demetrius Cantimer, the prince of Moldavia, April 13, 1711, under the promise, that the dignity of prince should be hereditary in his house, as the protegé of Russia, in consideration of stipulated assistance.—Peter passed the Niester, and joined the prince at Jassy.—Provisions were soon wanting, and he was surrounded on the Pruth.—Negotiations were entered upon, according to Catharine's advice; and the peace was concluded, July 24, 1711, under the conditions: 1. That Azoph with its territory should be restored to the Porte. 2. That the new fortifications on the Samara, especially at Taganrog, should be demolished. 3. That a free return should be given to the Swedish monarch to his kingdom.—Charles, who had hastened from Bender, arrived just in time to see the Russian army march off unmolested.—He did not, however, give up all hopes of annihilating the peace; but no sooner was it broken, Dec. 17, 1711, than it was established anew under the mediation of England and Poland, April 16, 1712; Peter promising, besides the above stipulations, to evacuate Poland.—The king was violently removed from Bender to Demotica, Feb. 10, 1713. The former peace was ratified, July 3, which was followed by the compromise of King Augustus with the Porte, April 2, 1714.

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W. Theyls *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII. pendant son séjour dans l'empire Ottoman.* à Leyde, 1722, 8vo. The author was Dragoman of the Porte.

16. While the Swedish monarch had, to all purposes, disappeared from Europe, his rejection of the treaty of the Hague had important consequences to the north. The Swedish provinces in Germany now attracted the allies; and the change of rulers, which took place at the same time in Prussia, and raised William I. to the throne,
1713. led to a participation in the war. The kings of Denmark and Sweden invaded Pomerania; and the former not only made himself master of Bremen and Verden, but soon found a pretence for occupying Holstein-Gottorp. And though the sequestration of Stettin by Prussia was only designed for the protection of a neutral, it contained the latent cause of a war.

The Danes and Saxons invaded Pomerania, 1711. Steenbock crossed over, Sept., and obtained a victory over the Danes at Gadebush, Dec. 14.—But soon after the burning of Altona, Jan. 8, 1713, he was shut up in Tonningen, and forced by the Russian troops to surrender, May 16.—A treaty respecting the occupation of Stettin was made June 22, between the governments of Holstein-Gottorp and Prussia, and forcible possession taken, Sept. 29. Prussia concluded a contract with Poland and Russia, respecting the sequestration, Oct. 6.

Mémoires concernant les campagnes de M. le Compte de Steenbok, de 1712 *et* 1713, *avec sa justification*, par M. N**. 1745, 8vo.

17. Of no less moment was the use Denmark made of its conquests, by selling Bremen and Verden to Hanover, as the price of its participating in the war against Sweden. The resentment of Charles XII., thus excited against George I., involved not only Hanover, but England also, in the northern war; and the knot became more entangled than ever, when in consequence of the measures adopted in Sweden itself, Charles unexpectedly returned to Stralsund, more like an adventurer than a king, yet indulging the hope of severing this knot with the sword.

The duchies of Bremen and Verden, equally important to England and Hanover, were purchased June 26, 1715.—The participation of England, by despatching a squadron to the Baltic, was produced by the strict edicts of Charles against the navigation of neutrals.—Attempts were made in Sweden to transfer the regency to Ulrica Eleonora, the sister of the king, Dec., 1713, and a diet was convoked.—Charles returned to Stralsund, Nov. 22, 1714.

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18. Of all the foreign provinces of the Swedish monarchy, but few remnants were left beside Stralsund; yet even then, Charles was not only resolved to continue the war, but soon saw the number of his enemies increased by Prussia and Hanover, and the Swedish main country exposed to the czar, the new lord of the Baltic. The remainder of the Swedish possessions in Germany were finally lost with Stralsund, and Charles brought back to Sweden nothing but himself.

An alliance was formed between Prussia, Saxony, Denmark, and Hanover, Feb., 1715, and shortly after in Oct. between Prussia, Hanover, and Russia. What else but war could have resulted from the equivocal conduct of Prussia towards a prince like Charles?—Wismar was besieged in common, and more especially Stralsund, which surrendered immediately after Charles's departure, Dec. 12.

19. While Charles thus seemed to have little else but his hopes left, he found in the baron of Goertz, the minister of Holstein-Gottorp, the friend and counsellor that he needed. Rarely have two men met together who were less alike, and still more rarely, two who had greater need of each other. Charles had been finally forced to understand—but perhaps too late—that every thing is not to be effected with the sword. Goertz taught him the efficiency of policy and the financial art, and met with a docile scholar, because he at the same time yielded to the passions of the king. Intrusted with the management of domestic affairs, notwithstanding the hatred of the Swedish nobles, he gained credit for Sweden, and thence the means of prosecuting the war. But the war was no longer to be carried on without an object. While amity was restored with the more powerful, by ceding to Peter his conquests, the weaker were to pay for the loss. And the project, in all respects adapted to the relations of the times, appeared almost certain of success, because it accorded completely with Peter's purpose, who could derive no benefit from a longer war with Sweden; and because a man like Goertz, whose connexions extended through all Europe, was at the head of the negotiations.

The other allies, especially England and Denmark, began to entertain a great distrust towards the czar, after the expedition, purposely frustrated, against Schonen, 1716. Goertz joined with Alberoni and the pretender, against George I. The czar made a useless attempt on his journey, 1717, to gain France against England; although a treaty was con-

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cluded Aug. 4, without any particular consequences, yet remarkable as the first participation of Russia in the affairs of the west. Secret negotiations were carried on at Aaland, between Sweden and Russia, May, 1718, by Goertz and Gyllenborg on the side of Sweden, and Osterman and Bruce on the part of Russia, and were brought almost to a conclusion. Norway and Hanover were, as was afterwards discovered, to indemnify Sweden, and the duke of Holstein-Gottorp and Stanislaus in Poland to be reinstated.

RETTUNG *der Ehre und Unshuld des Freiherrn von Goertz*, 1776, 8vo.

Der Freiherr von Goertz, in WOLTMAN's *Geschichte und Politik*, B. I. II. 1800.

Dec. 11, 1718. N. S. 20. But fate had determined otherwise! Charles XII. fell in the trenches before Friedrichshall; and the enraged aristocrats forthwith Feb. 28, 1718. dragged his friend and adviser to the scaffold. A radical change in Swedish policy was the consequence. A rupture took place with Russia; but urged by the feeling of their inability to help themselves, the Swedes resorted to an alliance with England. A series of treaties of peace with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark, and Poland, Feb. 1, 1720. were now dearly purchased through the mediation of England; when this was accomplished, nothing was wanting but a peace with the most dangerous enemy.

After preliminaries and previous truces, Sweden concluded the following formal treaties of peace:

1. With Hanover, Nov. 9, 1719. *a.* Hanover was to retain Bremen and Verden, *b.* and pay to Sweden a million of rix dollars.

2. With Prussia, Feb. 1, 1720. *a.* Prussia was to retain Stettin, besides Pomerania, as far as the Peene; and the islands Wollin and Usedom, *b.* and pay to Sweden two millions of dollars.

3. With Denmark, July 14, 1720. *a.* Denmark was to restore all its conquests to Sweden. *b.* Sweden to renounce its exemption from toll in the Sound, and pay 600,000 dollars. *c.* France and England guaranteed to Denmark the possession of the duchy of Sleswick, and Sweden engaged not to assist the (deserted) duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

4. With Poland, the conditions were those of the truce signed Nov. 7, 1719.

21. But what were these losses compared with the sacrifice, with which peace had to be purchased from the 1720. czar, rendered necessary by his dreadful devastations on the coast of Friesland, against which the British fleets could afford no protection. The peace of Nystadt completed the work, for which Peter had been labouring the last twenty years.

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Peace was signed between Russia and Sweden at Nystadt, Sept. 10, 1721. *a.* Sweden relinquished to Russia, Livonia, Esthlonia, Ingria, and Karelia, part of Wiborg, besides the islands Oesel, Dagoe, and Moen, and all others from the boundaries of Courland to Wyborg. *b.* On the other hand, Finland was restored, and two millions of dollars paid to Sweden. *c.* The czar promised not to interfere in the internal affairs of Sweden. *d.* Poland and England were included in this peace.

22. The history of a war, thus carried on and thus terminated, displays clearly enough the vicissitudes of things in the north. But it was far less the gain or the losses of the war, that were decisive of the future, than the internal relations, which were now unfolded in most of the states of the northern system, in some for good, in others for evil.

23. Russia was now indisputably the first of them. The colossal monarch of that colossal empire had succeeded in giving the European character, not so much to his people, as to his court and his residence. His new creation in Petersburg stood firm; and not without reason did he now adopt the imperial title. Europe had already felt, that he had drawn nearer; but for the north, 1721. the new dominion of the Baltic was the principal thing. After he navigated it victoriously with fleets of his own building, the Swedish power was of itself at an end.

24. Who could say, how far this extorted supremacy of Russia might lead? It depended on the personal character of the ruler. The sphere of Russia's activity remained, nevertheless, for a long time confined to the north; its navy never went beyond the Baltic, and its army was formidable only to its neighbours. Peter himself in his last years wasted his powers against Persia; and though he had himself chosen his successor, it was soon felt that he was no more. The throne was often afterwards filled by revolutions; but they were revolutions of the court, without disturbing the internal quiet; phenomena of frequent occurrence in similar great empires. But the foundation of Petersburg, and the possession of the other ports on the Baltic, by which a way of exportation was opened to the products of the interior, as well as of importation to those of other countries, created within the empire a change the more sure because it was not sudden.

25. Sweden stood like a tree stript of its branches; but the wounds inflicted by the war, were neither the only ones,

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nor the deepest. An end, indeed, had been put to the abuses of unlimited power after the death of Charles; but the manner in which this was done, occasioned greater evils than the autocracy itself. The aristocrats usurped the sovereignty; the throne was filled by election; the council of the kingdom reigned, and the king possessed little more than the bare title and the representation.

The younger sister of Charles XII., Ulrica Eleonora, was elected Feb. 21, 1719; the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, son of his elder sister, being passed over. A new constitution was framed; the sovereignty was renounced; and the co-equal authority of the council of the kingdom acknowledged. The crown was transferred from the queen to her husband, Frederic of Hesse, May 3, 1720, with yet greater restrictions.

26. Poland presented a still more melancholy aspect. Devastated by foreign and civil wars, and by famine and the plague, that followed in their train, the peace itself served but to develop new miseries. The Swedish war had, likewise, inflamed religious discord; and the Jesuits took good care that the fire should not be extinguished. The dissidents now became, from compulsion, a political party.

The dissidents began to be deprived of their political rights, in the diet of 1717. Their churches were torn down; massacres were perpetrated at Thorn, occasioned by the Jesuits, 1724, and which had almost renewed the war with Russia.—The exclusion of the dissidents from the diets, the high offices, and the *Starosties*, was confirmed by the diet of 1733.

27. But while Poland appeared in a state of internal dissolution, the new Prussian monarchy had acquired a high degree of internal perfection. The fall of Sweden had freed it from a very troublesome neighbour, and after Frederic William I. had succeeded his extravagant father, a
1713. new creation came into being here, no less than in Russia; though in a very different way. Peter formed greatness from great materials; here, on the contrary, something similar was to be formed from proportionably small means. Thence it followed, that economy was necessarily the basis of Prussian power.

28. But this economy was shaped in a peculiar way in a state, which drew the greater part of its revenues from its domains. The management of these constituted, therefore, the most important part of the whole domestic administra-

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tion; and Frederic William I. laid the foundation of the internal organization of the monarchy, by erecting the chambers of the domains, after the abolition of hereditary leases, and subjecting them, as well as the management of the lands of the cities, to a general directory. In consequence of this regulation, there was an annual fixed revenue, which rendered it possible to fix the expenditures with equal exactness; while the surplus was applied to the accumulation of a treasure. These regulations determined the whole spirit of the Prussian administration; which was not altered by the opening of sources of revenue, such as the excise, etc., which in their nature are more variable.

1713.

1723.

29. Thus the favourite principle of unity in the administration, proceeding from the personal character of Frederic, was for the first time made effectual. The Prussian state was like a great household, managed in the most parsimonious manner. But even in private life, we do not always regard the most parsimonious housekeeping as the most perfect. How much less so, when the reason of this strict economy is the gratification of a whim; for with Frederic William—who possessed nothing of the spirit of a great general or conqueror—his military system was not much more. But, notwithstanding, what consequences must not necessarily follow the establishment of a monarchy, in which the army was the principal thing?

30. The application that was to be made of this army depended on the genius of the ruler. But it was not by this alone that Prussia operated on the rest of Europe; it was the relative strength, and the internal regulation of this army, soon to serve as a model for others, and in a great measure to determine the future character of standing armies. The principle of maintaining a larger army than the population could supply, led to the system of foreign levies, and all the cruelties connected with it; from which again sprang that odious impressment, which could serve to make the condition of a common soldier neither respected nor desirable.

31. Such was the geographical situation of this country, that it might be doubted whether it belonged to the east or west. It had to see itself involved almost equally in the

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affairs of both; the disputes of the maritime powers and the Turkish wars alone lay beyond its sphere. The proofs of this were visible under Frederic William. But as yet on good terms with Austria, its hopes would have been limited to the acquisition of some Westphalian provinces, had not the northern war afforded an opportunity of aggrandizement in Pomerania.

32. Denmark, though involved in the northern war, suffered the least change. It received Sleswick as its share of the spoil; but the times were coming when the offended house of Holstein-Gottorp would be able to excite in it bitter regret for the injury.

33. The last treaties of peace had left no contested point undecided; and the superiority of Russia and the exhaustion of humbled Sweden, were too great to allow the rancour, which still remained here, to produce any immediate consequences. Under the two next reigns after Peter's death, those of Catharine I. and Peter II., foreign policy was not the subject that employed the Russian government; for Menschikow, and after his fall the Dolgorukies, had too much to do for themselves; what did they care about foreign countries? Even the connexion with Austria, into which Catharine I. was drawn by the league of Vienna, (see p. 192,) was at first attended with no particular results. 1726.

The reign of Catharine I., wholly under Menschikow's guidance, lasted from Feb. 9, 1725, to May 17, 1727. Under her successor, Peter II., († Jan. 29, 1730,) Menschikow was deposed, Sept., 1727, and the Dolgorukies came into power.

34. But it was altogether different after Anne, the niece of Peter the Great, and the widowed duchess of Courland, ascended the throne. Feb., 1730, to Oct., 1740. The attempt to restrict the supreme power ruined the native nobles; and a cabinet was now for the first time formed in Russia, consisting mostly of strangers. Very different in their hopes and projects, they all required the external splendour of the empire; and already initiated in the mysteries of politics, they sought this splendour in foreign relations. But these, however, were men partially moulded in the school of Peter the Great. Where a Münnich and an Ostermann were active, the sport of court intrigue itself led to bold projects;

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for even the all-powerful favourite Biron, saw in this the only means of exercising his despotism over the nation with impunity.

Mémoires politiques et militaires sur la Russie, depuis l'année 1727, *jusqu' à* 1744, par le général DE MANSTEIN. à Leipsic, 1771.—The leading source for the history of the court and war.

Contributions in: BUSCHING's *Magazin*, B. I. II. III., collected in the empire itself.

35. One inducement to this foreign activity was held out by the duchy of Courland. As a fief of Poland, at the approaching extinction of the ducal house of Kettler, it was to revert to the country, in order to be united with it; but the states had set themselves against this scheme; and Anne improved these relations to procure it for her favourite Biron. From this time Russia appointed to this duchy; but the revolutions in this empire had in almost every case an influence on Courland.

As early as 1726, the states, to prevent the union with Poland, had chosen Count Maurice of Saxony to succeed Duke Ferdinand, even in his life-time; but Maurice was unable to maintain himself. After the death of Ferdinand, in 1737, Ernest, duke of Biron, was elected under Russian influence. After his fall, 1741, Courland remained occupied by Russian troops; and although Charles, prince of Saxony, obtained the investiture from the Poles, in 1759, Ernest of Biron was nevertheless, after his recall from exile, in 1762, by Peter III., again declared duke, and afterwards confirmed by Catharine II.

36. But a more important opportunity was offered when the royal throne of Poland became vacant by the death of Augustus II. The nation desired a native, and, at the suggestion of France, unanimously chose, for the second time, Stanislaus Lescinsky, the father-in-law of Louis XV. But Augustus of Saxony gained Russia, by promising Courland to Biron, and Austria, by acknowledging the Pragmatic Sanction. A Russian army decided for Augustus III.; while only a French corps came to the aid of Stanislaus; and though France and its allies found opportunity to compensate themselves amply in the west, (see p. 194,) it lost for ever the confidence of Poland.

1733.

Stanislaus Lescinsky, who had returned to Poland in secret, was chosen at the impulse of Prince Primas, Sept. 9, 1733. But the Russians quickly advanced under Lascy; and a counter-choice was made of Augustus III., Oct. 5, by a small number of nobles, Stanislaus retreating to Dantzic. Count Münnich obtained the chief command in order

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to remove him from the court. Dantzic was invested and reduced, after Stanislaus had escaped in disguise, June 30, 1734. The contest was settled at the *pacification-diet*, July, 1736. It was agreed that for the present the country should be evacuated by the foreign troops.

37. The result of this war, therefore, was, that Augustus III. obtained the Polish crown, for which he was indebted to foreign aid. His government seemed merely a continuation of that of his father; and the seed of evils which had germinated under the latter in the interior, could now thrive luxuriantly, because a long period of peace ensued. Nothing, therefore, prevented the nobles from corrupting their morals abroad, to which they were even invited by the fondness of the king for pomp and display. Never was this corruption of the state so fearful as here, where the nobility, and among the nobility the grandees, constituted the nation; and where morals alone had made the want of a constitution less perceptible. Every thing therefore deteriorated, while it was thought that every thing remained as of old. The time of awakening from this lethargy could not but come; but what a moment was it to be!

38. While Poland was thus situated, and the contest of factions was preparing in Sweden, Russia turned its power against the Turks. The parties of the court deemed it judicious now to execute the old project of Peter, of revenging the peace on the Pruth; and while the dominion of Russia was again extended to the Black Sea, to give employment to Münnich as commander-in-chief. The juncture seemed not ill-chosen; for the Porte was in Asia, combating the conqueror Nadir Shah; but the issue showed that in many points they had miscalculated.

The campaigns of Münnich, from 1735 to 1739, were brilliant, but very expensive. Azoph was conquered, and the Crimea was entered, 1736, but could not be maintained. A fixed establishment was made on the mouths of the Dneiper, and the bloody conquest of Otchakov achieved, 1737. But the campaign of the year 1738 was rendered unsuccessful by famine and plague in the deserts of Ukraine. On the other hand, in 1739, a successful expedition was made beyond the Niester; a victory was gained at Stawutschane, Aug. 28; of which the conquest of Choczim and the possession of Moldavia were the consequences.

Lebensbeschriebung des Russ. Kaiserl. Generalfeldmarschalls B. C. Grafen von Münnich, von G. A. VON HALEM. Oldenburg, 1803.

39. But unhappily for Russia, it found in this war an

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ally in Austria, to whom the treaty of alliance with Catharine I. gave a pretence for participation. But the hope of conquest was much disappointed. The Turks soon observed that Eugene was no more; and the jealousy of the allies facilitated their operations. The losses of Austria brought it to the ignominious peace of Belgrade; which opened the way to a peace with Russia.

In the campaigns of the Austrians, from 1736 to 1738, they were expelled from Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. The generals had to bear the faults of the court. The grand vizier advanced before Belgrade, 1739; under the walls of which place, under French mediation, peace was concluded, Sept. 18, 1739; for which Charles himself believed he owed an excuse to Anne. Conditions: *a.* The evacuation and restoration of Belgrade, Orsowa, and Sabacz to the Porte. *b.* The cession of Servia and Austrian Wallachia. *c.* The Bannat, on the other hand, was retained by Austria.—Russia now thought itself obliged to conclude a peace, (Dec. 28,) in which: *a.* Azoph, razed however, was retained by Russia. *b.* The boundaries were enlarged in the Ukraine. *c.* All other conquests were to be restored to the Porte.

40. By this peace Austria lost all the fruits of Eugene's victories, and the projects of Russia to acquire a strong hold on the Black Sea were reserved for accomplishment to a later time. Meanwhile the ignominy of the peace of the Pruth was regarded as avenged; and this belief was not much less than the truth. Whatever the war had cost, the superiority of the Russians was nevertheless decided; the interior organization of the Russian army was perfected, and not without reason has Münnich been called the Eugene of the north.

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THIRD PERIOD.

From 1740 *to* 1786.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

1. THE age of Frederic may justly take his name; yet how powerfully soever his mind may have acted upon it, the age was so variously marked, that it is difficult to represent it in all its bearings. The civilization of Europe was carried during this period to its highest point of perfection, and embraced all that the mind of man could grasp. The nations of this part of the world consequently became more assimilated to each other; languages widely diffused facilitated the general circulation of ideas; and the difference of religious faith began more and more to lose its importance among the people, as it had already lost its weight among their rulers.

2. This progress of so extensive a civilization manifested itself in various ways. Government, as well as political economy, made surprising advances; the commerce of the world obtained an extent and importance hitherto unparalleled. Every sea was navigated, and the most distant countries explored. Military and naval tactics were carried to the highest perfection. And this great advance was not confined to merely practical affairs; the spirit of the age was not less inclined to matters of theory: every thing became subject to investigation; every notion was tried by the test of reason; and this was its most striking peculiarity. Nothing was thought beyond the reach of human intelligence. What discoveries it already imagined it had made! what did it believe beyond its reach?

3. One consequence of this wide diffusion of civilization was the great influence which it gave to writers of eminent talents. The cultivated classes of society were far more

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closely connected than in any former period. The wall of partition, which manners and fashion had placed between the citizens and nobility, was broken down, when the world of polite literature became common to both, and was alike valued by both; and however tenacious the nobility might be of their civil prerogatives, they willingly relaxed much of their haughty rigidity in social life. The first example of this change was given by that very city, which the nations of Europe regarded as the arbitress in all matters of *ton* and *etiquette;* and its influence was correspondently great.

4. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the cabinet policy of Europe retained its ancient forms, it was affected by things which had never influenced it before. Great writers, read in all circles, even in the highest, guided public opinion; and their voice became one of authority. Though they did not directly hold a seat in the cabinet, though they exercised no immediate influence on the events of the day, they nevertheless enlarged, in various ways, the circle of ideas; and in many cases, of the highest practical importance, they entirely directed the public mind. How could this be otherwise, when statesmen, even kings, became authors, and lived in familiar intercourse with authors? Could this happen without influencing the tone and practice both of domestic and foreign policy? And could any thing less be expected considering the great change which had taken place, generally for the worse, in the modes of thinking, arising from the diminution of religious feeling, not only among the great, but also among the people? How unsatisfactory would be the history of this period, were we to shut our eyes to these phenomena, and to the influence which they exercised on the state of Europe.

5. How much, not directly political in its nature, would it be necessary for us to notice, were we to attempt to answer the great question: How, in the very time when the proud structure of the political system of Europe appeared to stand forth in all its strength and solidity, it could have been undermined on so many sides, and its principal pillars made to totter? The work of destruction was, perhaps, begun at an earlier period, but it is undeniable that it made most progress during this, though unheeded by the age

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itself. None but a building completely undermined could have experienced so fearful a shock as that which has since befallen the political system of Europe.

6. If we wish to distinguish this period with a general appellation, perhaps that of the German period would be the most appropriate. Germans filled all the principal thrones of Europe, that of the Bourbons excepted: Frederic, in Prussia; Maria Theresa, in Austria; Catharine, in Russia; and the Georges, in England. German armies were the models of military tactics; German countries, of civil government. None disputed with this nation the fame of science; and though in the bolder flight of its literature, its writers belonged less to Europe than to itself, it possessed, on the other hand, the consolation, that it never cherished in its bosom any of that race of sophistical sceptics, the general diffusion of whose writings contributed so essentially to disturb the peace and order of society.

7. In looking at the public affairs of this period, we are struck with the fact, that the west and north of Europe were more deeply connected with each other than in any preceding period. This is accounted for by the flourishing state of the Prussian monarchy, which, after it had assumed its station in the rank of the great powers, became the link which united the chains of the two state-systems. Although this connexion should not pass unobserved, yet the north still retained its own proper interest; and it was rather Prussia itself, which was implicated in the disputes of the two systems, than that they became in reality united into one.

I. PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF EUROPE.

FROM 1740 to 1786.

I. *To the alliance between France and Austria, from* 1740 *to* 1756.

Sources. The collection of state papers of WENK and of VON MARTENS (see p. 2). A general view of the treaties of peace is given in:

Geist der merkwürdigsten Bündnisse und Friedenschlüsse des 18*ten Jahrhunderts*, von CHR. D. VOSS. Gera, 1801-2, 5 vols. 8vo. The fourth volume belongs to this period.

We have as yet no general history of this remarkable period: an attempt is made in:

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J. C. ADELUNG's *pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europas von dem Ableben Kaiser Karl's VI. an bis auf die gegenwärligen Zeiten.* Gotha, 1752—1769, 9 vols. 4to. This comes down to 1759.

Memoirs unfortunately now begin to become more rare. Their place is supplied in some degree by,

W. COXE's *History of the House of Austria, from the foundation of the Monarchy under Rodolphus of Hapsburgh, to the death of Leopold II.* Lond. 1807, 3 vols. 4to, or 5 vols. 8vo. And by,

Œuvres posthumes de FREDERIC II. Berlin, 15 vols. 8vo, 1788. To history belong, vol. i. ii., containing the *Histoire de mon temps, from* 1741 *to* 1745. The most spirited of all the historical works of this royal author, but not without animosity. Vol. iii. iv. contain the *Histoire de laguerre de sept ans.* As the title announces, it is merely a history of the war. Vol. v. contains *Histoire dépuis* 1763 *à* 1778.

The number of journals and political pamphlets increased extraordinarily in this period. After those formerly quoted in vol. i. had ceased, the most perfect was,

Politisches Journal. Altona, from 1781, two volumes annually. (Edited by SCHIRACH.) [The annual Register is the most important English work.]

A. CHR. WEDEKIND *Chronologisches Handbuch der neuern Geschichte* von 1740 to 1807. Luneburg, 1808. Very useful for the chronology.

8. This period began with a violent convulsion of the European system, which, in as far as it aimed at the destruction of one of its leading monarchies, seemed to menace the overthrow of the whole. It was occasioned by the extinction of the male line of the Austrian or Hapsburg family, in Charles VI., who, as well as his elder brother Joseph, left only daughters.

Death of Charles VI., Oct. 20, 1740. Maria Theresa, his elder daughter, (born 1717,) according to the Pragmatic Sanction, heiress to all his states, was married to Francis Stephen, formerly duke of Lorraine, but, as already mentioned, from 1737 archduke of Tuscany. Maria Josepha, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph I., was married to Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony; the younger, Maria Amelia, was married to Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria.

9. In this same year Frederic II. had succeeded his father on the throne. He ascended it determined to raise Prussia to the rank of one of the great powers of Europe; and regarded aggrandizement as the means by which he must effect it. He gave himself but little trouble respecting the justice of his undertakings; but he was distinguished from the herd of common conquerors by having one fixed object. He desired no more than was requisite for that object, and the conquest of Silesia May 31, 1740.

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appeared to him sufficient.—His claims to some portion of it furnished him with an apology. Thus began, in this year, under a propitious concurrence of political relations, the first Silesian war.

Claims of Prussia on the duchy of Silesia: 1st, *Jägerndorf.* It properly belonged to a younger branch of the electoral line, but Duke John George, as adherent to Frederic V. elector of the Palatinate, was put under the ban of the empire, by Ferdinand II., 1623, and, neither he nor his heirs restored. 2ndly, *Leignitz*, *Brieg*, and *Wohlau.* These claims were founded on a compact of inheritance, by which the survivor was to succeed to the property of the other, concluded 1735, between the then duke and the elector Joachim II. This compact was opposed by Ferdinand I. as king of Bohemia and supreme feudal lord. After the extinction of the ducal house, 1675, Austria took possession of it: and in 1686, the prince elector, Frederic William, renounced it, in consideration of the transfer of the circle of Schwiebuss, which however was again secured to Austria, by a secret treaty with the then electoral prince, and actually resigned in 1695, after the commencement of his reign.—However just or groundless these claims were, the whole conduct of Frederic proves, that he would rather enforce them by arms than by negotiation, for thus only could he gain the whole of Silesia.—Invasion of the almost defenceless country, Dec., 1740, and almost bloodless conquest till the battle of Molwiz, April 10, 1741.

10. This sudden enterprise of Frederic hastened forwards a far greater project in the French court; not devised by the ruling minister, Cardinal Fleury, but by a party in the court; the leaders of which, the Marshal Belleisle and his brother, hoped to make it the means of increasing their power. Elizabeth of Spain was no less urgent, "that her second son too might gain a morsel of bread." Its object was nothing less than to tear from the Austrian monarchy the imperial crown, and at the same time to effect its dismemberment.

The depriving of Austria of the imperial crown, which would have rendered it, both in form and fact, elective, would of itself have been sufficient to destroy the European system.—Had there not already been enough of elective kingdoms?

11. No semblance of justice could here be brought forward, for France had not merely recognised, but even guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. This, however, seemed to France the time for destroying her ancient rival, and for dividing her provinces. The distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, and the certainty of finding allies, was a powerful inducement; but it was soon seen, that the

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means were badly calculated: even if the attempt had succeeded, would France have been a gainer? Under existing circumstances, the dominion of Europe, which she, perhaps, flattered herself she should obtain, was an empty phantom. To maintain that dominion, far different men would have been necessary, than any which France could bring into the field or employ in the cabinet.

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'Europe dépuis, 1740 *jusqu' à* 1748. Amsterd. 1749, 3 vols. 12mo (par M. De Spohn). Written entirely to favour the interest of France.

12. But the aggression itself needed a pretext; and as this was found in the support of foreign claims, the need of foreign alliances followed. In this lay the tacit confession of weakness. A power, which wishes to become the mistress of others, may as well renounce its pretensions, if it has not sufficient strength of its own to make them good. Allies will soon desert; and of this France had bitter experience. In none of the preceding great wars had there been such a vacillation of alliances, for never had allies fewer points of agreement in their respective views. Besides, what member of the confederacy, except France, could have seriously wished, or even hoped for, the entire dissolution of the Austrian monarchy?

13. No wonder, though, that France should have immediately found many and powerful allies, where the prospect of gain was so inviting. Her attention, above all, was directed towards Bavaria, her ally in the former war of succession, in order to have a candidate for the imperial crown. But the elector, Charles Albert, discovered, in addition, that he had in reality a right to the whole Austrian monarchy. Spain also made the same discovery for itself; and Saxony soon after found that the Pragmatic Sanction could have no validity, and that she, of all, had the nearest claim. Thus Europe witnessed the singular spectacle of three powers, each of which claimed the whole monarchy, uniting with France, which itself had no further pretence, than a wish to vindicate the rights of all.

Alliance against Austria.

Claims of Bavaria, founded on a will of the emperor Ferdinand I., of which the original did not contain what it was said to do.—Those of Spain on a very erudite genealogy; on a compact between Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, at the abdication of the German countries;

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and a proviso of Philip III. at his renunciation of the Austrian succession, 1617.—Those of Saxony on the rights of the wife of Augustus III. as the eldest daughter of Joseph I.—Secret alliance at Nymphenburg, May 18, 1741, between France, Bavaria, and Spain, to which Saxony also acceded September 19.

14. Under these circumstances, Frederic II. considered it judicious to join the confederacy against Austria; and Prussia, for the first time, became allied with France. But it was soon seen how different were the views of this king from those of the allies. They were to serve him as means for accomplishing his schemes; and though he joined them, it was with the tacit proviso, that he should withdraw himself as soon as his own convenience should permit.

Nov. 1, 1741.

15. Maria Theresa, who made her husband joint ruler with herself, (without however imparting to him any great share in the government,) thus saw more than half Europe leagued against her; and had but little reason to hope for foreign assistance. England was already in open war with Spain; and as for Sweden, foreign policy had taken advantage of its domestic troubles to involve it in a war with Russia (see below). She had, then, only her own strength to trust to, which did not seem augmented by the loss of the imperial crown, (by the election of Charles VII. of Bavaria,) or by the general course of the war. Charles VII. gained but little by the imperial diadem, but Austria lost a great deal.

Jan. 24, 1742.

Union of the French army under Belleisle with the Bavarian, Sept., 1741, they penetrate into Upper Austria, (which however is soon freed,) and Bohemia, and, in connexion with the Saxons, capture Prague, Nov. 26, where Charles VII. receives homage as king of Bohemia, Dec. 19, as does Frederic II. in Silesia, which was now entirely subdued. A second French army, under Marshal Maillebois, in Westphalia, preserves the neutrality of the maritime powers. Treaty on this account with George II., Sept. 27, 1741.

16. But the threatened violence to the Austrian monarchy did not allow England to remain a quiet spectator, notwithstanding its war with Spain. The voice of the people demanded too strongly an active participation, to be satisfied with mere subsidies. Could it, without forsaking its whole former policy, have refused assistance to its first ally on the continent? Walpole was not adapted for such stormy times; he yielded his place to the more

Jan. 24, 1742.

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impetuous Carteret, and active measures for rendering assistance were immediately adopted. Thus, after the alliance of Spain with France, the Spanish war necessarily became connected with the German, different as they were in their origin. British subsidies had already found an entrance into Sardinia.

A treaty for subsidies had been previously concluded between England and Austria, June 24, 1741.—A British-German army now assembled in the Netherlands, and at the same time subsidies sent to Sardinia, which bound itself by an agreement, Feb. 1, 1742, to procure the neutrality of Italy.

17. But before the end of the year, the confederacy against Austria was broken up by Frederic II.'s retirement. He was in possession of Silesia; and the victory at Czaslau put an end to all hopes of recovering May 17, 1742. it from him. He concluded at Breslau his separate peace, to which Saxony likewise acceded.

Preliminaries of peace between Prussia and Austria at Breslau, June 11; definitive treaty at Berlin, July 28, 1742. Conditions: 1. Renunciation of all alliances which were opposed to peace. 2. Maria Theresa resigns to Prussia all Upper and Lower Silesia, and the county of Glaz. 3. The principality of Teschen, with some contiguous districts of Upper Silesia, still remained to Austria.

18. By thus ridding itself of one of its most powerful enemies, Austria acquired a great superiority over the others. Bohemia was recovered; Bavaria itself was conquered, and the emperor Charles VII. compelled to fly; and the British-German army gaining, the next year, a complete victory at Dettingen, the French were not only compelled to recross the Rhine, but Austria and England succeeded in obtaining two new allies, the king of Sardinia in Italy, and the elector of Saxony in Germany. And when the British troops had landed in the Netherlands, the republic agreed, at the request of England, to raise an auxiliary body for Austria.

Recapture of Bohemia and blockade of the French army in Prague, June, 1742. After the evacuation of the city by Belleisle, possession is taken of it, and Maria Theresa is crowned there, May 12, 1743. Bavaria occupied, May, 1743. Victory of the Pragmatic army at Dettingen, June 27; alliance at Worms with the king of Sardinia, Sept. 13; and with Saxony, Dec. 20, 1743.

19. But France, so far from thinking of peace, especially

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Jan. 20, 1743. as Fleury, the friend of peace, was dead, no longer appeared the mere auxiliary of her allies, but declared war directly against both Austria and England.

While France and England carried on the war merely as auxiliaries, it did not extend either to the sea or to the colonies, as now happened. Naval victory of the British over the Spanish-French fleet, off Toulon, Feb. 24, 1744. This battle occasioned the declaration of war against England, March 15, against Austria, April 27, an alliance, offensive and defensive, having been already concluded, Oct. 25, 1743, at Fontainebleau, between France and Spain.

20. The allies having thus the superiority, Frederic II. again decided upon war. Honour appeared to demand, that he should prevent the utter ruin of the emperor Charles VII., of Bavaria and the German empire, who had escaped by flight, and in whose election he had participated. But a stronger motive than honour, the fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, now leagued with Saxony, should be victorious, engaged him to this measure. He therefore again entered into an alliance with France and the German empire. He found an easy access, for he was needed; though his maxims in alliances could be no longer a secret.

Second alliance between Prussia and France, March, 1744; and, soon after, the union of Francfort, May 22, with Charles VII., the Palatinate, and Hesse-Cassel.

21. This second Silesian war gave new life to the struggle. Frederic II. invaded Bohemia, though without success; while France, delivered thereby from the Austrians along the upper Rhine, breathed more freely; and Charles VII. survived long enough to return to his capital. Jan. 20, 1745. His death, which soon followed, seemed necessarily to produce an entire change in the situation of affairs; his son and successor, Maximilian Joseph, willingly renounced his claims on the imperial crown, in return for his hereditary territories.

Peace of Füssen, between Austria and Bavaria, April 22, 1745. Conditions: 1. Austria restored to Bavaria all its conquests. 2. The elector promised Francis Stephen his vote at the imperial election.

22. The only effect of this secession of Bavaria was, that the war no longer raged in the interior of Germany; and that Austria, though opposed by Brandenburg, succeeded in obtaining the imperial crown for Francis I. Sept. 13, 1754. France still prosecuted the war—it is difficult to

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say for what purpose—but the death of the emperor inclined Frederic II. to peace, as soon as he had secured to himself Silesia. This security was strengthened by repeated victories, and the convention with England at Hanover: and before the end of the year, he entered, for the second time, into a separate peace for himself; without demanding more than in the former one.

Victory of the king, over the Austrians and Saxons, under Charles of Lorraine, at Hohenfriedberg, June 4, 1745. Convention at Hanover, August 26, by which England offered itself as the guarantee of Silesia. But to impel Austria to accept it, needed the new victories of the king over the Austrians, at Sorr, Sept. 30, and of the prince of Dessau over the Saxons, at Kesselsdorf, Dec. 15. Peace of Dresden, Dec. 25, between Prussia on the one hand, and Austria and Saxony on the other, according to the basis of the convention at Hanover. Conditions: 1. Possession of Silesia is confirmed, according to the peace of Breslau. 2. Frederic II. recognises Francis I. as emperor. 3. Saxony pays Prussia a million rix dollars.

23. On the other hand, the war was carried on by France, and her yet remaining allies, in the Netherlands and Italy with the greatest vigour. It was planned, that a descent should be made upon Scotland by Charles Edward, son of the pretender, the first success of which was beyond their hopes. France, too, found the general she wanted in a foreigner; the victories of the marshal Prince Maurice of Saxony in the Netherlands, opened her an outlet from the labyrinth, which the presence of the king with the army had not disclosed to her.

Campaigns of the Marshal of Saxony from 1745. Victory at Fontenai, in the presence of Louis XV., May 11, over Cumberland. Winter campaign, and capture of Brussels and Brabant, Feb., 1746. The progress of the pretender recalls the Duke of Cumberland, and the best of the British troops, to England, till the victory at Culloden, April 27, suppresses the insurrection. Meanwhile, the French make some progress in the Netherlands; victory of Marshal Saxe at Raucoux, over Duke Charles, Oct. 11, and in the following year, June 20, 1747, over the Duke of Cumberland, at Laffield.

Lettres et Mémoires du Maréchal de Saxe, choisis parmi les papiers originaux. Paris, 1794, 5 vols. 8vo.

Mémoires sur les campagnes des pays-bas en 1745, 1746, *et* 1747, publiés par A. H. L. HEEREN. à Goettingue, 1803, 8vo. From the papers of Charles Frederic, Prince of Waldeck, commander of the Dutch auxiliary troops.—By means of these accounts of both parties, few campaigns have been described so clearly as this. Much of the greatness of the marshal must be attributed to the littleness of his foes!

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24. Italy, too, within these last years, had become the field of action. The hopes of Elizabeth to conquer in that country a kingdom for D. Philip, her younger son, had directed thither, from the very beginning, the eyes of Spain; but the king of Sardinia's espousal of the cause of Austria, at the instigation of England, and the British dominion of the Mediterranean, opposed the progress of the power of the Bourbons; and the late conquest of Lombardy, after Genoa had concurred, was of short duration, as soon as Austria was left at liberty by the peace of Dresden.

Landing of the Spanish troops, now commanded by Don Philip, in Italy, as early as Nov., 1741, in order to conquer Milan with the aid of Naples. Treaty of Sardinia with Austria, Feb. 1, 1742, respecting the reservation of its own claims on Milan. Naples forced to neutrality by a British fleet, Aug. 19. Don Philip reinforced, 1743, by a French army. Treaty of Worms, between Sardinia, and England, and Austria, Sept. 13; the Bourbon troops driven back in October, and fruitless attempt to conquer Piedmont. But Genoa joins the Bourbon courts, June 29, 1745; and Milan and Parma thereupon captured. The Austrians, however, 1746, are reinforced by new troops after the peace of Dresden. The French repulsed, the Spaniards forced to retreat from Lombardy, and Genoa taken by the Austrians, Sept. 5. Invasion of Provence, which fails after the loss of Genoa, in consequence of the insurrection there, Dec. 5. Genoa heroically defended, and relieved by French aid, April to June, 1747.

25. So protracted a contest had given passion time to cool. By the death of Philip V. of Spain, France saw herself deserted by this ally; her weak navy was almost annihilated; her colonies in the two Indies were captured, or menaced. She still, however, hoped to effect a separation of her enemies, through her superiority in the Netherlands, by a violent attack on the republic. (The restoration of the hereditary stadtholders was a consequence of this attack.) But France was now threatened by a new and powerful enemy, as Austria had induced Russia to join in the war, and a Russian auxiliary army poured down upon the Rhine.

War declared by France against the Republic, April 17; an attack on Dutch-Brabant, and capture of Bergen-op-zoom, Sept. 16, 1747.—Defensive alliance concluded between Austria and Russia, June 12; and a subsidiary contract between Russia and England, Nov. 30.

26. These circumstances led to the opening of a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; but France did not forget its ancient

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policy of separating the allies. The siege of Mastrichts, the threatened demolition of Bergen-op-zoom, and the apprehension of a separate peace with Austria, soon occasioned separate preliminaries with the maritime powers; and these Austria and the other allies were soon compelled to adopt. April 15, 1748.

Congress opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, April, 1748. Preliminaries concluded between France and the maritime powers, April 30, to which Austria acceded, May 25. The negotiations, however, were protracted through the summer, in consequence of the advances of the Russians, with whom a special convention was made, August 2. Definitive peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and the maritime powers, to which Spain, Austria, Genoa, and Sardinia immediately acceded. Conditions: 1. Mutual restitution of the respective conquests made by France and England. (To France, Cape Breton; to England, Madras; to the Republic, the frontier fortresses, mostly dismantled.) Nothing concluded respecting the contested boundaries of Canada and Nova Scotia. 2. Resignation of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, in favour of Don Philip and his male posterity, with the condition of a reversion. 3. Sardinia obtains the portions of Milan, resigned 1743. 4. The *assiento* treaty of 1713 is confirmed to England for the four years still remaining. (An acquittal from its obligations afterwards purchased by a treaty at Buen Retiro, Oct. 5, 1750.) 5. Dunkirk remained fortified on the land side. 6. Guaranty of Silesia and Glatz, in favour of Frederic, from all claimants. 7. Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of Austria. 8. Guaranty of the British succession and of the German states, in favour of the house of Hanover.

The most important ambassadors at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, were: for France, the Count of St. Severin and la Porte du Theil. For Great Britain, the Earl of Sandwich. For Austria, the Count of Kaunitz-Rietberg. For the Republic, Count Bentinc, Baron von Wassenaer von Haren, etc. For Spain, Don de Lima. For Sardinia, Don Ossorio. For Genoa, Marquis Doria.

27. Thus an end was put, by this peace, to the project of overthrowing the existing system of Europe, by the dismemberment of Austria. It lost Silesia, Parma, and Piacenza; but it kept its station as one of the great powers; and it gained, in a short time, a rich compensation for its losses, by a better use of its vast internal resources.

28. But the consequences of this war were important, not merely to the separate states, who had been engaged in it; they were still more so as regards the mutual relations between them; and they soon gave rise to a revolution in these, which gave the first great shock to the stability of the European system.

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29. At the first glance, it might appear, that Europe had in reality been restored by this peace to its former relations. France and Austria stood in rivalry, as the leading powers of the continent. England had renewed its ancient connexions with Austria, and contributed essentially towards its preservation; even an alliance between Austria and Russia was not now contracted for the first time.

30. And yet how much had been changed during the war, and still more since! The continental policy of Britain, so far as it aimed at the preservation of the existing political system, was, in its object, highly salutary for Europe; but the measures adopted for effecting this, were not equally so. On land, England maintained the war, rather by subsidies than by her own strength. The old ties of continental relations were renewed; and states, not only of the second, but also of the first rank, were subsidized, and among these, not only the oppressed Austria, but even Russia. Thus, by money, England acquired the direction of the war, and by the same means the arrangement of the peace. To what lengths did she not carry, in after years, her notions respecting the right and power she had to direct the affairs of the continent? Still more important consequences, however, arose from her dominion of the sea, now acquired for the first time, which cannot, however, be made plain till the following sections.

31. It was a new thing to see Russia, not merely participating in the affairs of the west, but, in a certain measure, determining the balance. Though the part she took at this time was little more than a demonstration of her power, yet the tie by which she now became connected with the ruling affairs of Europe was never again severed, as was more fully proved by the next great European war.

32. But the greatest, the most important revolution, which this war occasioned in the states-system of Europe, was the elevation of Prussia to the rank of a leading power. Even the entrance of a new state, such as this, into the system, could not take place without causing great changes in its political relations. Such a power could not maintain its position of itself; and if it seek friends and allies, this cannot take place without having a correspondent influence on the relations that have previously existed between these and others.

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33. It is evident, too, that a new power, like this, would not be regarded by the old ones with a friendly eye. When was the aspirant ever viewed without jealousy by the ancient possessors of the power he desired to obtain? It was with bitter feelings, that Fleury called Frederic the arbiter of Europe. Frederic retired from the war without a single friend; nor had he taken the least pains to form any friendships of a lasting nature. His method of contracting and dissolving alliances, was not the way to effect this; and the independence he manifested only receives our approbation, because the manner in which he maintained it extorts our admiration.

34. The rise of Prussia was the more annoying to the other states, because its aggrandizement was effected by conquest. When Austria ceded territory of much larger extent at the peace of Vienna and Belgrade to Spain and Turkey, she regarded it but as a single loss; the renunciation of Silesia was at the same time a mortification. The former might demand compensation, the latter called for revenge. After events soon proved that it was only in the hope of being able to gratify this, that peace had been concluded.

35. Hence the peace, while it lasted, was necessarily a time of strong excitement; not only for the Prussians, who merely rested on their arms, but also for other powers. The possession of Silesia, being the great point contended for, became the principal object in practical politics; and it follows from the situation of Prussia and Austria, that they would be the leading continental powers in this struggle; and as their relations and interests called the rest of Europe into action, the whole system became influenced by their fortunes. The rising rivalry between them kept them vigilant and active, and called forth all their vigour; and wherever states are roused to these virtues their power is sure to dominate.

36. Austria still felt, that in order to subvert Prussia, allies were necessary. But with the feelings which then prevailed in the cabinets of Europe there could be little trouble in obtaining these, as Frederic II. had so little restrained himself from irritating the weak passions of the potentates. The close relations of Austria with Russia and

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Saxony, had been kept up from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; and from the personal hatred of the empress Elizabeth of Russia, and that of Count Brühl, the ruling minister at the court of Saxony, Austria easily persuaded these powers to co-operate with her. Measures were accordingly secretly concerted (not so secretly, however, that Frederic II. did not discover them) for a common attack, as soon as the parties could make the necessary preparations.

37. However important these alliances were for Austria, there still remained the power of France, which, in case of a renewed war, would probably, in accordance with its former relations, take up arms on the side of Prussia, to throw into the opposite scale: and how uncertain, in such a case, must be the issue? Under these circumstances, an alliance with France was the most desirable thing for Austria; but there appeared but little prospect of her wishes being realized in this respect.

38. Austria, however, found a minister, who not only conceived, but attempted this project; and built his own greatness on its accomplishment. During four
1753. reigns, Prince Kaunitz was the soul of the Austrian cabinet; or rather, in possessing the joint dignities of chancellor of the court and state, he almost constituted this cabinet of himself. Contrasted with Frederic, he appeared in almost every thing his opposite. In outward appearance, the statesman lay concealed under the Sybarite; his natural indolence, joined with his great diplomatic abilities, led him to form his bold designs in private; and, though well acquainted himself with all the intricacies and intrigue of cabinet policy, he chose rather to leave the execution of his projects to others than to take the trouble into his own hands.

Notwithstanding VON HORMAYR's valuable sketch in the *Œstreichischen Plutarch*, vol. xii., a full biography of this enigmatical statesman, who, after Frederic, had the greatest influence on the politics of his age, is still a desideratum. The works of FLASSAN and RULHIERE, as well as of COXE, contain contributions to such an undertaking, besides the *Characteristics*, in the German literary journal called *Jason*, (Aug., 1808,) edited by BENZEL-STERNAU.

39. And what might not now be accomplished at the French court, where Louis XV. had sunk into the slave of his mistresses? Under his predecessors, Europe had already

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seen mistresses and their influence; but never a government of mistresses like that of the Marchioness of Pompadour. As the remains of ancient principles had been banished with the ancient ministers, an adroit diplomatist, like Kaunitz, could not despair of obtaining his ends. Had there been no other reason, novelty itself had a charm. 1746 to 1764.

Since the death of Fleury, 1743, the French ministry had never been able to acquire any stability; and least of all, the department of foreign affairs, which Louis XV., as usual, believed himself competent to conduct, till his mistress relieved him of this care also. After the retirement of her favourite, the Abbé Bernis, he was succeeded, from 1757 to 1770, by De Choiseul-Stainville, a native of Lorraine, who showed the world that a mistaken policy may be united with great talents. Under him, his cousin, Choiseul-Praslin, had the management of foreign affairs from 1761.

40. The ready mind of Kaunitz, who went to France as ambassador extraordinary, soon discovered this state of things, and conceived the project, which he, placed at the head of the cabinet after his return, left for his successor, Staremberg, to execute. To rule Europe in common, provided Frederic II. should be overthrown, was the prospect which the Austrian policy held out to France. But what could have been the probable result of Frederic's ruin, but the oppression of the weaker, and with Austria's predominance in Germany, the subversion of the freedom of the European system? Dec., 1750. 1755.

First alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Austria, concluded May 1, 1756, by the Abbé Bernis, introduced by a simultaneous compact of neutrality on the side of the empress, in the war just breaking out between England and France; by which compact Austria renounced, therefore, her connexion with England. During the seven years' war, in an agreement subscribed in May, 1757, though not ratified, definite resolutions were adopted with respect to the division of the Prussian monarchy; Silesia was to fall to Austria, Pomerania to Sweden, Magdeburg, etc. to Saxony, the Netherlands, in return for Parma and Piacenza, to Don Philip, etc.—This treaty of alliance was finally renewed and enlarged Dec. 30, 1758, by Choiseul. They agreed to assist each other with all their power; and never to make peace except by mutual consent.

41. The advantages of this connexion were, therefore, altogether on the side of Austria; for what could France gain from helping to ruin the enemy of Austria, but the honour of participating in the future dominion of Europe,

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as far as Austria would permit? In the eyes of enlightened policy, however, the principal error of France does not consist in this mistake, but in the sacrifice she made of her political character; and no power can do this with impunity. As the opponent of Austria, she had for two centuries maintained her high rank among the continental powers; how must she have sunk, then, on becoming the mere assistant of Austria!

The alliance of Austria and France must be contemplated in two points of view: 1. As it affected the separate states. The gain of Austria, and the loss of France, are here manifest. 2. As it affected the political system of Europe in general. The escape from the dangers which threatened it, and the later advantages, were accidental; because the principal object, the destruction of Frederic, failed. A merely defensive alliance, such as Bernis wished it to be, might have been justified by the necessity of keeping in readiness to encounter England; but could a merely defensive alliance have existed under the circumstances of the times.

II. *From the alliance between France and Austria to the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg*, 1756—1763.

42. This great change in the European political system, which shook it to its centre, would of itself have been sufficient to excite a fierce contest, as it took place at a time when an attack on Prussia had been already concerted. But materials had long been collecting for war in another quarter, which, though different in its origin, could not but become mixed up with the former. It arose out of the colonial relations of England and France.

England and France.

43. England, having succeeded for the first time, during the late war, in annihilating the navy of her enemy, was little inclined to permit her rival to recover, who was now rebuilding her fleets with remarkable energy. The former amicable relations with France, had prevented the rivalry between the governments from growing to any extent. This, however, now increased in proportion to their foreign commerce, which was again connected with their colonies. Here perpetual collisions and disputes arose from the want of sufficient geographical information to enable the parties to fix the limits of their respective possessions. But even had the point of contest at this time been settled, as it per-

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haps might have been, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, can we doubt that others would soon have occurred? Upon this occasion, British policy took a new method of dealing with her opponents: if she did not receive immediate satisfaction for the injuries of which she complained on land, she indemnified herself by making reprisals at sea, and began the war even without its being declared.

Contested points between England and France: 1. Respecting the boundaries of Nova Scotia, which had been given up at the peace of Utrecht, according to its ancient boundaries, (see p. 184,) as England considered New Brunswick to belong to it. 2. Respecting the building of forts along the Ohio, in order to connect Louisiana and Canada; this England would not permit, as she had forts there already. Hostilities commenced, 1754 and 1755, by the mutual seizure of forts. 3. Respecting the occupation of Grenada and neutral islands of the Antilles, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominique, and St. Lucia, by the French, contrary to former agreements. 4. Add to these the rising jealousy respecting Coromandel in the East Indies (see below). The English first had recourse to open force, by the capture of several merchantmen and two ships of the line, June 10, 1755, as reprisals.

44. The commercial and colonial interest had now risen to such a degree of importance, that remote wastes and islands became the occasion of a war, which necessarily spread over all quarters of the world, and the cost and issue of which no one could calculate. But the British navy was superior to the French even before the war, and the hopes to which this gave rise, were among the strongest incentives to it.

England declares war against France, May 15, 1756. Successful attempts of the French against Minorca, and capture of Port Mahon by the Duke of Richelieu, June 29.

45. But at the commencement of this maritime war, the combinations against Prussia had advanced so far, that a war with Austria and her allies became inevitable. But as Austria gave up her connexion with England, and connected herself with France, the way seemed opened to an alliance between Prussia and England; the more so, as George II. believed this the only way by which he could secure his German territories against France; and this alliance, Russia, as the ally of Austria, could not allow. Accordingly the two wars became resolved into one; but, before their termination, were again separated and concluded by distinct treaties of peace.

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Only a complete revolution could have forced the two houses of Hanover and Brandenburg, which had almost always been at variance, to an alliance. The first treaty, concluded at Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1756, for the maintenance of neutrality in Germany, by which the compact of neutrality between France and Austria (see above) was hastened. Alliance by the convention of Jan. 11, 1757. Treaty of London, 1758. In consideration of a subsidy of one million sterling, Prussia engaged to furnish England with 20,000 troops.

Seven years' war.

46. If the first Silesian war on Frederic's side was an offensive one, the seven years' war, although he first drew the sword, was strictly defensive; but the laurels he earned are the more imperishable, the less he was the favourite of fortune. The formidable coalition against him, was mainly indebted for its strength to the meaner passions of the rulers; and it remained indissoluble till the death of Elizabeth. There is something peculiar too in the connexion between Frederic and England; closely allied, yet scarcely ever acting in common. William Pitt pursued his career, and Frederic his; both however conducted to the same object; and provided they met there, what need was there of their uniting on the road?

Administration of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, from Oct. 20, 1756, to Oct. 5, 1761. What a glorious five years! By the greatness of his own character, he elevated that of the nation; for he was the first to breathe into it a confidence in itself.

Life of William Pitt, 2 vols. 4to, 1780.

Aug., 1756.

47. The war began on land, by Frederic's invasion of Saxony; he found proofs in Dresden of the designs of his enemies.

According to Frederic's manifesto, the preliminary treaty, concluded May 18, 1745, respecting the division of the Prussian territories, remained, even after the peace of Dresden, Dec. 25, the basis of the negotiations between Vienna, Saxony, and Russia; whereupon, May 22, 1746, a defensive treaty is shortly after concluded at Petersburg between Austria and Russia, with four secret articles against Prussia, to which Saxony is disposed to accede, as soon as circumstances would allow. The plan of attack is said to have been matured in Petersburg, about the end of the year 1755.

Recueil des deductions, manifestes, traités, etc. qui ont été rédigés et publiés pour la cour de Prusse, (*dépuis* 1756 *jusqu' à* 1778,) par E. F. COMTE DE HERZEBERG, à Berlin, 1790—1795; 3 vols. 8vo, containing the state papers of this and the following periods.

Invasion of Saxony by Frederic, Aug., 1756; capture of Dresden, and blockade of the Saxon army at Pirna, Sept. Victory over the

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Austrians under Field-marshal Brown, at Lowositz, Oct. 1, and capitulation of the Saxons, Oct. 16.

48. By the terms of their agreement, the allies, Saxony, Austria, Russia, and France, were bound, upon the breaking out of hostilities, immediately to take up arms. In addition to these, the German empire was induced by the influence of Austria, and Sweden by that of France, to join the coalition; and thus more than half of Europe were arrayed against Frederic.

Declaration of war by the empire against Prussia, Jan. 17, 1757. Convention of the allies with Sweden, May 21, under the pretence of guaranteeing the peace of Westphalia, and the promise of Pomerania.

49. Fortunately for Frederic, France resolved to commence hostilities against the English in Hanover, who were thus forced, together with Hesse and Brunswick, to become active allies of Frederic. Even small states can at times, when favoured by circumstances, maintain a glorious struggle against the more powerful; and perhaps history never witnessed a more brilliant example of this than was displayed by the allies, after Duke Ferdinand, the pupil of Frederic, had become their leader.

Advance of the French army under d'Etrées against Hanover; and victory over the Duke of Cumberland at Hastonbek, July 26, 1757. Occupation of Hanover, and convention with Richelieu at Kloster Zeven, Sept. 8; abrogated immediately after, Sept. 26. Duke Ferdinand obtains the command.

50. Perhaps the whole circle of history no where displays a spectacle more instructive as respects military tactics, or more sublime as regards human nature, than the conduct of the seven years' war by Frederic. The political historian, on the contrary, finds little deserving his attention, as, till towards its close, no change took place in the political relations of Europe: and Frederic, contending with his apparently inexorable destiny, was compelled to confine his manœuvres to the maintenance of Silesia and Saxony, and the securing, as much as possible, the heart of his territories. The more remote provinces, and even Prussia itself, he was obliged to abandon.

Principal events of the Prussian war.—1757: the invasion of Bohemia, and victory at Prague over Charles of Lorraine, May 6; siege of Prague; evacuation of Bohemia after the defeat at Collin, June 18,

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by Marshal Daun. Advance of the French and imperial armies under Soubise, and defeat at Rossbach, Nov. 5. Silesia reconquered by the victory at Leuthen over Duke Charles V., Dec. 5.—On the other hand, a great defeat by the Russians under Aprarin, near Gross Jaderndorf, Aug. 30, who made, however, no use of his victory.—1758: fruitless attack on Olmutz, May. The advance of the Russians under Fermor. Battle at Zorndorf, Aug. 25. Thus, at the same time with the driving back of the Swedes, Brandenburg was covered. Defeat at Hochkirchen, by Daun, Oct. 14. Nevertheless Silesia was still preserved and the siege of Neisse raised, Nov. 5.—1759: renewed advance of the Russians, reinforced by Austrians under Laudon. Severe defeat of the king at Kunersdorf, Aug. 12, and misfortune at Maxen, Nov. 20. Yet Frederic sunk not under these reverses.—1760: fruitless siege of Dresden, July. Affairs of Liegnitz, Aug. 15, and Silesia maintained. Battle of Torgau, Nov. 3, by which Frederic is enabled to maintain Saxony. —1761: he carries on a defensive war against the combined armies, Aug. and Sept. Schweidnitz taken by Laudon, Oct. 1.

Histoire de la guerre de sept ans, in the Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II., vols. iii. iv. 8vo. Berlin, 1788.

History of the late war in Germany, between the king of Prussia and the empress of Germany and her allies, by GENERAL LLOYD. London, 1781—90, 3 vols. 4to.

J. W. VON ARCHENHOLZ, *Geschichte des siebenjährigen Kriegs in Deutschland.* Berlin, 1793, 2 vols. 8vo.

WARNERY, *Campagnes de Frederic II. de* 1757—1762. à Vienne, 1788, 8vo.

V. RUNIACZO, *Geständnisse eines Œstreichischen Veterans, in Hinsicht auf das Verhältnisse zwischen Œstreich und Preussen während der Regierung Friedrichs II.* Breslau, 1794, 4 vols. 8vo.

51. During these years, one flank of Frederic was always covered by the victories of Ferdinand. His fate probably would have been very different had the French armies been able to advance as easily as the Russians did from the east.

Winter campaign of Duke Ferdinand, and the French compelled to evacuate Hanover, 1757, after the abrogation of the convention of Kloster Zeven.—1758: the duke crosses the Rhine, and victory at Crefeld over Count Clermont, June 23. Junction with the British troops.—1759: victory at Minden, over Marshal Contades, Aug. 1, twelve days before Frederic's defeat at Kunersdorf.—From this time a continual superiority is maintained, 1760 and 1761, and the greater part of Hanover preserved.

J. MAUVILLON, *Geschichte des Herzogs Ferdinand von Braunschweig und Lüneburg.* Leipzig, 1794, 2 vols. 8vo.

52. During this time the war was carried on with equal spirit at sea, and extended to the two Indies. The British soon obtained a decided superiority on the ocean, after which the conquest of the colonies was easy. In North

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America the war at first was no more than a continuation of ancient hostilities; but a decisive battle soon deprived France of all Canada. In the West Indies and Africa the most important settlements were captured by the English; as was also Pondicherry in the East Indies. French commerce was annihilated; and all this happened at a time when colonies were considered of the greatest consequence.

Capture of Cape Breton, July, 1758, and shortly after Canada, in 1759, by General Wolf's victory at Quebec, Sept. 13.—Naval victory at Brest, by Hawke, Nov. 20.—In the West Indies, capture of Guadaloupe, May 1.—Martinique, Feb., 1762, and shortly after Grenada, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent.—In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Jan. 16, 1762.—On the coasts of Africa, the British made themselves masters of Senegal and Gorea, 1758.

53. Thus the war continued without any change in the political relations of Europe—even the death of George II. had no immediate effect—till the last year but one, when two deaths in its eastern and western extremities, were followed by important, and, in some respects, very remarkable revolutions. The death of the empress Elizabeth deprived Frederic of his bitterest enemy; and in her nephew and successor Peter III. he had as great a friend. This led not only to a separate peace, which was immediately followed by another with Sweden, but even to an alliance; and Europe saw with astonishment, the unprecedented spectacle of an army leaving its allies, and marching over to the camp of its enemies.

Oct. 25, 1760.

Jan. 5, 1762.

1. Cessation of arms at Stargard, March 16, and a peace, May 15, between Russia and Prussia: mutual restitution of all conquests, and disavowal of all unfriendly alliances. The separate articles provided for the establishment of an alliance.—2. Peace between Sweden and Prussia at Hamburg, May 22, by which matters were restored to their ancient footing.

54. These new relations, however, seemed likely to be destroyed by the almost immediate fall of Peter III.; but Catharine II. still preserved a neutrality, which was probably of more advantage to Frederic than an alliance; for much was gained by one leading power setting an example of moderation and reflection. The victorious campaign of this year achieved the rest.

July 9, 1762.

Victory of the king at Burkersdorf, July 21, and of Prince Henry at Freiburg, Oct. 29.

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55. On the other hand, the war became extended in the west in the same year by both Spain and Portugal joining in it. The neutrality of Spain had continued uninterrupted, as long as Ferdinand VI. reigned. But as Elizabeth survived his death long enough to see her son Charles
1759. III. vacate the throne of Naples to ascend that of Spain, French influence obtained a predominance at Madrid; and France, after all her reverses, hoped to gain a compensation for her losses and an increase of power, by heading a general union of the various branches of the house of Bourbon. This was the origin of the FAMILY COMPACT, the stipulations of which necessarily involved Spain in immediate war. But a power, in the full tide of victory, as Great Britain now was, could not be checked by a single additional enemy. Spain was made to pay dearly; and even the implication of Portugal, under these circumstances, was an advantage to England. An important though accidental consequence of it, was the secession of Pitt from the administration.

Secret conclusion of the family alliance of the Bourbons, first between France and Spain, Aug. 15, 1761, with the assumed accession of Naples and Parma. Mutual guarantee of the possessions of both parties; and an alliance offensive and defensive, for ever.—Pitt retires from the ministry, Oct. 5, as the cabinet refuses to anticipate Spain by an immediate declaration of war.—War against Spain actually declared, Jan. 4, 1762. Havannah taken by Pocock, Aug. 11, and Manilla capitulates, Oct. 6.—The attack of Spain on Portugal, unattended by any important consequences, occasions a reform in the military department of that country, under William count of Lippe Bückeburg, one of the heroes of the seven years' war.

56. The alliance between Prussia and England, marked by an almost continual succession of victories till near the end of the war, was now to be dissolved before its complete termination. England had obtained its object. The navy of France was annihilated; almost every colony which that country possessed had fallen into her hands. The cry of the nation for peace, excited by the enormous increase of the national debt and its aversion to the continental war, had grown stronger since Pitt's retirement from office. The proposals of France were soon followed by preliminaries, which were changed into a separate peace; without any stipulation in favour of Frederic II. beyond the neutrality

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of France. Well might Frederic complain, but was he not himself the founder of this school of policy?

Preliminary negotiations by the Duc de Nivernois in London, and the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Preliminaries concluded at Fontainbleau, Nov. 3, 1762, between England on the one side, and France and Spain on the other: changed into a definitive peace at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763. Conditions: *a.* Between France and England. 1. France renounced all claims to Nova Scotia, and resigned Canada with Cape Breton to England. 2. She retained a share in the fisheries of Newfoundland, with the islands St. Pierre and Miquelon, but without fortifications. 3. The Mississippi to form the boundary between the British colonies and Louisiana. 4. In the West Indies, France yielded Grenada to England, who also retained the formerly neutral islands, St. Vincent, Dominique, and Tobago; the island of St. Lucie was restored. 5. In Africa, Senegal was given up to England, in consideration of the restitution of Gorea. 6. In the East Indies, France recovered all that she had possessed in the beginning of 1749, and even Pondicherry, upon renouncing all the conquests made there since that time. 7. In Europe: restitution of Minorca to England. 8. Evacuation of Hanover; the allied states left in their former situation. 10. All French troops withdrawn from the empire; and neutrality in the Prussian and Austrian war. *b.* Between Spain and England. 1. Spain resigned the Floridas (for which France declared herself ready to concede Louisiana in a separate contract; which was not fulfilled till 1769). 2. In return, England restores the conquests made in Cuba and Havannah. 3. England retained the right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. 4. Full restitution to Portugal, who accedes to the peace.

Plenipotentiaries: for England the Duke of Bedford; for France, the Duc de Choiseul; for Spain, the Marquis de Grimaldi.

Œuvres posthumes du Duc de Nivernois. Paris, 1807, 2 vols. 8vo. The letters of the Duke during his embassy in England, contain the most important materials for the history of this negotiation.

57. Only Prussia, Austria, and Saxony now remained in a state of warfare. But what could Austria expect to accomplish by herself? especially as (besides Frederic's last victories) all her hopes of Silesia were blighted by the conquest of Schweidnitz. (Oct. 9th.) The negotiations for a peace were easy to arrange, for neither party coveted aggrandizement or compensation; and Frederic concluded the glorious peace of Hubertsburg, without having lost a foot of territory.

Peace of Hubertsburg concluded, Feb. 15, 1763. *a.* Between Prussia and Austria. 1. Mutual renunciation of both parties of all claims to the possessions of the other. 2. Confirmation of the treaties of Breslau and Dresden. (In separate secret articles, Prussia promised its electoral vote, in the choice of king of the Romans, to the Archduke Joseph, and its mediation in favour of Austria's expectations on Mo-

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dena.) *b.* Between Prussia and Saxony, all affairs were placed on their ancient footing.—The German empire had already declared itself neutral, Feb. 11, and was included in the peace.

Plenipotentiaries at Hubertsburg; for Prussia, De Herzberg; for Austria, Von Collenbach; for Saxony, Baron Fritsch.

58. This war, and the peace which terminated it, confirmed the European system as established. Prussia and Austria remained the two first continental powers; neither the distant Russia, nor the weakened France, enchained by Austria, could make the least pretension to this distinction. Even after the adjustment of their quarrel, therefore, the relations between the two former states, which, though no longer hostile, admitted of no close alliance, remained the leading object of European policy. On these depended not only the balance of power in Germany, but even that of Europe.

59. The close alliances between the Bourbon courts, further cemented by the *family compact*, appear, indeed, to have realized the anxieties that were felt during the Spanish war of succession. But the internal situation of these kingdoms prevented any alarm; and the result has shown, that France could derive but little real benefit from this alliance, though by it she engaged Spain in wars in which that power had no separate interest.

60. The alliance between Great Britain and Prussia was broken by their separate treaties of peace; and a prejudice against the former took root in Frederic's mind, which seems never to have been eradicated till towards the end of his reign. No important point of collision existed between them on the continent, not even in Hanover; for the maintenance of the constitution of the German empire formed an essential part of Frederic's system.

61. This dissolution of the alliance between England and Prussia destroyed nearly all the great ties by which the former power was connected with continental policy: there was now only left her relations with Holland and Portugal. As Austria had abandoned her to gain France, and she was only connected with Russia by a commercial treaty, what was there again to engage her in the affairs of the continent, with which she had no common interest? The political influence of England therefore in the European system

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ceased nearly altogether; and the more so, as the other powers were almost exclusively engaged in domestic concerns of great importance. Commerce with the continent was secured by amicable relations, and some new commercial treaties; and it was easy to foresee the restoration of its political influence, as soon as new commotions on the continent should render British subsidies necessary.

Versuch einer historischen Entwickelung des Brittischen Continentalinteresse, in HEEREN'S *Miscellaneous Historical Writings.* Th. i., 1821, 8vo.

English maritime law.

62. Much greater consequences, however, to Europe, than could at the time have been anticipated, sprung out of the use which England began to make in these wars of its maritime superiority. She had now, for the second time, annihilated the naval force of her enemies. In order to destroy their commerce with it, she now began to deny to neutrals, under whose flag it might be carried on, the right of trading; especially with their colonies. This encroachment upon the rights of neutral flags laid the foundation of the unjust maritime code, which England afterwards, in times of war, called her maritime law; modifying it according to time and circumstances. Similar claims had indeed been previously made by other powers; but as no one had ever acquired so superior a naval force as the British now possessed, their pretensions had but little practical importance.

The great point in dispute was, the right of neutrals to carry on the colonial trade of a belligerent power under its own flag, and on its own account. It was occasioned by the permission granted by France, 1756, to neutrals, to trade with its colonies, having itself been deprived of the power. The English maintained the absolute illegality of this trade, and captured neutral ships and neutral property. Only the usual commerce permitted in peace was allowed to be carried on. The dispute, without important consequences at this time, expired of itself with the return of peace; but the rule of 1756 now became in England a rule for the future; unless when they saw fit to relax it.—Every naval war, however, renewed and enlarged the dispute, since the general question, whether free ships make free goods, was necessarily brought into agitation.

III. *From the treaties of Paris and Hubertsburg, to the death of Frederic the Great.* 1763—1786.

Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte vom letzten Viertel des achtzehnten and *vom Anfang des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*

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1778—1806; von CHR. WILH. VON DOHM. Lemago, 1814—1819, 8vo. Before the death of the author, five parts were published, which reach to the death of Frederic II.—Not a general history; but confined to particular important events. It is compiled in part from the author's own observation, with the most scrupulous accuracy and love of truth. The authorities for particular points are given under the various heads.

63. The late treaties of peace gave the west of Europe a fair right to expect a lasting repose, as the ancient and established order of possessions was again confirmed. Nearly thirty years of uninterrupted peace did indeed succeed, during which no continental war of consequence disturbed the general tranquillity. This period, however, was characterized by various extraordinary events, which, though rather of a moral than of a strictly political nature, had, by their influence on every grade of society, and on almost every branch of politics, a striking influence in the end upon states and government.

64. Numerous and mighty energies had been developed by the late struggles. War had called forth a spirit of activity which peace could not allay. A kingdom, like Prussia, which had newly raised itself to rank as one of the first states of the European system, could only hope to maintain this distinction by continual exertion, and the manifestation of all its resources. Its rival Austria, on the other hand, dared not remain behind; and this feeling, on both sides, became the main-spring of political exertions. A principal character, however, of the activity now displayed, was the facility with which the growing intelligence of the age enabled it to employ itself upon a variety and multiplicity of objects unknown to it before; especially upon the mutual relations of men and states, which now began to be understood and appreciated. The general mass of ideas which this mental activity called into existence, was considered by the age as the dawning of a new day, and every government was beset with clamours for the diffusion of its light. Alas! how often was the false dazzle of sophistry regarded as the clear light of truth!

65. Upon the return of peace, the domestic concerns of their states became the natural care of the various governments. The wounds which war had left required to be healed; and the public burdens, which its expenses had entailed upon the people, to be alleviated; a task rendered

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difficult, as even in peace the standing armies were rather increased than diminished. Finance consequently obtained a continually increasing importance, as the object of all political economy. The disposition of rulers, and the constitutions with which some states were favoured, prevented a general abuse; but the evil was too contagious not to spread rapidly.

66. Closely connected with this was the principle of rendering the administration of the state, as far as possible, a mechanical operation; for thus, it was thought, it could be organized most cheaply and commodiously. Even the expression, political machines, became the favourite expression of men in this department. These evils, too, operated slowly, and not every where equally; but the error, that seeks in forms for the happiness of a state, which can only proceed from the free action of free men, the necessary condition of genuine patriotism, was committed and diffused.

67. From these maxims of internal administration, proceeded a struggle for aggrandizement, which, when prevalent, threatened to overthrow the existing political system. The more the division of territory interfered with the mechanical administration of affairs, the greater value was placed on the compactness of possessions; and it is evident to what this mania for compactness, soon the moving spring of the projects of the various cabinets, must necessarily lead. And where could the danger be greater, than in a system composed of such unequal states as that of Europe?

68. Thus the material resources of states gained a more and more exclusive value in the eyes of practical politics; and square miles and population became the measure of prosperity and strength. Never did writers so play, as they then did, into the hands of those who practised. What did not the writers in statistics calculate? And what could be more convenient for men of business? On a single sheet, they thought they had before them the whole state!

Perhaps there is not in the whole range of science, one which has been so much degraded as statistics. Into what a stupid mechanical exercise has it sunk! Does an enumeration of men and cattle,—does a dissection of the body politic, constitute the knowledge of a state? Just as well might the anatomist hope to acquire a knowledge of human nature by the dissection of dead bodies.

69. Although in politics, as in political economy, ancient

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usage continued to prevail, yet the spirit of reasoning got possession of these subjects, and theories were formed which presented a most striking contrast with the reality. These theories were considered as harmless, because they remained nothing more than theories, and their authors were actuated by no dangerous motives. But do not all human institutions rest fundamentally upon ideas? And are they not endangered when these change?

70. Government and legislation became the prime objects of investigation. Montesquieu first raised them to importance: but his work, a critique rather than a
1749. system, taught the world to think, without leading it into error. The case was very different when Rousseau,
1762. the most eloquent of all sophists, erected his constitution on a foundation, on which no existing one had been based, and on which, in reality, no future one could stand. The unalienable sovereignty of the people and a state, are ideas practically contradictory; a state only begins where the exercise of the popular sovereignty has been delegated.

Locke had some time before acquired celebrity as a political writer; but his theories harmonized with the constitution of his country. Montesquieu, on the contrary, was the eulogist of a foreign, and Rousseau of an ideal constitution, which could have no existence without the previous destruction of the pillars on which the present governments rested.

Two Treatises of Government; or an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government, by J. LOCKE. London, various editions; in his Works, etc.

MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Lois, ou du rapport que les loisdoivent avoir avec la constitution de chaque gouvernement, etc.* Genev. 1749, 3 vols. 8vo.

[Numerous other editions—translated into English by NUGENT.]

Le contrat social, par J. J. ROUSSEAU. 1762.

These works are examined and compared in:

HEEREN'S *Versuch uber die Entstehung, die Ausbildung und den practischen Einfluss der politischen Theorieen und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neuern Europa. Miscellaneous Historical Writings.* Th. i., 1821. In this treatise is argued the incompatibility of democracy with monarchy.—The best attempt to refute these theories is:

CARL LUDW. VON HALLER *Restauration der Staatswissenschaft, oder Theorie des gesellig natürlichen Zustandes; der Chimaire des künstlich bürgerlichen entgegengesetzt.* In vier Theilen, 1814—1818; the first containing *die Geschichte und Kritik der bisherigen falschen Systeme; und die allgemeinen Grundsätze der entgegengesetzen Ordnung Gottes und der Natur:* the second and third discusses the two classes of mon-

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archies; patrimonial and military states: the fourth, "the most important and difficult part of the whole work," which treats of ecclesiastical states and societies, contains an apology for the Catholic church and Popery.

71. These speculations on government were followed by others on political economy. The manifest errors discovered both in the theory and practice of the mercantile system, laid it open to attack. The advocates of physiocracy, or natural government, who entered upon it, certainly did much, by recalling many great truths into notice, such as the importance of agriculture, the free exercise of every kind of industry and talent, and consequently of trade and commerce. Their example produced other hardy thinkers: without them would Adam Smith have attained to such high perfection? Their system, however, built upon sophistry, and veiled in a new phraseology, became comparatively useless; and its founder, Quesnay, formed a sect of theorists, but no practical statesmen. But, besides enforcing their system of political economy, their doctrines attacked the existing principles of governments, because they led to the establishment of political equality. They appeared, too, the more dangerous, as they did not, like Adam Smith, argue a question of utility, but contended for a right.

1758.

The doctrines of the *physiocrats* rested on the maxim, that the soil is the only source of wealth; for which reason, this wealth ought to be the sole and immediate source of revenue. In their very first position, in which the elements of national wealth are defined, they differ from Adam Smith, since improvement and traffic are sources of wealth, no less than production. Still this difference was of little practical importance, since even the *physiocrats* by no means pretended to deny the indirect gain derived from improvement (by an increased susceptibility of production). But the great practical difference rose, partly, from the second position, or the application of the first to the method of taxation, partly in the further results of the equality and freedom to which the system of the *physiocrats* necessarily tended, and for which it essentially prepared the public mind.

QUESNAY, *Tableau Economique*. Paris, 1758, 8vo. Extended in,

Physiocratie; ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement; publiée par DUPONT. Yverdun, 1768, 8vo.

V. MAUVILLION *Physiokratische Briefe an Dohm*. Braunschweig, 1780, 8vo. And as example:

Kurze Vorstellung des Physiokratischen Systems nebsteinigen erinnerungen über dasselbe, von C. K. W. DOHM. Cassel, 1778, 8vo.

An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations, by AD. SMITH. Lond. 1776, 2 vols. 4to. Reprinted with notes by M'Culloch, Edinb. 1828, 4 vols. 8vo. The best edition. Without doubt the

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most acute development of the constituents and sources of national wealth; but for that reason partial. Bolder views will be found in,

AD. MÜLLER *elemente der Staatskunst.* Berlin, 1809, 3 Thle.

Ueber National Industrie und Staatswirthschaft, nach Ad. Smith bearbeitet, von. A. F. LUEDER. 1800, etc. 3 Thle.

It is well known how much the excellent manuals of Sartorius, Jacob, and others, have contributed both to the circulation and elucidation of Adam Smith.

72. Thus it appears that this new system was not the fruit of experience, rising from routine to general views, but of a growing propensity to philosophical speculation, which at the same time directed itself to religion, to morals, and to education; which now amused itself with trifles, now with sophisms; but in whatever shape it appeared, its aim was the profanation of all that is sacred. Voltaire might deride the popular belief; Diderot, d'Alembert, von Holbach, and their disciples inculcate atheism; and Helvetius change morality into a system of egotism; but however different in other respects, did they not all agree in this particular? Nay, had the great reform in education begun by Rousseau, and extolled as more conformable to nature, any other tendency than the development of the animal passions of man, at the expense of his nobler attributes?

The *Encyclopedie,* whose publication began in 1751, under the superintendence of Diderot, and which promoted so widely the diffusion of superficial knowledge, offered to most of these men a literary point of union. Though their exertions were of a literary and not a political nature, their intolerant sectarian spirit—for is not bitter derision of the opinion of others, intolerance?—was the more insufferable, from their continual talk of liberality.

73. This revolution in the public mind originated in the city, generally regarded as the focus of intellectual culture and taste. Its authors were far from acting so powerfully on foreign countries as on their own; but still how wide has extended the sphere of their influence! If they did not determine the mode of thinking of the nations, they did at least that of the higher class of society. But their influence acquired its greatest force from their being of this class themselves; a circumstance quite peculiar to the age, and one which afforded them an advantage over all preceding writers.

Of no age is the state of society, and especially the literary part, so

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necessary to be known as the one under review. The most faithful and lively delineation of it as it existed in Paris, is given in,

Mémoires de Marmontel. 1803, 9 vols. 12mo. An invaluable source of information respecting the learned men of his times.

74. Under these circumstances, public opinion, guided by such writers, obtained a consequence which it would otherwise never have possessed; and those institutions, against which it declared itself, lingered out a very precarious existence. Of this the order of Jesuits gave the first great and signal example. A variety of causes certainly conspired to work their downfal; but these would never have produced so great an effect but for the opposition which grew between their institution and the prevailing spirit of the age. Hence they always found their most violent and obstinate antagonists in the very country where the fraternity reached its highest perfection; and although they were expelled from Portugal somewhat sooner than France, yet the history of their decline and final fall manifestly depends on their relations in the latter country.

The causes which accelerated the fall of the Jesuits were: 1. The controversy with the Jansenists, which had already lasted for a century, public opinion having been first turned against them, 1652, by the *Lettres provinciales* of PASCAL. 2. The political party formed against them at court and in the parliament by the aid of Jansenism, principally by le Tellier, the last confessor of Louis XIV. 3. The still more formidable opposition of philosophers and literary men, who attacked them with ridicule. 4. The insufficiency and nature of their education, which neither kept pace with the age nor was directed to the objects in which it took most interest. 5. Their lax morals, (however much they insisted on external decency,) and the accusation of having justified the murder of the king, and the criminal attempts laid to their charge. 6. Their neglect of science, and the total absence of scientific reputation, which was perhaps in this age their only resource. The whole spirit of their institution prevented them from keeping up with the intellectual march of the age beyond a certain point (see p. 49); but they manifestly remained behind further than was necessary.

75. It only required therefore a few collisions with individual potentates, and the partial suppressions by which these were followed, to prepare the way for the total suppression of this society. These were begun first in Portugal by the powerful Pombal; then in France, Spain, Naples, and Parma; and in two years they were driven from all these countries.

Suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal, Sept. 3, 1759, after having

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been banished from the court, and their possessions confiscated. They were in every way an obstacle in the path of a reformer like Pombal.—Their fall in France was effected Nov., 1764, by Choiseul and Pompadour. Their lawsuit with the Lioncys, begun by Lavalette, 1755, only gave the public and parliament an opportunity of showing their aversion to them. They were banished from Spain, April 2, 1767, (soon after from Naples, Jan., 1768, and from Parma, in Feb.,) by Aranda and Compomanes, who regarded them as their enemies.

D'ALEMBERT *sur la déstruction des Jesuites en France.* 1765, 8vo. (Œuvres, tom. v.)

Lettere sulle cagioni della expulsione de' Gesuiti di Spagna. 1768.

C. G. VON MURR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal unter Pombal.* Nurnberg, 1787, 2 vols. 8vo.

76. Amid all these misfortunes, the Jesuits, as their order could only be dissolved by the Pope, found a powerful support in Clement XIII., as long as he lived, although his obstinacy and violence, especially in the contest with Parma, not only injured them, but in general compromised the papal power, and imbittered all the Catholic courts. The suppression of the society was so firmly determined on at those of the Bourbons, that even the change of ministers in France, after the fall of Choiseul, produced no alteration. Thus Clemens XIV. (Ganganelli) was finally compelled to take the step, of which he well foresaw the consequences for himself and the Roman see. By the brief *Dominus et redemptor noster*, the order was abolished.

1768.

July 21, 1773.

Besides the works quoted in the former part of the volume, see *Vita de Clemente XIV. Ganganelli per il* SIG. MARCHESE CARACCIOLI. Firenze, 1776, 8vo. The rare Franciscan deserves a better biography.

77. The fall of the order of the Jesuits was considered as a triumph of philosophy. But though all may agree respecting the pernicious nature of this institution, its overthrow was prosecuted in a spirit which is rarely beneficial to society. The great political influence of the order had passed away; and it would be absurd to believe that it was any longer able to rule those great events which involved the interests of the world. But with it was overthrown a principal pillar of the Roman hierarchy, and where so much was tottering, it was easy to foresee that more would soon fall. What a gap, too, it must suddenly have left in the Catholic world! The total abolition of great institutions is always dangerous, even when they are degenerate; and it

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will ever remain a problem for history, whether the reaction caused by the suppression of the order, was not even more hurtful than its continuation would have been, limited by reform.

78. During these transactions, the west of Europe enjoyed the happy repose which the friendly treaty between Austria and Prussia, favoured as it was by the state of affairs in the north, had re-established. At the same time, however, the policy there ripened in the interior of the cabinets that desire of aggrandizement and compactness of territory, which, originating chiefly in the scattered state of the Prussian dominions, found such loud advocates in the wants and internal administration of the kingdoms, that it soon came to be considered as the ruling principle of politics. The first fruit of this policy, which astonished all Europe, was the first partition of Poland. What further proof could be wanting, to show to what a wretched condition a political injustice such as this, must ultimately bring the federative system of modern Europe?

1770.

1772.

(See the history of the first partition of Poland in the section respecting the north.)

79. The partition of Poland itself, however, was not so dangerous as the application of this principle to the German empire; upon which the preservation of the whole European system seemed to depend. And yet this very country, from its internal piecemeal state, offered the greatest excitements to the powerful to follow the example which the division of Poland had set them.

80. Its consequences were soon visible, now that Joseph II. became, not only in name but in deed, the colleague of his mother. This emperor may be called, in the fullest sense of the word, the child of the age, for in him its vices and virtues were faithfully personified. Insatiable of information, he possessed great and various abilities; of restless activity, and therefore fertile in projects. Often unreasonable, and careless of justice. In the prime of youth and full of ambition, he was desirous of acquiring a name. What had not Europe to fear from such a character, even where his intentions appeared good? Where could the prevailing disease of cabinet policy, the passion for the com-

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pactness of states, be more likely to take effect than on such a character as this?

1777. 81. Examples of this system were exhibited in the seizure of Bukowina, and similar steps were meditated in Italy. But it was soon introduced into Germany itself, where Bavaria, from its situation, seemed likely to become an easy prey. The approaching extinction of the electoral line, led the emperor to project the annexation of this state to the Austrian dominions, and this most vicious project had the most lasting result. Even before it became actually extinct, the rightful successor was gained over and induced to enter into a compact. But the speedy occupation of Bavaria was still more revolting than the compact itself.

Extinction of the electoral house of Bavaria with the elector Maximilian Joseph, Dec. 30, 1777, and succession of Charles Theodore, elector of the Palatinate, as the head of the elder Wittelsbachian line. But a compact was made with him, Jan. 3, 1778, at Vienna, and all Lower Bavaria was occupied by Austrian troops.

82. Hazardous as these steps were, they appeared to be favoured by the situation of Europe; France, now
1770. connected with Austria by the marriage of the heir apparent with Maria Antoinette, without any particular views on the continent, plunged, to please America, into a naval war; Russia sought to aggrandize herself at the expense of the Turks, and a war seemed highly probable. England, engaged in a colonial war, comes not at all into consideration. Prussia, therefore, alone remained.

83. From this quarter a powerful opposition was to be expected. The fall of Bavaria was also the fall of the whole political system of Frederic II. It led unavoidably to the destruction of the constitution of the German empire; its forms could hardly have survived. The further consequences of this step were very evident: consequently Frederic, by having recourse to arms, not only protected Bavaria, but himself, and what he had already fought for.

84. Frederic's self-denial, nevertheless, afforded a proof, that there existed in European policy a higher principle than sheer egotism. Where will a more striking example of pure disinterestedness be found, and of a spirit raised above the prejudices of the age, than his conduct evinced

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when the opportunity was offered him of enlarging and connecting his own dominions? Contrary to the usual course of events, it was decreed that the war which now broke out should close without bloodshed. Maria Theresa feared for the repose of her old age and the welfare of her son, and Frederic desired not to tempt fortune again. The mediation of France and Russia, especially the latter, who, as her war with the Turks was concluded, threatened to become more than a mediator, moderated the demands of hostile powers; and the war was terminated by the peace of Teschen; not however without Joseph's retaining a portion of his booty.

The protestation of the Duke of Deux Ponts, as next of kin, against the compact of Vienna; claims of the electorate of Saxony to the allodial succession; and of Mecklenburg, to Leuchtenberg, supported by Frederic. Unsuccessful negotiations, and Bohemia invaded by Frederic, Prince Henry, and the Saxons, July 4, 1778, who were not, however, able to drive the Austrians from their strong position along the upper Elbe.—In the mean time, an autograph correspondence commenced by Maria Theresa, and a congress held, soon after, at Teschen, under French and Russian mediation; truce, March 7, and peace, May 13, 1779. Conditions: 1. Austria obtained the part of Lower Bavaria between the Inn, the Salza, and the Danube; in consideration of the abolition of the convention of Vienna. 2. She promised not to oppose the future union of the Margravates of Anspach and Baireuth with the Prussian monarchy. 3. Saxony received, in instalments, six million dollars; and Mecklenburg, the privilege *de non appellando*. The conditions were guaranteed by France and Russia, and the empire acceded to them.

The ambassadors to Teschen were: from Austria, Count J. Phil. Cobenzel; from Prussia, Baron von Riedesel; from the electorate of Saxony, Count von Zinzendorf. As mediators: from France, Baron de Breteuil; from Russia, Prince Repuin.

Mémoire historique de la négociation en 1778, *pour la succession de Bavière, confiée par le Roi de Prusse Fréderic le Grand au compte Eustathe de Goertz.* à Francfort, 1812, 8vo. The principal authority. From this work is drawn the greater part of the information in DOHM's *Mémoires*, etc., vol. i. Whoever has a taste for diplomatic greatness, may here be gratified.

Œuvres posthumes de FRÉDERIC II., tom. v. To this narration, the correspondence between Frederic, Maria Theresa, and Joseph is annexed. How inferior Joseph here appears to the great king and to his own noble mother.

Collection of Prussian documents in,

Recueil de déductions, Manifestes, etc., qui ont été redigés et publiés par le COMTE DE HERZBERG, (see above,) *dépuis* 1778, *jusqu' à* 1789. Berlin, 1789, tom. 2.

85. The peace of Teschen put an end to hostilities, but

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not to irritation, (of which advantage might easily be taken by foreign powers,) for the *acquisition* of Bavaria (with a new policy new names also came in vogue) remained the favourite project of the Austrian cabinet. In what cabinet, whether great or small, did not similar wishes at this time
Nov. 29, 1780. spring up? The death of Maria Theresa, which left Joseph II. sole ruler, left him at liberty to act as he pleased; and not only in the great domestic changes which took place, especially those relating to the
March, 1782. church, which Pius VI. sought to avert by a personal journey to Vienna, but also in his foreign policy, he evinced that reckless desire of aggrandizement, particularly in the German empire, and that contempt for existing treaties, of which his conduct towards the Dutch, respecting the demolishing of the frontier fortifications, as well as the still more important one respecting the opening of the Scheldt, afford such striking examples.

Arbitrary renunciation of the barrier-treaty, Nov. 7, 1781.—The opening of the Scheldt, the fortress of Mastricht and twelve others demanded, May 4, 1784; acts of violence immediately followed. Treaty of Versailles concluded through the intervention of France, Nov. 8, 1785, by which Joseph gives up his claims for ten million guilders!

V. Dohm *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. ii., contains a minute account of both transactions.

86. The state of the west of Europe facilitated these enterprises of Joseph. England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, had just concluded the war respecting North
Jan. 20, 1783. America, and stood in need of repose. By the treaty of Versailles, which closed that war, no alteration had been made in the European possessions; and the harmony between England and France seemed even
Sept. 26, 1786. more perfect than before the war. A commercial treaty was concluded between them; and the only object which seemed at all likely to lead to a future misunderstanding was the Dutch republic, which France had attached to her interests by the great services she had rendered it by her friendly mediation both with England and Austria. Some jealousy, too, was excited by the treaty of commerce, which was much to the advantage of England.

(See the history of the colonial war, in the section on the colonies.)

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87. Under these circumstances, Joseph II. thought it possible to execute his darling scheme on Bavaria by an exchange. Under the name of the kingdom of Burgundy, the elector was to have the greater portion of the Austrian Netherlands, with several limitations, however, and in return he was to resign to Austria all Bavaria, with the Upper Palatinate. This project must have been some time in agitation, as Joseph had not only made sure of the elector, but had also gained over Russia by a new alliance. France appeared to remain indifferent.

Proposals for an exchange made at Munich by the Count von Lehrbach; and in Deux Ponts, with the heir presumptive, by the Russian minister, Count Romanzow, who allowed but eight days for consideration, Jan., 1785.

Erklarung der Ursachen, welche Se. Preussische Majestät bewogen haben, ihren Mitständen eine Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems anzutragen; in Herzberg Recueil de déductions, etc. depuis, 1758, tom. ii.

88. Thus Frederic, on the verge of the grave, again saw his system endangered. He did not, however, again unsheath the sword; but there is hardly any portion of his glorious career, in which his character appears to more advantage than in the present. He never before so clearly and loudly proclaimed the great importance both to Germany and the whole European system, of the preservation of the German constitution. From this time, the whole was based on a strong foundation,—on a German federate system, of which Prussia was the centre. Thus he formed, in unison with his successor, an association of the German princes, which was held together by their common and permanent interest. This was his last day's work—tranquil now with regard to the future, he was gathered to his fathers in peace. Aug. 17, 1786.

The German confederation concluded at Berlin, first with the elector of Saxony, and, advances being made to England, (for the old man conquered even his long-cherished dislike,) with the elector of Brunswick, July 23, 1785, for the common defence of the German constitution. To it the collateral lines of the three electoral houses, and Mentz, Hesse-Cassel, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt acceded.

Darstellung des Fürstenbundes, (von JOH. VON MÜLLER,) 1787. Containing infinitely more information than the title seems to promise.

Ueber die Deutschen Fürstenbund, von CHR. WILH. VON DOHM. 1785, 8vo. Principally a confutation of the writings printed with it.

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Ueber den königliche Preussische Association zur Erhaltung des Reichssystems, von Otto von Gemmingen. 1785.

The most acute, copious, and accurate account of the whole transaction is given in the *Mémoires*, vol. iii., of Von Dohm, who was himself employed in the transaction.

II. *Cursory view of the internal changes which took place during this period in the more powerful states of the West of Europe, and their consequences;* 1740—1786.

1. Though no great or sudden revolutions took place during this period in the government of any of the chief states of the west of Europe, yet in nearly all of them a state of things was brought about which was likely to lead to them.

I. PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.

2. In Portugal the experiment was tried how far a nation may be reformed, by well-intended compulsion on the part of the government. John V. being succeeded in the royal dignity by his son, Jos. Emanuel, the latter resigned the helm of state to the Count of Oeyras, Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal. No minister besides ever attempted so general a reform, and executed it so violently as Pombal. Agriculture, industry, commerce, the military department, instruction, were all to be modelled anew. All that stood in the way, the higher nobility and the Jesuits, were got rid of; and yet after the lapse of twenty-seven years of exertion, things were not the same in Portugal, as Pombal had seen them in Germany and England. No traces of his reforms, not even in the military department, appear to have remained; nothing but the example, if any was needed, that institutions established by force will fall when the force is taken away.

1750—1777.

Much has been written respecting Pombal; but all either for or against him. Among the first is:

L'administration de Sebast. Jos. de Carvalho, Comte d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal. Amsterdam, 1788, 4 vols. 8vo. Valuable for the *pièces justificatives.*

Among the works against him:

Memoirs of the Court of Portugal, and of the Administration of the Count d'Oeyras. Lond. 1767, 8vo.

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Vida di Sebast. Guis. Marchese di Pombal, Conte d'Oeyras. 1781, 4 vols. 8vo.

The collection of his laws, which no writer has used:

Collecçao das Leyes, Decretos e Alvaras, del Rey Fidelissimo Don Jozéo I. desde o anno 1750 *até o de* 1759. Lisboa, 1767, 2 vols. fol.

3. In Spain, the maxims of government changed with the rulers; Ferdinand VI. pursued a different policy from his father; and his half-brother Charles III. again adopted a new course; yet no important revolution was made in the constitution. The change which had taken place in the relations of the court with the see of Rome, and the suppression of the order of Jesuits, were striking proofs that the Pyrenees had not altogether prevented the entrance of new ideas. The reign of Charles III. is distinguished for enlightened ministers. To Aranda and Campomanes, succeeded Florida Blanca; and many wise regulations, both for the mother country and her colonies, mark their administrations. But on the great mass of the nation and on its character, this had little effect. Its principal features were too deeply impressed to be easily effaced.

1746. 1759. 1766. 1773.

J. F. Bourgoing, *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne, ou tableau de l'état de cette Monarchie*, à Paris, 1788, 3 vols. 8vo. Third edition, 1803. The best work for information respecting Spain as it then was.

W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III.*, 1700 *to* 1788. Lond. 1815, 5 vols. 8vo. The principal work for the court and diplomatic history of Spain during this period, and mostly drawn from official information.

II. FRANCE.

4. France manifested all the symptoms which weak and unfortunate rulers usually bring upon a state. The ineptitude of Louis XV. is sufficiently known; but a concurrence of circumstances, such as is rarely to be found in a state, combined to produce here that internal disorganization whose consequences it was impossible to foresee.

Mémoires du Maréchal de Richelieu. 1790—1793, 9 vols. 8vo. Compiled from the papers of the French Alcibiades, by Soulavie. They comprise the long period of 1710—1774. Replete with interesting information, they give a picture of the sinking French monarchy, in almost all its details. Would that the publisher had not given it a tint of the revolutionary spirit of the age.

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To this class belong also, the
Mémoires secretes de Louis XIV., de la regence, et de Louis XV., par J. DUCLOS. (in his *Œuvres*, vols. vi. vii.) Paris, 1790.

5. The ancient cause of dispute raised by the Jansenists and the bull Unigenitus, still continued; and the acceptance or non-acceptance of that bull led to a real ecclesiastical schism, which on account of its unavoidable reaction on the
1753. great mass of the people, must have been highly critical: it gave occasion to the most scandalous scenes.

6. But it was still more critical by the influence which it had upon the parliament, and by the opposition which these manifested. The pretensions of these assemblies in France, were not perhaps supported by history, but they were considered by the nation as the last prop of liberty, as there was no longer any convention of the States-general. The dubious nature of this opposition rendered it more hurtful than a legitimate one, as it drove the government to violent
1753. measures, which it was without ability to execute.
1763. The repeated exile of the parliament terminated
1771. with their triumph. Their final suppression was
1774. regarded as an act of pure despotism; and how hazardous their re-establishment was by Louis XVI., has been shown by the result.

7. These disputes were the more dangerous, because they were periodically renewed: but they were nothing compared with the danger produced by the alliance with Austria, which became firmly cemented by the mar-
May 16, 1770. riage of the dauphin with Maria Antoinette. By this measure, the ruling dynasty sacrificed the character of the nation, and took the first step towards its downfal. Like the Stuarts of England, in former times, it set itself in opposition to the nation; and the long series of unfortunate consequences, the insignificance to which it reduced the nation in the political system of Europe, which
1774—1787. daily became more apparent, and which Vergennes during his ministry was unable to conceal, necessarily widened the breach in proportion as the national pride was wounded.

8. In addition to this, the finances were in such a wretched state of disorder as left no hope of their thorough

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re-establishment, without such measures as might endanger the stability of the government. Since the death of Fleury the empire of mistresses had prevented the organization of any effective ministry. And when under Louis XVI., the finance was placed under the control of Necker, 1777–1781. it was at once evident that mere frugality would be productive of as little benefit, as the highly unseasonable experiment of publicity had been. The abolition 1780. of the privileges of the nobility was perhaps the only resource; but was not even this an attack upon the constitution?

Compte rendu au Roi par M. Necker. Paris, 1781, 8vo.

9. Thus France presented the image of an absolute monarchy, which, at variance with the nation, found itself entangled in embarrassments, from which it could only extricate itself by concessions; whilst these very remedies inflamed the long-growing hatred of the nation towards the privileged orders. What a situation! There is only the mere chance that bold and decided measures on the part ot the government might have been successful; what then could mere honesty effect, supported by no extrinsic talent, and united with weakness?

III. GREAT BRITAIN.

10. If we should judge of the revolutions made in this state during this period, by the changes in its constitution, scarcely any thing will be found deserving notice. But though the forms of government remained the same, the spirit was greatly changed; especially after the termination of the seven years' war.

11. The power of the crown in the interior increased with the power and greatness of the state abroad. The constitution fixes the formal power of a government; circumstances, the real. After wars so victoriously prosecuted, amid a continual increase of national prosperity, attachment to the constitution and government was natural. What government would not have become more powerful under such circumstances?

12. In England, this showed itself by the increasing pre-

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dominance of the crown in parliament. The practical peculiarity of British freedom consists in this, that the parliament has not to fear a struggle with the crown, but the crown a struggle with the parliament. This compels ministers to use every exertion to acquire and maintain a majority, and obliges them to resign when they fail in doing so. In this respect Walpole's administration forms an epoch, as he was the first minister who held office for more than twenty years, by preserving always a majority. He is accused of having done so by corruption. But though no one doubts this to have existed among the electors, there is much uncertainty with respect to the elected. No doubt, the temptation is great for a minister to obtain a majority by any means in his power; but what must that nation at last have become, whose representatives were nothing more than a herd of men for sale!

1721—1742.

13. The increasing influence of the crown, however, led to the idea of a reform; which, it was thought, might be effected by an improved national representation. Several of the greatest men, among others the two Pitts, were inclined to it at first; but neglected it when they came into power. Thus the time of tranquillity escaped, and times of commotion are not adapted for such experiments! Should it ever take place without an entire revolution, is there any thing like certainty that the choice will fall on worthier persons?—Yet perhaps this is the rock on which the constitution of Great Britain will one day be wrecked.

Lord Selkirk, *on Parliamentary Reform.* A highly instructive essay.

14. One striking peculiarity in the British constitution is the extent to which its stability seems gradually to have become dependent upon public credit. By the rise of the funding system the money affairs of the government became connected with those of the nation; and, as nearly all the money was borrowed within the kingdom, in proportion as the national debt increased, so did the monied interest of the government and the nation become more firmly knit together. Every thing that affected public credit naturally affected the funding system: and with the fall of the latter, the government must have become powerless. Thus this system forms the strongest buttress of the government.

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Besides, in proportion as the national debt grew larger and larger, the preservation of the government required that the national prosperity should go on increasing; and no other government ever found itself so imperiously called upon to promote the welfare of its people. It was, however, long ago discovered that, though under no engagement to pay off the capital, there is a point beyond which even the interest could not be raised; a discovery which naturally gave rise to fear for the national credit. This fear was allayed by the establishment of the celebrated sinking fund, 1786.
by William Pitt, which, by seeming to provide for the payment of the debt, effected the principal object, the security of public credit.

The funded debt of Great Britain, at the beginning of this period, 1739, was something more than fifty-four million pounds. The Austrian war of succession increased it to seventy-eight, the seven years' war to one hundred and forty-six, the colonial war to two hundred and fifty-seven millions. The former expedients adopted to reduce it, the ancient sinking fund, established 1717, and some payments in peace, had done but little. Pitt's new sinking fund was established May 26, 1786, according to the calculation of price; but only to liquidate the debt then due; by the bill of Feb. 17, 1792, however, a separate sinking fund of one per cent. was decreed for every new loan. Thus the stock, since government is always its purchaser, maintains nearly always the same value, however chimerical may be the calculations respecting the entire payment of the national debt, so long as new loans are constantly made.

Essai sur l'etat actuel de l'administration des finances et de la dette nationale de la Grande Bretagne, par FR. GENTZ. Londres, 1800, 8vo.

15. While the government, public credit, and national prosperity, were thus closely interwoven with each other, Great Britain could not but acquire an internal stability, quite the reverse of what had lately existed in France. The increase, too, of the national prosperity seemed the more secure, as it did not so much depend upon foreign trade as upon domestic culture, industry, and traffic, all of which had wonderfully improved since the seven years' war, and had been greatly promoted by canals and other public works. Still, after all, the state of a government whose existence depends on a continual and increasing prosperity, must be in the highest degree dangerous. To what expedients may it give rise!

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IV. THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.

16. An important revolution took place in the government of this republic, soon after the commencement of this period, by the introduction of hereditary stadtholders over all the provinces. This happened in consequence of a threatened invasion of Dutch Brabant by the French, which gave rise to a revolution of the people in favour of William IV., already stadtholder of Friesland, Groningen, and Guelderland, and who was descended from the younger branch of the house of Orange. This certainly occasioned a change, but by no means an improvement in the government.

April, 1747.

17. One party only conquered; the other was subdued but not annihilated. The victorious believed the country strengthened by the increased power of the hereditary stadtholder, which to the conquered appeared the yoke of tyranny. This, however, was not the means of restoring the declining republic to its former vigour—whether this was at all possible is another question. It may also be observed, that the new house of Orange was not so fruitful in great men as the ancient one.

18. The family connexions of the new hereditary stadtholder acquired also a high political importance. Related by blood with the present royal family of England, the Orange party drew their chief support from this country; while commercial jealousy, and especially the maritime power of the English during the seven years' war, had formed a strong anti-English party, particularly in the great commercial cities. The early death of William IV. greatly strengthened these relations; but the subsequent marriage of his son and successor, William V., with a Prussian princess, was still more important from its consequences.

1767.

After the early death of William IV., Oct. 22, 1751, Anna, his widow, daughter of George II., acted as guardian to her minor son, William V., assisted by field-marshal Prince Louis of Brunswick, who after her death, Jan. 12, 1759, exercised the office alone, and retained a strong legitimate influence even after the majority of the prince, 1766.

19. Thus this state, apparently in its vigour, was undermined by domestic misfortunes, and only required an ex-

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ternal shock to bring it to its last struggle. This shock was given it by the war with England, which deprived it of what was left of its political importance; took from it its colonies and commerce; and left it a prey to factions, which in the following period worked its ruin. 1781.

V. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

20. In this period, the German empire underwent the most important revolutions, not indeed in the form of its constitution, but in its internal relations. The Austrian war of succession plunged it in civil dissensions; and notwithstanding that Bavaria was reinstated at the peace in her ancient situation, and the imperial crown again annexed to the house of Austria, yet by the treaty of Breslau, Prussia was placed in a new and permanent relation towards the empire.

21. The conquest of Silesia broke off the ancient and friendly alliance between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg; and the new and hostile attitude which Frederic assumed towards Austria, practically annihilated the unity of the German body, although its form still continued. A general union for the attainment of any particular object, a general war of the empire, seemed scarcely practicable, while one of its members stood at the peace as the opponent and rival of the emperor. Yet the empire not only survived, but, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and Hubertsburg, entered upon the happiest days of its existence.

22. This, at the first glance, appears one of the most striking occurrences in history; but it arose from a variety of causes, which render it not difficult to explain. The first, without doubt, was the alliance of Austria and France. There could be no secure peace in Germany while these two powers remained rivals; for as it was the usual theatre of their wars, it is difficult to conceive how they could have engaged in any in which the empire could help being entangled. With this alliance, therefore, the ancient danger disappeared, and security was re-established. At Ratisbon, Kaunitz and Pompadour deserved a monument!

23. The second cause, is to be found in the situation of Frederic, which compelled him to maintain the German

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body corporate, as its fall would have been the aggrandizement of Austria. What, therefore, had the other states to fear from him, even with his wildest schemes for the extension of his own dominions. Thus a combination of circumstances assured the security of the empire; nevertheless, that it was in reality dependent upon these political relations alone, scarcely any one would acknowledge, after reflecting on their mutability.

24. Frederic's long reign gave permanence to this state of things in Germany, which now, for the first time, enjoyed a thirty years' repose. On her wide plains, where had so often been fought the battles of Europe, the arts of peace were at length suffered to ripen. The various blessings of a free federative government, now favoured by circumstances, gradually unfolded themselves; and states of the second and third magnitude, even down to the free cities, acquired their full importance; each government assuming its own proper character.

25. Amid this political diversity, civilization advanced in Germany, with such force, rapidity, and variety, as had never before been equalled; the scientific, however, generally had the start of the beautiful. The literature of the Germans was peculiarly their own work, as it did not, as is usual, descend from the upper ranks downwards, but sprung from the nation itself. It has grown, as it were, with its growth; and forms so essentially a constituent part of its character, that it never can be separated from it.

26. While the progressive advance of its language and literature united the nation, the political bond, which should have held all together, continued to grow weaker. The emperor enjoyed little more than his direct influence, and what political writer out of Austria would have dared to recommend an enlargement of the power of that sovereign? The season of tranquillity is the time for reforms; but it was not possible to reform even the tribunals of the
1776. empire; and under the existing relations of Austria and Prussia, how were greater ones possible? Melancholy fate of nations! The corruption of their constitutions springs from their prosperity; and those who ought to take the lead in improvements are generally the most interested in the corruption.

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VI. PRUSSIA.

27. The Prussian monarchy, raised by Frederic II. to a station among the leading powers, was almost doubled in extent and population; but the basis of its internal organization, established by his father, and with it the character of the state, remained essentially unchanged. Frederic enlarged and improved, but he overthrew none of the ancient fundamental institutions.

28. The government of this state, with the exception of two secondary provinces, is not constitutional as the German generally are, but purely autocratic. Is it this, or the various restraints it imposes, that makes it so little beloved in foreign countries, however highly it may be extolled? Still the autocracy was much modified; and its arbitrary character was much softened, as the government of most of the provinces was deputed to colleges, and not to individuals.

29. By the great increase of the army, economy was forced upon the government, especially as the accumulation of a treasury from the surplus of the *etats* was one of Frederic's maxims. Great institutions, therefore, which depend on a liberal expenditure, could scarcely flourish here; but in all other respects, so far as compatible with absolute power, the government was noble and excellent. The laws were just, and duly administered; agriculture was protected and encouraged; the liberty of the press and of speech was almost as entire as in the most free republics; and its beneficial consequences were the greater, as Prussia became, in this respect, the pattern of other governments.

30. In a state composed of parts, gradually brought together, this unity of government compensated for the want of unity of nation and territory. Frederic's personal industry and method, to which history can offer no parallel, formed the mainspring of the whole administration. Perfectly master of himself, he was always at his post; and the dawning light generally found the duties of the day already done. It is impossible to contemplate this extraordinary man, who thus exhibited for nearly half a century the brightest example of a high-minded performance of duty, without feel-

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ings of reverence and admiration. Who needs so little as he, to fear censure? His very failings sprang from his greatness; but they re-acted no less powerfully on the state and on the nation.

31. Frederic never confounded himself with his people. To them, only the ruler belonged; the man, to a small circle of foreigners. This division produced the most important consequences.—By it he threw a shade over his own nation; a misfortune, an irreparable misfortune for both! The nation lost the respect it deserved; the king remained behind his people and the spirit of the age. Must we not attribute it to this, that the important changes, especially in the rights and relations of the various orders of the state, so loudly demanded by the spirit of the age, remained entirely out of his plan?

32. The strength of a state, which properly lies in the nation and government, Frederic only saw in his army and his treasure. "On it rests the state, like the world on the shoulders of Atlas." He sought to realize his *ideal* of a standing army, by making it, as far as possible, a mere machine. He never admitted that there even exists here a boundary line, beyond which men cannot go without offending nature. No where, therefore, has the wall of partition between the civil and military classes been so strong as in the Prussian monarchy. Never has internal weakness been more completely concealed under the semblance of external strength.

33. The greatest misfortune which sprung from the personal government of Frederic, was the application of it as a principle to the civil administration. Who can deny the truth of this? Where can there be found in a state, in which the chief minister is little more than head clerk, scope for the talents and action of superior abilities and genius? Where a practical school for their formation and growth? How much was the activity of the subordinate offices repressed by forms! But although Frederic's government extended this principle, its foundation had been laid by the organization introduced by his father.

If we examine what is meant by the conversion of the state into a machine, (see p. 251,) by state must be understood neither the nation, nor even the whole retinue of public servants; but the administration,

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and the executive authorities. These must be regulated so that all their efforts may be directed to the fulfilment of one principal object; but this is perfectly consistent with freedom of action, and is far removed from that species of administration which would effect all by forms, and bind every thing to forms.

Ueber die Staatsverwaltung deutscher Länder, und die Dienerschaft des Regenten, von AUG. WILH. REHBERG. Hanover, 1807, 8vo.

34. By this immediate government of the prince, the welfare of the state was necessarily bound in a high degree to his person. Frederic, sufficient of himself, had no council of state; the principal means in an hereditary autocracy of making the spirit of a ruler survive him. He alone constituted his cabinet. Not every one was as competent to do so as he; and what pernicious consequences may spring from the collisions of the higher authorities, has been shown by later experience.

De la Monarchie Prussienne sous Fréderic le grand; par le COMTE DE MIRABEAU. Londres, 1788, 7 vols. 8vo. (The two last parts consist of an appendix respecting Austria, Saxony, and Bavaria.) Inaccuracies may easily be discovered in this work, but how few states can boast of such a spirited delineation!—Did those who make statistics to consist of tables never suspect what a lesson they might learn here?

VON DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (see above, p. 249). The fourth volume is wholly devoted to a sketch of Frederic's character. By far the best.

VII. AUSTRIA.

35. Respecting no one of the great states of Europe is it more difficult to form a general opinion than of Austria, not only because it has so little that is general, but because even that is enveloped in obscurity. Statistical tables exhibit, with sufficient exactness, its superficial resources, both in population and cattle; but these accounts are deficient as to the finances. What satisfactory information do they give us of the internal spirit, or even of the course of the administration?

36. With the house of Lorraine a new family was seated on the throne, widely different from that of Hapsburg. Spanish etiquette, together with many of the ancient maxims of government, disappeared. Little change, however, was made in the great internal relations of the monarchy, though much was at times attempted.

37. Among these, the connexion between Hungary and

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Austria was indubitably the most important. Hungary, in fact the chief country of the monarchy, was treated like a conquered province; subjected to the most oppressive commercial restraints, it was regarded as a colony, from which Austria exacted what she could for her own advantage. The injurious consequences of this internal discord are evident: it depends on circumstances how far they may become dangerous; but all attempts at a radical change have hitherto been in vain.

Ungarns' Industrie und Commerz von GEORG. VON BERZEVICZY. Weimar, 1802. An excellent exposition of the commercial relations of Hungary, conformably to the maxims of an enlightened political economy. Happy would it have been, if the internal relations of this fine country had presented no greater obstacles to its prosperity than its external. Poland has sufficiently shown how a state, notwithstanding all its patriotism, may become the victim of its constitution.

38. To this may be added the evils caused by the abuse of paper money. No one of the leading states of Europe has suffered so long and so severely on this account; but the causes of these evils, brought to maturity by the full formation of the mercantile system, unfortunately lay too deep to be removed by mere regulations. They had their origin in the establishment of the bank of Vienna, which appears to have been designed for a money machine; but although at particular periods it probably might be of service, yet great foreign wars, which could only be carried on with specie, brought with them new wants, new embarrassments and troubles.

1703.

FR. NICOLAI, *Beschriebung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz.* 1783, 12 vols. 8vo. The leading source for Austrian statistics of that time, and the only one for the history of the bank of Vienna.

39. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, this monarchy offered immense resources to the prince who knew how to govern it aright. And how easy this is, to any one who respects the rights of his subjects, and wishes not to rule as a despot, is exemplified in the reign of Maria Theresa, whose greatness consisted far more in her virtues than in her talents, and whose praise is still the theme of all the nations she governed. Unhappily the new maxims of government introduced by Joseph II. were exactly the reverse. With too little energy to effect a violent reform, too impatient to

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produce a gradual one, and too open to conceal his projects, he stirred up opposition in every quarter, while he believed he was establishing all in the best manner possible. What might not have been the result, had a longer life and more stability allowed him to persevere in his designs! As it was, he left his dominions either in open rebellion, or on the point of becoming so. 1790.

VIII. THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

40. The Porte, having sunk into a defensive position, and only on compulsion taking part in the affairs of the North, was no longer an object of dread, but rather, the mark towards which the desire of aggrandizement was directed. Its political importance, as respects Europe, had thus undergone a complete change. Writers, too, exposed its internal weakness; but by forming their judgments according to a European standard, they ran, in many cases, into error.

Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares, par le BARON DE TOTT. 1785, 4 vols.

41. The course and character of politics in this period, may be gathered from the foregoing sketch. Most of the great relations of the continent were controlled by Frederic II. The part he played was that of conqueror, ambitious but considerate. He owed it to himself and his kingdom, to maintain the system established by the conquest of Silesia; still this system was at first founded in pure selfishness. The alliance of Austria and France, however, raised him to the rank of protector of European liberty. Who else could have secured it? On the preservation of the Prussian monarchy, therefore, depended the balance of power, not only in Germany, so long as that alliance continued, but in all Europe. In this sense Frederic was called, and was in fact, the arbiter of Europe. Would that he had kept strictly to this glorious character! General Remarks.

42. The bad direction given to politics by the cabinet plans for the aggrandizement, and the compact formation of their states, has been already pointed out; yet the magnanimity of the rulers prevented their degenerating below a

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certain point. There might be much selfishness in the policy of Frederic and Catharine, but nothing little or mean; even their selfishness led to a certain degree of stability. Rulers however magnanimous die, though not the love of aggrandizement; and experience has unhappily proved, that even the virtues and moral dignity of sovereigns may sink under the corruption of cabinets.

43. Much alarm, too, was necessarily excited by the levity with which some of the greatest potentates of Europe at once set at nought the fundamental principles of European policy. Catharine led the way, by attacking the balance of power. She might have had reasons for this proceeding, but what appeared simple in her, was contemptible in her numerous imitators. Two systems were likewise introduced into politics during this period, which could not but have a baneful effect. The first of these, was the common practice of making secret articles in public treaties (the bane of all confidence in a political system); and the other, was the abuse of guarantees. What are the guarantees offered by great powers, in general, but one sword more placed in their hands to be used at their pleasure? And how entirely so, when, as in the case of Poland, they guarantee their own acts of injustice?

44. Practical political economy, though variously modified in particulars, upon the whole remained the same, notwithstanding the rise of many heterogeneous theories. The general land-tax of the *physiocrats* was favourably received; but it was found impracticable to make this the only tax; and if the doctrines of Adam Smith could not prevail even in England, how could it be expected they should do so in foreign countries? The narrow views of Frederic II., a consequence of the mercantile system, and the still narrower ones of Joseph, were powerful obstacles. It was, nevertheless, a great step for society in general, that agriculture, and with it the lower orders of the community, obtained a much higher consideration in the eyes of all practical men. The abolition or amelioration of personal villanage or feudal service, was demanded in a tone that prevailed in several countries; and the promotion of agriculture was at least practically adopted; generally, however, only as far as could be done without forsaking the ancient maxims. The

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contest respecting the free trade in grain affords the best commentary on this subject.

Dialogues sur le commerce des bleds, par L' ABBE GALLIANI. Lond. 1770. A specific for the system-mongers.

Die Freiheit des Getreidehandels in einem Gutachten erörtert von G. P. S. NORRMAN. Hamb. 1802, 8vo.

45. The effect of the mercantile system on politics, therefore, was not diminished, but strengthened, in proportion to the endeavour of governments to get a share of commerce for themselves, and to exclude others. The regulation of their mutual commercial relations by treaties of commerce excited jealousy and variance, sometimes in the contracting parties, sometimes in a third; and colonial trade, and the new disputes respecting the rights of neutral flags, (see below,) afforded ample matter for contention.

The commercial treaties of this period, very important from their influence on politics, were: 1. One between England and Russia, June 20, 1766, for twenty years; greatly in favour of British merchants settling in Russia. 2. The treaty between England and France, Sept. 26, 1786, for twelve years. A mutual encouragement to the importation of British manufactures, and French wines and brandy, by means of diminished duties; much to the disadvantage of French manufactures. 3. The treaty between France and Russia, Jan. 11, 1787, for twelve years. A mutual encouragement to the introduction of French wines and Russian iron, soap, and wax, by means of reduced duties, also favourable to the merchants settling in either state; and a definition of the rights of neutrality.

46. In this period, war became, in the fullest sense of the term, an art, and the system of standing armies reached its highest perfection, both in the larger and smaller states. The art however degenerated into trifling and trickery; soldiers were taught rather the parade exercise than the use of arms. A long peace naturally produced this evil, which even the genius of Frederic could not overcome.

47. Much greater evils than this were found in the military system of this period; we may particularly notice the immense augmentation made to the armies, by the enlistment of foreign troops, who were generally distributed as garrisons into fortified towns; the almost exclusive preference given in promotion to birth, and next to seniority; and the degradation of the common soldier by a disgraceful discipline. From these evils consequences ensued, which

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were the more dangerous since outward splendour rendered them less perceptible.

III. *Colonial Affairs from* 1740 *to* 1786.

1. The settlements which the European nations had planted beyond the Atlantic, and which had been growing for almost three centuries, began in this period to ripen. Colonies of all kinds became in themselves of more importance than ever. But a succession of circumstances and events arose, which, although perhaps following the natural order of things, had not been expected.

2. Great Britain, during this period, acquired a vast superiority over all the other states in colonial possessions. The foundation of this was her navy, which enabled her, during war, not only to keep up a constant communication with her distant colonies, but at the same time to prevent her enemies from doing the same, by which their trade became ruined. It must not however be less ascribed to the spirit and genius of the whole nation and government, who, always inclined to commerce, regarded their colonies with anxious care, as that on which it chiefly depended.

American war. 1764—1782.

3. Her possessions in North America, extending from the Mississippi to the great St. Lawrence, and from the ocean to the Alleghany mountains, were enlarged at the peace of Paris, by the acquisition of all Canada and Florida (see above, p. 247). Never did British authority *seem* more firmly established in these regions; but events soon *proved* that it never was less so.

4. The desire of independence is natural to flourishing agricultural colonies; because a new nation gradually becomes formed within them. In America, this desire is augmented by long-nourished principles of democracy, a leaven of which had introduced itself into the government of almost every province; a slighter political dependence upon the mother state, and the feeling of growing strength, already tried in the seven years' war. Nothing seemed wanting but some ground of quarrel;—the result was inevitable.

5. This ground was not wanting long; but it arose not so much from a feeling of oppression, as a question of right:

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this was, whether the British parliament had a right to tax the colonies? Parliament maintained the affirmative; the colonies denied it, because they were not represented.—The Americans, almost from the foundation of their colonies, had been trained to the discussion of political and religious rights; and were particularly adapted to maintain a principle of this kind to the last extremity. But the enforcement of a stricter trading monopoly with respect to the colonies since the peace of Paris, and the lessening the contraband trade with the French and Spanish possessions, must have increased their discontent, in proportion as it lessened their commerce.

The first dispute arose in 1764, occasioned by Grenville's Stamp Act, passed March 22, 1765. Great commotions immediately produced in all the provinces, especially in Massachusetts and Virginia, and a congress convened at New York in October, which publishes a declaration of the rights of the people.—Repeal of the Stamp Act by the Rockingham administration after Grenville's resignation, March 19, 1766; but the principle was at the same time confirmed by the bill, declaring the supremacy of the parliament in all cases whatsoever.

6. Though the flame was prevented from breaking out at present, the fire still continued to smoulder; disputes arose in some of the provinces, sometimes with the governors, sometimes with the troops; an opposition was already formed, with men of the highest influence at its head. Among them was Franklin; but so little was the true state of affairs known in England, that, after another change of ministry, Townshend deemed it possible, by means of indirect duties imposed by parliament, to maintain its authority and to carry into effect the object of government.

Duties on tea, paper, glass, and colours, by the Revenue Act, June, 1767. The proceeds of these duties to form a civil list for America, which should be wholly at the disposition of the ministers for conferring remunerations, pensions, etc.

7. The opposition to the right of taxation was renewed, especially in Massachusetts, whose capital, Boston, was the principal seat of the opponents. A voluntary agreement to make use of no British commodities, a sure mean of injuring England, was immediately entered into and acted upon. Lord North was soon after placed at the head of affairs in England, which again gave way, but not 1770.
sufficiently to satisfy the Americans.

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Repeal of all the duties except that on tea, Feb., 1770. However trifling the duty retained, it was still a tacit assertion of the right of England to tax America; a principle which the colonists were determined never to admit. [This was felt in the English house of commons, where Mr. Pownal moved the abrogation of the *whole* of the duties, but his amendment was lost by a majority of sixty-two.]

8. To what could such half measures lead, but to greater distrust? The more the Americans examined the subject the more fully they were convinced of the justice of their cause; and the press, by an immense circulation of pamphlets, had already produced here the same consequences, to which it afterwards led on a much larger scale in Europe. England, nevertheless, still persevered in her half measures, but leaving the application of them to the East India Company, the first insurrection broke out in Boston.

Determination of the Americans not to purchase tea on which a tax had been levied.—The East India Company embarrassed; and after the repeal of the export tax in England, attempt to gain the Americans by a cheaper price.—But, nevertheless, measures were adopted to prevent the importation of tea, and a cargo of it was forcibly seized and thrown into the harbour, in Boston, Dec. 26, 1773.

The History of the American Revolution, by DAVID RAMSAY. Lond. 1791, 2 vols. 8vo. The calm account of a contemporary who was informed of all the facts, and participated in the events.

Storia della guerra dell' independenza degli Stati Uniti d'America; scritta da CARLO BOTTA. Parigi, 1809, 4 vols. 8vo. A history of the revolution, compiled from the best authorities with care, and well written.—For the investigation of the principle of right, we quote:

Der Ursprung und die Grundsätze der Amerikanischen Revolution, von FRIEDR. GENZ. in his *Hist. Journal*, 1800, vol. ii.

For a deeper insight, the contemporary British Journals are necessary, such as:

Gentleman's Magazine, 1764—1784, and others.

9. This event drove England to more decided measures. The harbour of Boston was closed up, and acts were passed which annihilated the charter of Massachusetts. This was in fact the cause of the general insurrection; as the other colonies saw, in this proceeding, the insecurity of their respective constitutions.

The Boston Port Bill passed March 25, 1774, and on the 20th of May, acts for erecting a royal court of justice, etc., in Massachusetts.—Boston was occupied by English troops.

10. The other colonies readily united in this cause, and measures were taken for convoking a general congress, with rare moderation and order; such as were only possible

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in a country where there existed no mob. The resolutions of the congress, while they resisted the pretensions of parliament, were by no means directed against the crown.

Congress opened at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774.—A resolution passed to suspend all commercial intercourse with England.

11. England was thus brought to the alternative of either making concessions or entering upon civil war. What could be lost in case of the former? What could be gained by the latter? Even the most successful termination of the war could scarcely be expected to insure a lasting dominion:—The risk bore no sort of comparison with the probable advantage;—and there were not wanting men of prophetic spirit, who advised a compromise; though no one had sufficient penetration to discover, that the loss of North America would be a gain to England. The eloquence even of Chatham and Burke were ineffectual against the ministers. The provinces were declared in rebellion.

An address voted by parliament against the rebellious provincials, Feb. 9, 1775. An attempt made by Lord North's conciliatory bill, Feb. 20, to induce them to tax themselves, with the reservation, however, of the supreme authority of the parliament.—The propositions of Chatham, Jan. 20, and Burke, March 22, to secure the ancient rights of the colonies, were rejected in both houses.—Hostilities begun by the battle at Lexington, April 19.—New troops arrive from England in May. It was still hoped that a few regiments would be sufficient to maintain America!

12. The war hastily begun on the part of the colonies, by the fruitless expedition against Canada, necessarily became defensive; and who so capable of maintaining it as Washington? There was need, not of a Cæsar, but of a Fabius. For though the British might possess separate sea-ports, had not the Americans the country, with all that it contained?

Expedition against Canada under Arnold and Montgomery, Oct., 1775, frustrated by the relief of Quebec, by Carleton, May, 1776. Boston evacuated by Howe, March 17; on the other hand, Long Island was captured in Aug., and New York became the chief seat of the war. Washington's immortality as a hero, rests not on splendid days, but laborious years; not on rapid success, but enduring perseverance.

13. This increased animosity naturally gave an easy entrance to the idea, which had been widely propagated by statesmen and the periodical press, of an entire separation

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from the mother country. Only in this case could assistance be hoped for from Europe; and the sending out of German mercenaries seemed to render this inevitable. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES. *Novus sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

July 4, 1776.

Common Sense, by THOMAS PAINE, 1776. Perhaps the most important pamphlet for general history.

14. After this great step, but one happy blow was wanting to procure the colonies allies in Europe. This was done by the capture of Burgoyne and his troops. The issue of trifling engagements here, was followed by greater consequences in the affairs of the world, than the victories of immense armies elsewhere.

Attempt of the English to attack the colonies on the rear, by invading them from Canada, under Burgoyne. He was surrounded by Gates, and capitulates at Saratoga, Oct. 16, 1777.

Die Berufsreise nach Amerika, oder Briefe der Generalin von Reidesel während ihres sechsjährigen Aufenthalts daselbst; (herausgegeben von Heinrich xliv. Grafen Reuss.) Berlin, 1801, 8vo, wife of the commander of the Brunswick troops, and an eyewitness. In English, under the title of,

Letters and Memoirs relating to the war of American Independence, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga. By Madame de RIEDESEL. New York, 1827.

15. This event opened an entrance to the court of Versailles for the previous proposals of Benjamin Franklin. The independence of America was acknowledged by France, and a war with England thereby decided upon. This was a victory of the cabinet against the expressed inclination of the king.—What a grand mistake it made! That the war should become a maritime war, and that it should spread to the two Indies, lay as much in the existing political relations, as that Spain should be shortly involved, though only as the ally of France, and at last Holland. It thus became a war for the dominion of the seas, and was prosecuted by France, for some time, with more success than usual.

Treaty of amity and commerce concluded between France and America, Feb. 6, 1778. War with England, March 24. Indecisive naval battle at Quessant, July 27. Commencement of the naval war in America and West Indies, under d'Estaing, September. Capture of St. Dominique, by the French, Sept. 7; Senegal, Jan. 30, 1789; St. Vincent, June 16; Grenada, July 4: on the other hand, they lose St. Lucia, Dec. 14, 1778. Commencement of the war in the East Indies;

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capture of Pondicherry, Oct., 1778. Attack on Hyder Ali, Sept., 1780. A naval war there, under Suffrein and Hughes.—Spain takes a share in this, June, 1779, and a junction of the French and Spanish fleets takes place, but leads to nothing. Minorca taken, Feb. 5, 1782; and a protracted siege of Gibraltar, gloriously defended by Elliot, from 1779 to Oct., 1782.—England declares war against Holland, already negotiating with America, and wishing to join the armed neutrality, Dec. 20, 1780. Indecisive naval battle at Doggersbank, Aug. 5, 1781. But Negapatam lost, Nov. 12, and Trincomale, Jan. 15, 1782, and St. Eustace in the West Indies. The British naval power was thus almost a match for that of all the rest of western Europe, and acquired an absolute superiority, by Rodney's new naval tactics, after the great battle off Gaudaloupe, April 12, 1782.

16. The fate of America, however, had to be decided on land, and not on the ocean; and however much assisted by the French auxiliaries under Rochambeau and La Fayette's enthusiasm, Washington has the glory of having struck the decisive blow. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis extinguished all hope of success in the English nation.

Expedition against the southern states; Charleston taken; but Cornwallis was surrounded at Yorktown, and forced to capitulate, Oct. 19, 1781.

17. Nothing but a change of ministers, which took place upon Lord North's retirement, was required to produce peace. This had long been desired, and clamorously demanded by the English nation; but had now to be concluded, not only with North America, but also with France, Spain, and Holland. It could not be purchased without sacrifices; but it was, in reality, the peace with Holland, which caused the most difficulty; because England wished to gain from Holland some compensation for its losses.

After Lord North had retired, March 20, 1782, a ministry was at first organized under Rockingham, who died July 1; in this, Shelburne and Fox were secretaries of state. Shelburne's administration followed (Fox having resigned) till March 14, 1783. He being forced to retire, after the conclusion of peace, a coalition was effected between Lord North and Fox till Dec. 18, when William Pitt, placed at the head of a new ministry, Dec. 23, 1783, continued in this post till Feb. 9, 1801. Negotiations of peace were entered upon at Versailles, and preliminaries signed with America, Nov. 30, 1782; with France and Spain, Jan. 30, 1783; which were changed into a definitive peace, Sept. 3.

a. Peace between England and America. 1. The independence of the thirteen United States acknowledged. 2. The boundaries so fixed, that the great western territory was relinquished to the Americans. 3. They continued to participate in the fisheries of Newfoundland. 4. The navigation of the Mississippi left common to both parties.

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Ambassadors: from England, Lord Oswald; from America, Franklin, Adams, and Laurens.

b. Peace between England and France. 1. All conquests in the West Indies restored, and Tobago resigned to France. 2. In Africa, Senegal ceded to France, in return for the guarantee of Gambia and Fort St. James to England. 3. All conquests in the East Indies restored. The allies of France, (Tippo Saib,) invited to accede to the treaty. 4. The participation of France in the fisheries of Newfoundland enlarged, and the isles of St. Pierre and Miguelon ceded. 5. It was mutually agreed to conclude a treaty of commerce within two years.

Negotiators: from England, Lord Fitzherbert; from France, the Count de Vergennes.

c. Peace between England and Spain. 1. Spain to retain possession of Minorca. 2. Likewise of all Florida. 3. All other conquests restored. 4. It was likewise promised that a treaty of commerce should be made within two years.

Negotiators: Lord Fitzherbert; and from Spain, the Count of Aranda.

d. Peace between England and Holland. Though Holland, by the preliminaries of the other states, was included in the truce, yet preliminaries with her were first signed under French mediation at Paris, Sept. 2, 1783, and a definitive treaty, May 20, 1784. Conditions: 1. Negapatam ceded to England, under the condition that it should be restored for an equivalent. 2. All other conquests restored. 3. The navigation of all the Indian seas made free to the English.

Negotiators: from England, the Duke of Manchester; from Holland, Van Berkenrode and Brantzen.

18. No other war of modern times has led to such vast consequences as this in the affairs of mankind. Not the least of these is the foundation of a new republic across the Atlantic: a state of Europeans, not belonging to the European political system, independent by its own might and its own productions, and at the same time called by its situation to take an active and large share in the general commerce of the world; yet without the need of standing armies, and without cabinet policy. What a different state of things must arise here from that which we have in Europe!

The new republic—established without any internal revolution of the single states, (only trifling changes were necessary,)—languished at first under its liberty. The first constitution was a federative government, without strength and without credit. But the changed constitution of 1789 gave it all the solidity that a federative state can possess; as it placed the executive power in the hands of a president, in connexion with the senate; and the legislative, (conformably, in most respects, to British forms,) in the two chambers, the senate and house of representatives, not, however, without the participation of the president. Public credit, too, was established by a system of finances for the union.

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To Washington the *president*, the new state was not less indebted than to Washington the *general*. Only by committing the high offices of the state to great men can this union be preserved.

19. Commerce would naturally feel the first influence of the new republic, and almost every maritime power was eager to form treaties with it. But the republic, almost destitute of capital, traded most readily with that which would give her the longest credit; and the commerce with England became far greater, now free, than it had ever been when restricted. Even now it might be foreseen that America would become a maritime power worthy of her descent; her naval force, however, was upon a very small scale, till in the later sea-wars of Europe, it suddenly grew and acted in a manner that astonished the world.

20. While this war, by establishing the independence of America, gave, contrary to all expectation, a vast impulse to the increasing commerce of England, its progress was not much less aided by the sudden decline of the trade of Holland, which, once overthrown, never acquired sufficient strength to sustain the powerful competition of its rival, into whose hands the greatest part, if not the whole of it, fell.

Armed neutrality.

21. The American war also gave rise to a new, extraordinary, and very important political combination—*the armed neutrality*. This had its origin in the north, but its influence was soon spread over the rest of Europe; and, however accidental its rise, the want of some such power was too universally felt at the time ever again to be lost sight of. Its object was the protection of the rights of neutral flags. Uncertain as was the issue, Russia shone as the support and centre point of the new system, around which all the neutrals rallied. Though the necessity of this power died with the return of peace, every naval war must necessarily renew it; and it will depend solely on the situation of the kingdoms engaged, whether, and in what manner, this new political engine shall be employed.

First declaration of an armed neutrality made by Russia, Feb. 28, 1780. It demanded: 1. That neutral vessels should sail free from port to port, and along the coasts of the belligerent powers. 2. That the property of enemies should be free in neutral vessels, with the exception of contraband, which was restricted to arms and the actual munitions of war. 3. Accurate definition of what a blockaded harbour

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should be. 4. That this definition should serve as a rule in judging of the lawfulness of prizes.

Declared accession of Denmark to the armed neutrality at the invitation of Russia, July 9, 1780; of Sweden, July 21; of Prussia, May 8, 1781; of Austria, Oct. 9; of Portugal, July 13, 1782. The English anticipated the declaration of the accession of Holland by a declaration of war, Dec. 20, 1780.—In the answers, (April 23,) England expressed no explicit opinion respecting the principle. It was recognised by Spain, (April 18,) and France (April 25).

Mémoire ou précis historique sur la neutralité armée et son origine, suivi des pièces justificatives, par M. LE COMTE DE GÖRZ, (at that time Prussian ambassador at Petersburg,) 1800, 8vo. What gave rise to this system was the seizure of two Russian vessels by the Spaniards; and the Spanish blockade of Gibraltar; (the English had not dared to renew their regulation of 1756, see p. 249, in this war;) but its true cause was, the necessity of Count Panin to counteract the influence and projects of the British ambassador, Sir James Harris (Lord Malmesbury). Thus this intrigue led to a greater object than it could have had any notion of.

VON DOHM'S *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. II. [North American Review, No. lix., page 308, etc.]

HEEREN'S *Miscellaneous Historical Writings*, Th. i., p. 344, contains, in the treatise entitled, *An Examination of the Questions respecting the Claims of the Armed Neutrality*, the necessary explanations of the law of nations bearing on the subject.

22. Though England lost its ancient colonies in America, it still retained its new acquisitions, Canada and Nova Scotia, which became of greater importance, as it was hoped they would make up for what had been lost. As the value of these possessions increased in the eyes of the mother country, they became greater objects of her care. The repeal of the Test Act led to the introduction of so mild (1774.) a constitution into Canada, whose inhabitants were mostly Catholic, that culture was no longer limited to Lower Canada, but was so extended in Upper Canada, that a government of its own was deemed necessary for it. Halifax in Nova Scotia now remained the principal harbour belonging to England on the continent of America.

British West Indies.

23. The British possessions in the West Indies had been extended by the cessions made at the treaty of Paris. Of these, however, Tobago was restored to France by the peace of Versailles. The state of the colonies had been improved by the grant of several commercial privileges; but successive wars, the attacks of the *maroons*, (runaway negroes,) and the dreadful storms, which repeat-

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edly devastated the principal island, Jamaica, towards the end of this period, almost annihilated the expectations which had been formed of the advantages that would be reaped from these possessions. The independence of America would indeed have been the ruin of the British West Indies, had not necessity triumphed over the maxims of the mercantile system.

The new commercial privileges consisted, partly in the opening of free ports, 1766, on Dominica and Jamaica, for general trade with foreign colonies in their own vessels, (especially for the necessaries of life, and the slave trade,) partly in a free commerce with Ireland, granted January, 1780. The emancipation of America would have exposed the West Indies to famine, had not the former commerce, though circumscribed, been still permitted, April 4, 1788.

A descriptive account of the isle of Jamaica, by W. BECKFORD. 1790, 2 vols. 8vo.

24. The African colonies had been improved for nearly twenty years by the possession of Senegal, by which the gum and slave trade had fallen into the hands of the English. There seemed indeed a natural connexion between the latter and the West India colonies; but the markets for slaves opened for foreign colonies in the free ports, and the entire freedom allowed in this traffic, during this period, unhappily concurred to give it an increasing importance. 1786. While the voice of humanity grew louder and louder in its condemnation, the independence of America gave rise to the foundation of a colony of free negroes at Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa itself, which was intended to prove that slavery might be dispensed with.

All the still existing duties, payable to the African company, were abolished 1749; it had been deprived of its monopoly in 1697.—The colony at Sierra Leone settled in 1786, mostly by the negroes of the emigrant royalists. A noble monument of humanity! Though the leading object was not immediately attained, who can say to what it may lead?

An account of the colony of Sierra Leone from its first establishment. 1795, 8vo.

25. But the East Indies became during this period the greatest and most magnificent theatre of the colonial policy of Britain. Its merchant princes became conquerors, and founded an empire, which in a short time far exceeded the mother country in extent and population. The company now appeared under the twofold form British East Indies.

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of merchants and rulers; while England became the great market for the merchandise of India, and the gulf into which its riches were drawn.

Transactions in India, from the commencement of the French war in 1756, *to the conclusion of the late peace*, 1783. London, 1786, 8vo. A German version has been published by M. C. SPRENGEL, under the title, *Geschichte der wichtigsten Indischen Staatsveränderungen von* 1756 *bis* 1783. 2 Thle. 1788. The most valuable as a general outline.

ROBT. ORME'S *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year* 1745. Lond. 1778, 2 vols. 4to.—A version of this also has been given by ARCHENHOLZ, *Die Engländer in Indien*, 2 Thle. 1788.

A short History of the East India Company, by FR. RUSSEL. Lond. 1793, 8vo.

26. This great revolution in the European affairs of India was prepared by the fall of the Mogul empire. While that retained its power the Europeans could scarcely appear on the continent otherwise than as merchants. But, divided
1707. in itself after the death of Aureng Zeb, the preda-
1739. tory invasion of Nadir Shah gave a final blow to this tottering empire. The name of sovereign still remained; but the governors made themselves independent, and the subject nations began to shake off their fetters.

Of the governors (subahs and nabobs) to this time, the most important are: the subah of the Deccan, (the Nizam,) on whom was dependent the nabob of Arcot, or the Carnatic; the nabob of Bengal, of Oude, and the rajah of Benares. Among the nations, the Patans had long been formidable, and the Mahrattas and the Seiks were still more so.

27. Both the French and English soon endeavoured to turn these circumstances to their advantage; to the former however, at first, fortune seemed to have allotted the dominion of India. Had Labourdonnaye and Dupleix understood each other, who could have wrested it from them? By their dissensions, however, and the incapacity of the French government, which did not know how to turn the talents of such men to advantage, the precious moments were lost that might have given India to France.

Madras conquered by Labourdonnaye, Sept. 21, 1746, when a dispute arose respecting it with Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry. Fall and recall of the former; Pondicherry besieged in vain by the English, Aug. till Oct., 1748, and Madras restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (see p. 235).

Histoire du Siège de Pondicherry sous le gouvernement de M. Dupleix. 1766, 8vo.

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28. The rivalry thus revived between the two nations, was carried to a high pitch by the attempts of Dupleix, who endeavoured to make up for an unprofitable commerce by territorial possessions. An opportunity of doing this was found by interfering in the quarrels of the native princes; first in the Carnatic, on the Coromandel coast, where the contiguity of the principal settlements made it almost impossible to do otherwise. This could not be difficult in an empire thus fallen to pieces; but it was facilitated even more by the base and venal disposition of the native princes, than by anarchy itself. By the superior talents of Dupleix the French acquired a general predominancy, till the breaking out of the seven years' war.

Disputes in the Carnatic in consequence of Dupleix supporting the claims of Muzzefar Jung to the Deccan, and of Chundasaheb to Arcot; against whom the English defended their client Mohammed Ally, who finally maintains himself in Arcot, 1756. The recall of Dupleix, who was followed by the unfortunate Lally; while at the head of the British troops, the formidable Clive was forming under the warrior Lawrence, gave the latter the superiority.

29. But it was during the seven years' war, that the company founded its extensive empire. The superiority of British arms triumphed even in India. The conquest and dismantling of Pondicherry established from this time the British dominion on the coast of Coromandel, notwithstanding the restitution of that city by the peace of Paris.

Hostilities begun in the Carnatic, 1758, after the arrival of Lally; it spread over the whole coast, especially to Tanjore.—The British preserved the superiority, and Masulipatam was taken, 1760, and Pondicherry, Jan. 16, 1761. The northern Circar was given up by the Nizam, 1766; and the nabob of the Carnatic rendered perfectly independent.

The History and Management of the East India Company, vol. i., containing the affairs of the Carnatic; in which the rights of the nabob are explained, and the injustice of the company proved. Lond. 1779, 4to. Comes down to 1755.

30. But the English soon discovered that it cost more to maintain Coromandel than it was worth; and that a territorial dominion could only be established in India, by the possession of the countries about the Ganges, and especially Bengal, where factories had already long existed, as well as great territorial revenues. The nabob himself gave

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them an opportunity of attempting this; and Clive founded the dominion of the company with greater ease than he himself had expected. No struggle was required here, such as the Cortes and Pizarros had sustained in America; for the base and simple Mogul nobles readily played the game of the British.

As early as 1690, (see p. 163,) the British had a factory at Calcutta; and in 1699, in consequence of an insurrection, they had secured it by the erection of Fort William. Capture of Calcutta and Fort William, by the nabob Seraja Dowla, June, 1756. The captives incarcerated and suffered to perish in the Black Hole. Expedition of Clive against Madras, 1757. Calcutta reconquered, and a decisive victory obtained at Plassey, June 26, by the treachery of Mir Jaffier, now appointed nabob of Bengal instead of his brother-in-law, but deposed, in 1760, by Clive, in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Cossir; but as the latter, impatient of slavery, rebelled, Mir Jaffier was again appointed nabob, July 10, 1763. The secret of ruling under the name of others was found out; but it was now scarcely necessary to have recourse to this deception. It cost, however, one more struggle with the subah of Oude, 1765, to whom Mir Cossir and the Great Mogul, who had been driven from the Mahrattas, had fled, to secure the possession of Bengal to the English.

31. Surrender of the Devani of Bengal, with its revenues and the right of collecting them, to the company, by the Great Mogul; the nabob becoming their pensioner. Thus the company, having previously acquired the commerce, now obtained the government of the country, though the shadow of it was still left to its former rulers.

Treaty of Allahabad, between Lord Clive and the Great Mogul, (as apparent sovereign,) respecting the resignation of the Devani of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, Aug. 12, 1765, for an annual payment of twelve lacks of rupees.

32. The company from this time became the rulers of an extensive and opulent country; but the expectation that its riches would be greatly increased thereby, was soon shown to be fallacious. A clashing of interests arose between the functionaries—between the directors in England and their officers in India. The former still received the moderate profit of the trade between India and Europe; but they wished to augment the commercial dividends, by the territorial income they now possessed: the surplus of which, however, their agents in India were bent upon applying to their own advantage. The most important branches

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of the domestic trade of that country, too, were abandoned to the subalterns residing there. Thus the wretched Bengal had to endure at once nearly all the evils that tend to crush a nation—a corrupt and tyrannical government, and the most oppressive monopolies.

The principal evils were: 1. The change of the established hereditary rents of farms of the zemindars and ryots, (greater and less farmers,) into annual rents. In a country where almost all landed property was held by rents, all security of possession disappeared at once; and numerous extortions took its place. 2. The bad administration of justice, and the application of British laws. 3. The monopoly granted to the government, in 1765, of salt, betel, and opium, the great necessaries of life in India. 4. The yearly exportation of hard money to England and China. 5. The losses in discounts, occasioned by the defective system of coinage.—The ruin of the country would have been inevitable, even without the terrible dearth of 1770 and of 1771.

The most important works to which these disputes gave rise in England, are:

Considerations on the affairs and the present state of Bengal, by W. Bolts. Lond. 1772, 3 vols. 4to. Against the company. As an answer:

A view of the rise, progress, and the present state of the English government in Bengal, by Mr. Verelst. London, 1772, 4to. The second and third volumes of Bolts, contain the answer to this. Only single acts of oppression can be refuted or exculpated; the truth of the general oppression was soon established by the results.

A. F. Tyttler's *Considerations on the present state of India*, London, 1815, 8vo, contains the best historical survey of the system of possession and farms in India. Even in the well-intended regulations since 1772, the burden eventually devolved on the poor ryots or peasants; while the zemindars grew rich.

33. A dominion usurped with so much violence, must necessarily remain for some time in a state of great weakness; and in Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore, the English met with a much more formidable opponent than they expected. The impossibility of procuring a sufficient supply of European troops, led to the dangerous expedient of organizing a body of native troops, which, contrary to what might have been augured, has hitherto answered very well.

First war against Hyder Ali, (who had usurped the government of the Mysore, from 1760,) and his ally the subah of Deccan, 1767. But the company gain over the latter, Feb., 1768. Still successful invasion of the Carnatic, and peace concluded before the gates of Madras, April 3, 1769. The conquests of both parties restored, and free trade for parties. But Hyder Ali had discovered what he could accomplish.

34. Amid these great revolutions, the internal organization of the company still continued the same. The directors

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in England were the chiefs, under whom stood the governors of the four presidencies, independent of one another. Each acted on his own responsibility; and of course it frequently happened that the most important transactions might occur, before orders could arrive from England. These great defects, which were regarded as a principal source of the evils that arose, it was proposed to remedy by a new act of regulation. A new organization of the company was to take place; the government in India was to be consolidated into one; and rendered in some measure dependent upon the crown.

"Act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company," passed in May, 1773; introduced into India, Oct., 1774. Its principal objects: 1. Improvement in the election of directors: none to hold their seats longer that four years. 2. No person to vote at their election who had not possessed their stock twelve months; and the qualification for directors was raised from stockholders of £500, to holders of £1000. 3. The governor of Bengal made governor-general of all British India, with the highest authority both in civil and military affairs; assisted, however, by the supreme council, consisting of four members with a restraining power; and where a difference of opinion should arise, the affair to be decided by the majority. 4. The right of making war and peace, and of negotiating with the native princes, vested solely in the governor-general and the supreme council. 5. A high court of judicature erected, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges; the appointment of these judges resting in the crown: but appeals might be made from this court to the privy council. All regulations, civil and military, to be laid before the secretary of state in England; the king having the power to annul them. Warren Hastings, governor, 1772, was the first governor-general, 1774—1785.

The whole act is in RUSSEL'S *Collections*, etc. (vol. i. p. 190, etc.)

35. By these new regulations, the affairs of India were brought almost completely under the control of the English government; but still much more was done for the company than for the inhabitants of India. The supreme government here became more concentrated, though not without occasional disagreements with the other presidencies. Under the sway of the arbitrary, rapacious, and experienced Hastings, oppression became reduced to a system. There could be no lasting peace, consequently there could be no secure state in India. The usual round of conquest took place. Oppression gave rise to resistance—resistance to war—war to expenses—expenses to new oppressions.

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Thus arose the Mahratta and other wars; till at length conquest became necessary to existence.

The Mahratta wars were first occasioned by the protection given by the Bombay government to the usurper Ragobah, (*Ragonaut Roy,*) against the rajahs Boosla of Berar, Sindia of Ougein, and Holkar of Malwa, but whom they afterwards gave up by the peace of 1776, in consequence of a change in the policy of Calcutta, where the supreme court was now established. Renewal of the war, 1777. Bold march of Goddard from Calcutta to Surat, which necessarily alarmed all the Mahratta chiefs. General alliance of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, and Hyder Ali, against the company, 1779, just about the time when the war breaks out with France. New and dreadful invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali, 1780, where he maintains himself two years. Great distress for money, as the war had spread over almost every part of India; and consequent exactions and revolutions in Benares, in Oude, etc., with the most revolting acts of injustice, while the maritime war with the French is going on, at the same time, under Suffrein, and Hyder is assisted by French troops. The separation of the allies extricates England from this embarrassment. Peace concluded with the Mahrattas, May 17, 1782. Restoration of all conquests; and the English obtain the exclusive right of trade. In the peace with France, Pondicherry and the other conquests are restored, Nov. 30, 1782. Hyder Ali († Nov. 9, 1782) thus had to prosecute the war alone, which his son and successor Tippo Saib terminated by the peace at Mangalore, March 11, 1784. Conquests also here restored, and the trade left free to the English.—Great acts of injustice and oppression brought to light in 1788, by the trial of Warren Hastings; but no restitution made or punishment inflicted for them.

The Trial of Warren Hastings before the Court of Peers. Lond. 1788, 2 vols. 8vo; also BURKE's *Works*, vol. xi. xii., 8vo.

Articles of Charge of high crime against W. Hastings, by EDM. BURKE. Lond. 1786, 8vo.

Memoirs relative to the state of India, by WARREN HASTINGS. 1786, 8vo. His own account.

Geschichte der Maratten bis auf den Frieden mit England, von M. C. SPRENGEL. Halle, 1786. Comes down to 1782.

A History of the Mahrattas, by JAMES GRANT DAFF. Lond. 1816, 3 vols. 8vo. The principal work on this subject. It comes down to 1815, and its author had a command in India.

36. Notwithstanding, however, this fortunate conclusion of the war, and the extension of the company's territory in Bengal, by the capture of Negapatam, it was still evident that it could not long continue in its present condition. All its exactions did not enable it to fulfil its engagements with the government; and its affairs were considered in a state of bankruptcy. It had been felt, too, during the last war, more acutely than ever, that the company formed a state within the state. The necessity of a stricter dependence on

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the government had become so obvious, that all parties agreed in it. Fox attempted to effect this without success during his short administration; but the object was soon after attained by Pitt's East India bill.

Fox's East India bill, brought into parliament Nov. 18, 1783, rejected in the house of lords. Contents: 1. The existing direction to be entirely abolished; and the company, in its political, commercial, and financial relations, to be subjected to a board of control of eight persons, chosen by parliament for four years. Its commercial affairs to be managed by a committee of nine members of the company, subordinate, however, to the board of control. 2. The board to have in its gift all the places of the company, and, like the former court of directors, to be under the control of the king and the ministry.—Would not the board, thus organized, have constituted a new state within the state?

A comparative statement of the two bills for the better government of the British possessions in India, brought into parliament by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, with explanatory observations, by R. B. Sheridan, Esq. Lond. 1788. In favour of this bill:—

Speech on Mr. Fox's *East India Bill*, by Edm. Burke, in his *Works*, vol. ii.

After Fox's retirement, Mr. Pitt brought forward his East India bill, Aug. 4, 1784, the basis of the present government of India. Principal points: 1. That the former board of directors should be continued; but, 2. That it should be subordinate to a board of control, with regard to the political, military, and financial affairs of the territorial government of India. All despatches to be submitted to its inspection, and might be altered by it. 3. In the court of directors, a secret committee to be appointed, which should swear obedience and secrecy to the board of control. 4. The principal offices to be filled up by the directors, within two months after receiving information of their vacancy—afterwards the king appoints. The right of dismissing persons from these offices was vested in the king as well as in the court of directors. 5. The supreme council of Calcutta to consist of the governor-general and three councillors; the commander-in-chief being the second in authority. The same regulations made for Madras and Bombay. 6. The other presidencies strictly subordinate to the authority of the government of Calcutta; the latter, however, to have no power to declare war, except defensive, without permission from England. Great power, however, was placed in the hands of the governor-general, acting on his own responsibility, in all extraordinary cases. 7. Accounts to be rendered of the property of those going to and returning from India; and the defaulters punished.

The whole Act (afterwards improved by the Act of 1786) may be found in Russel's *Collection*, p. 294, and p. 342.

37. The vast dominions of the company in the Indian peninsula, comprising the countries of the Ganges as far as Benares, the Circars, and indirectly the Carnatic on the Coromandel, with Bombay and other possessions on the

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Malabar coast, were thus brought under the authority of the government at home, with respect to every thing except trade; its commerce still remained in the hands of the company. Even this would scarcely have been left to it, but for the great importance of the China trade, and the immense consumption of tea. In this branch of their commerce, they were greatly indebted to the ministry; as the *Commutation Act*, brought in by William Pitt, was the salvation of the company.

The annual consumption of tea amounted at this time to about twenty million pounds, of which two-thirds were imported by smuggling. The duty on tea was changed by the Commutation Act, July, 1784, into a tax on houses; in consequence of which the smuggling trade ceased of itself.

The complete Act is in RUSSEL's *Collection*, etc., p. 319.

38. Although by these proceedings the existence of the company, and the dominions of the British in the East, seemed secured, it still in reality chiefly depended upon the choice of the governor and high officers; England, perhaps, was not much less indebted to Cornwallis than to Pitt. Many ameliorations were made in the condition of the inhabitants; but the weeds of corruption arising from internal war, though considerably lessened, had taken too deep root to be eradicated entirely.

39. This wonderful extension of colonial territory and affairs, caused a corresponding increase in the navigation of the British, whose ships penetrated into every region of the globe, and were only stopped by the limits nature herself had imposed in eternal fields of ice. The three voyages of Cook awakened a spirit of discovery, not much less than the enterprises of Columbus had formerly done. The islands of the South Pacific Ocean became as well known as those of the Mediterranean Sea; instead of the precious metals, they yielded the sugar cane of Otaheite, and the flax of New Zealand; and Cook himself started the idea of a settlement on the continent of New Holland, which, resting on the sure basis of agriculture, after a lapse of scarcely forty years, promises to outgrow the fostering care of the mother country, to afford her a rich reward, and to become one of her glorious descendants.

Foundation of a colony in Sidney Cove, New South Wales, Jan.,

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1788. Probably the most durable monument which Pitt has left of his administration.

ARTHUR PHILIP's *voyage to Botany Bay.* Lond. 1789, 4to.

DAVID COLLINS's *account of the Colony in N. S. Wales, from its first settlement in Jan.,* 1788, *till* 1801. Lond. 1802, 2 vols. 4to.

France. 40. The history of the French colonies is partly included in the foregoing. Their unfortunate geographical dovetailing with the British possessions never allowed the rivalship to expire. It was always to the disadvantage of France. By the great concessions she made at the peace of Paris, she lost all Canada, with several of the smaller Antilles; and, the British navy having such a superiority, the preservation of her other colonies was exceedingly precarious. The course of events, however, was very different in the East and West Indies.

41. The hopes of France in the East Indies, were built by Dupleix on territorial possessions. After these were lost in the seven years' war, and the English predominated in India, how could their commerce there flourish any longer, whether carried on by a company or not?

The flourishing period of French power in India was from 1751. By the aid of Dupleix, it acquired the four Circars; the island Sherigan in the river Cauvery, Masulipatam, and an extensive district near Carical and Pondicherry. But the peace of 1763 restored every thing to the footing of 1749, (see p. 247,) except that the dismantled Pondicherry and Carical remained to France.—The India Company was abolished, 1769, and the trade left open, with the restriction of returning ships to L'Orient. Even in its last throes, the mercantile system had its influence.

42. France, however, could not be wholly driven from the East Indies, as the isles of France and Bourbon, unaffected by the troubles of the continent, could not be wrested from her. In addition to their produce, these served as staples for commerce, and as strong holds for the materials of war. But why, asked the *physiocrats*, do we attempt to carry on a direct trade to the East Indies by force, when the indirect is far more certain and advantageous?

Du commerce et de la compagnie des Indes, par DU PONT. Paris, 1769, 8vo.

43. France was much more fortunate in the West Indies; for though she certainly lost here in extent of territory, and though the fortune of war and natural calamities retarded

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the prosperity of the smaller islands, yet Domingo alone afforded her, in the latter half of this century, such an immense return, that it almost surpassed the expectations of the mother country, whose foreign commerce became almost entirely connected with this island.

The smaller islands were given up by the treaty of Paris (see p. 247); of these, Tobago fell again into the possession of France. Martinique and Guadaloupe (see p. 245) both fell into the hands of the English, and the former island was long devastated by insects and hurricanes. Domingo, on the contrary, favoured by its fertile soil, and neither desolated by nature or war, grew in prosperity. Its two thousand plantations, towards the end of this period, yielded produce to the amount of about one hundred and seventy millions of livres, (almost as much as all the rest of the West Indies,) the great markets for which were Bourdeaux and Nantes.

Nouvelles considérationes sur St. Domingue en reponse de M. H. Dl., par M. D. B. Paris, 1780, 2 vols.—But especially the third vol. of Bryan Edwards. (See p. 115.)

44. On the other hand, the possessions on the American continent, both in Guiana (Cayenne) and Louisiana, which was ceded to Spain, remained of little importance, notwithstanding the absurd endeavours to make something of the former. How far the introduction of spices may answer, it is impossible at present to determine.

Louisiana, with West Florida, which appertained to it, was ceded to Spain by France, April 21, 1764, in exchange (which was never effected) for the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. Spanish policy and tyranny reduced the colony to the verge of ruin.—Great efforts made to colonize Guiana, in 1763, to make up for the loss of Canada. Of twelve thousand persons who emigrated to this colony, the greater part perished of hunger within a year.—Spices introduced from the Isle of France, whither Poive had brought them, in 1770, from the Moluccas.

Champigny, *état présent de la Louisiane.* à la Haye, 1776, 8vo.

Collection de Mémoires et de correspondances officielles sur l'administration des Colonies et notamment sur la Guiane Française et Hollandaise, par V. P. Malouet. Paris, 1802, 5 vols. 8vo. A rich collection of materials.

45. With regard to the Dutch colonial affairs, this period was that of their decline and fall. Holland.
While other nations were making such rapid advances, to have stood still would have been to go back; but the hidden disease, from which the colonies, as well as the state in general, had long been suffering, was brought to a crisis by

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the unexpected war with England. If the wounds inflicted by this war on its commerce had not been incurable, they would have been rendered so by the domestic convulsions which soon followed. What are colonies without navies to protect them?

46. As the possessions of the Dutch in the East Indies consisted almost entirely of islands, it is evident that they could not be immediately affected by the revolutions in Hindostan: even the loss of Negapatam might easily have been borne. Still they were not without an injurious influence. But the moral causes which had long been bringing on the decline of the East India company, were more dangerous than the political; and there can be no doubt, that even without the latter, the company would not have escaped bankruptcy.

As further causes of the decline of the company in this period, (see p. 204,) we must consider: 1. The great massacre of the Chinese on Java, 1740, under the pretence of a conspiracy. 2. The loss of the Indian coasting trade, both in India itself, and to Persia and Arabia, by the rivalry of the English. 3. The continued bad regulations made with respect to navigation. 4. Above all, the war with England and the loss of Negapatam.

Considération sur l'état présent de la Compagnie Hollandaise des Indes Orientales, par M. LE BARON D'IMHOF, ci-devant Général-Gouverneur. 1741. Published as an Appendix to

DUBOIS, *Vies des Gouverneurs, etc.*, vol. i. p. 287.

47. The Dutch West Indies, possessed of greater commercial freedom and a different constitution, suffered much less from the evils which afflicted the mother country. The colony of Surinam was in a very flourishing condition from the middle of the century; and the islands of Cu-
1767. raçao and St. Eustace were frequently, during the wars of the other maritime powers, the marts of the West Indies, while the republic preserved a neutrality. Here it was that the war with England inflicted the most incurable wounds, and prepared the dissolution of the company, which had been renewed in 1674.

Some changes took place in the possession of Surinam, as the West India company (p. 164) sold two-thirds of it to Amsterdam, and the family of Sommelsdyk, but the latter again relinquished its portion to Holland, in 1770. The Surinam company, however, who were the proprietors of the island, never possessed more than the government and the right of levying taxes; the trade was open to all the Dutch. In

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its most flourishing state, 1750—1780, the annual value of its produce amounted to about eight millions of guilders.

Statistische Beschriebung des Besitzungen der Holländer in Amerika, vom PROF. LUEDER. 1792. The first part, all that has been published, only comprises Surinam.

48. The Spanish colonies suffered much less than the others by the rivalries and wars of the mother states. The islands were the most difficult to attack; and the immense regions of the continent of America were secured by their size. Though the regular trade with the mother country was interrupted by the wars, the contraband, on the contrary, proceeded, and even increased. The quiet internal prosperity seems to have been little affected by them. Spain.

Conquest of Porto Bello, 1740, and especially of Havannah, 1762, by the English, were the only losses of any consequence to the Spaniards during this period. Both cities were restored at the peace.—By the possession of the small islands Annobon and Fernando Po, which Portugal ceded to her in 1778, Spain acquired possessions in Africa for carrying on the slave trade.

49. The extent of their American possessions were but little changed. For Florida, first relinquished (see p. 247) and afterwards recovered, (see p. 284,) Louisiana (see p. 297) had already afforded an equivalent; but its deserts were regarded as a security against the smuggling trade with New Mexico. The ancient settlements still continued the most important, and their internal increase in connexion with their extent, now rendered new political divisions and regulations necessary.

The new political division of Spanish America was settled by the regulation of 1777, and the erection of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, and the government of New Mexico; New Grenada with Quito having been already, in 1739, raised into a distinct vice-royalty. From this time there were four *Vireynatos* (vice-royalties): 1. New Spain (Mexico). 2. Peru. 3. New Grenada. 4. Rio de la Plata and Buenos Ayres. Besides which, there were, independent of these, the *capitanias generales:* 1. Mexico. 2. Guatimala. 3. Chili. 4. Caraccas. 5. Cuba and Havannah. 6. Porto Rico. 7. Louisiana, (ceded 1801,) and Florida (ceded 1821). 8. Domingo (ceded 1797). After the cession of Louisiana, Florida was attached to Cuba. The number of the *Audiencias* was augmented to ten. (See p. 54.)

(RANDEL), *Neuere Staatskunde von Spanien.* II. Theil. Berlin, 1787. Compiled with much care and judgment, from the best authorities.

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50. Of far greater importance still, were the new commercial regulations, which, after the deliverance of Spain from the *assiento* treaty, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, knocked off at once the old fetters by which trade had been encumbered. The mother country retained, indeed, the exclusive right to trade with the colonies; but both this, and the trade of the colonies with one another, were arranged on more liberal principles.

American commerce advanced, step by step, to freedom. The galleons ceased as early as 1748, (see p. 58,) and single ships were subsequently introduced, (register ships,) sailing to South America, at no fixed time, from Cadiz, whither the trade had been transferred from Seville, in 1726.—In 1765, the trade to the Spanish West India islands was opened to all Spaniards, and from nine Spanish harbours, in consideration of a duty of only six per cent.—This liberty was extended, in 1779, to Buenos Ayres, to Peru, Chili, Santa Fé, and Guatimala. The fleet still continued to sail to Mexico (p. 58); and did not even obtain a freedom, restricted to six thousand tons importation, till 1786. But the most important relief of all was, the diminution of all duties by the new tariffs of 1778 and 1784.—The trade of the American colonies among themselves had already been thrown open by the regulation of of 1774.—A regular communication with the mother country was maintained by packet boats; and posts were established throughout all Spanish America.

The Bourbons have caused no collection of colonial laws to be compiled, as the house of Hapsburg did (see p. 53 sqq.). BOURGOING, *Voyage en Espagne*, tom. ii., is here the principal authority (see p. 263).

51. These new arrangements extended also to the Asiatic possessions, the Philippines. Their trade to America was, indeed, still carried on by the galleons to Manilla, (see p. 85,) but to promote a direct intercourse with Spain, a Philippine company was established, which did not, however, meet with all the success that was expected.

The company of the Philippines was formed May 10, 1785, by shareholders, especially of the old Caraccas company, now broken up. The ships went by way of Peru to Manilla, and returned to Spain by way of the Cape. Manilla made a free port, with freedom of trade to Asia.—Court cabals and wars soon palsied the activity of the company.

Crome, *über die Spanische Handlungscompagnie der Philippinen*, in WOLTMANN, *Geschichte und Politik*. 1800, 3 vols.

52. It can hardly be denied, that the colonies gained more by these regulations than the mother country. The latter, it is true, still remained the channel through which they must obtain the produce of foreign industry; but then their own productions had increased and multiplied at a

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most extraordinary rate. With commerce, too, the circle of ideas had become expanded; and the science and growing intelligence of modern Europe, found an easy and happy welcome, which the hierarchy and inquisition were unable to repress.

53. The changes in the colonial affairs of Portugal arose in part from her quarrels with Spain, but far more from the administration of Pombal. Her colonial policy became, in general, more concentrated in Brazil. With regard to her possessions in Asia and Africa, (Madeira excepted,) she could not even conceal from herself, that they were every day becoming more insignificant. **Portugal.**

The contest with Spain arose respecting the colony of St. Sacrament, (see p. 164,) and its smuggling trade; especially since the colony, with its territory, had been ceded to Portugal by the peace of Utrecht, 1713. A compact, made in 1750, respecting the exchange of this colony for seven Spanish missions to the Indians of Paraguay. This gave rise to a dispute with the Jesuits, the founders of the missions, and was opposed by the Indians. The compact was annulled, 1761, and new altercations arose, which finally plunged Spain into a war, 1777. Capture of St. Sacrament and the island St. Catharine. In the peace, St. Sacrament was secured to Spain, but St. Catharine was restored. An exact settlement of boundaries between Brazil and Spanish America, was adjusted to the advantage of Portugal, Oct. 1, 1777. The attempt to found a kingdom in Paraguay has been unjustly charged to the Jesuits. How could extensive missions exist, unless conducted as theirs were?

54. The regulations introduced by Pombal, relative to Brazil, had their foundation partly in his political system, partly in his hatred of the higher nobility and the Jesuits. The confiscation of the property of the great families there, as crown lands, was intended to mortify the former, and secure Brazil to the crown. By the erection of privileged commercial companies, commerce was to be regulated, and taken from the Jesuits. Greater evils were to do away the smaller! Yet, in spite of these measures, agriculture seems still to have flourished in Brazil, as the exports were always increasing.

Brazil was politically divided into nine governments, six of which were on the coast: 1. Rio Janeiro; 2. Bahia; (the two most important;) 3. Pernambuco; 4. St. Paulo; 5. Maranhao; 6. Gran Parà; and three in the interior: 7. Matto Grosso; 8. Goyas; and, 9. Minas Geraes; all three abounding in gold, and the last in precious stones. Each had its own governor, who was immediately under the crown. Some contained subdivisions.

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The trade with Brazil, hitherto open to all the Portuguese, was carried on under the protection of four squadrons, to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, and Maranhao with Gran Parà. Instead of this, formation of the commercial company of Maranhao with Gran Parà, chartered, June 6, 1756; and on the same plan the company of Pernambuco and Paraiba, July 30, 1759. Principal regulations: 1. The capital of both to be raised by shares. 2. Each to have its supreme board of directors (*Junta*) in Lisbon. 3. Each to have the whole trade, both to export and import, of their respective provinces (that of Pernambuco with the exception of two or three ports). 4. Their business to be strictly wholesale.—On the other hand, the fleets to Rio Janeiro and Bahia were abolished, and the trade thrown open, Sept. 22, 1765; (so also to Angola, 1758, and to Mozambique from India.) Several lucrative branches of the trade were, however, monopolized by the crown.—The consequences of the entire emancipation of the natives, in 1755, cannot be determined.

The complete charters of the two companies in the *Collecçao*, etc., (see p. 263,) vol. i., *ad annum* 1755 and 1759. That of the company of Pernambuco is almost verbatim a repetition of the previous one of Maranhao.—The law for the emancipation of the Indians in Maranhao, June 6, 1755, (extended so as to comprehend all Brazil, May 8, 1758,) *Collecçao*, vol. i., recites the former ordinances on the subject from 1570, especially those of 1647 and 1680, which it repeats word for word, and complains of the little good they had done.

Denmark.

55. The northern states also continued to take a part in colonies and colonial trade. The possessions of Denmark in the West Indies remained, indeed, the same, (see p. 206,) but their culture increased, and the wars of other nations frequently made their harbours staple places of the highest importance.

A Danish West India company was formed, 1734, with exclusive commercial privileges for the whole of the Danish West Indies. Upon its dissolution, in 1764, the trade was thrown open.

56. In the East Indies Denmark still kept possession of Tranquebar, and the East India Company, whose charter had been renewed, carried on a successful trade, both with India and China. Without even a pretension to aggrandizement, it had nothing to fear from the envy of the powerful.

After the downfal of the old company, 1730, a new one was chartered, 1732, with funds partly permanent, partly transferable. Their patent (renewed, 1772) extended only to China, and not to India, which was open to all, under certain conditions. New regulation; and the company relieved by the cession of their Indian possessions to the crown, 1777.

Geschichte des Privathandels und der jetzigen Verfassung der Besit-

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zungen der Dänen in Ostindien, von A. Hennings. Hamb. 1785, 8vo. (Oder: *Gegenwärtiger Zustand der Europäer in Ostindien.* Erster Thiel.) Compiled from original documents.

57. In Sweden the company instituted at Gottenbürg (see p. 206,) carried on an advantageous Indian trade, yet almost exclusively to China. In the West Indies, also, Sweden obtained a firm footing, by procuring the island of St. Bartholomew from France. Sweden.

The charter of the East India Company was renewed, 1747, 1766, and 1786, each time for twenty years. St. Bartholomew was obtained in exchange for commercial concessions, July 1, 1784.

58. Even distant Russia not only participated in the Chinese trade, by means of caravans, but after the discovery of the Kurili and Aleutian islands, carried on hunting, and established a trade in peltry there, which led at last to settlements on the coasts of North America, and the erection of a commercial company for this particular object. Russia, 1741.

An intercourse was opened with China as early as 1692, by Peter I., of which Kiachta became the principal seat. This trade remained a monopoly of the crown, till it was thrown open by Catharine II., in 1762.

59. Where can we find a more interesting subject for contemplation than in this spread of European dominion over half Asia, nearly all America, and the coasts of Africa and Australia? Though lust of gain may have been its first object, yet it was acquired, and has been since maintained, by intellectual superiority. If the barbarians still remained barbarians, the Europeans, at least, preserved their civilization, even beyond the Atlantic. Their creations have prospered too well—the seeds of cultivated intelligence have been scattered too widely, and have taken too firm root, to leave any fear of their future decay, however various may be their fate on the different soils on which they have been sown. Who can conceive the ultimate effect of all this? What mind can penetrate the boundaries of the immense prospect it has opened to our view?

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THIRD PERIOD.

From 1740 *to* 1786.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

For want of a general history of the north, we must mention here, at the beginning,

Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne et du démembrement de cette république, par Cl. Rhulhiere. Paris, 1807, 4 vols. 8vo. Conf. the critique of Dupont de Nemours, in *Europ. Annalen.* 1812, St. 8, 9. It goes down to the first partition of Poland, 1772. Properly a leading work only for the history of the Poles, but important for that of the whole north; compiled from actual observation. In this respect a capital work; but the perfect historian is not formed in the great world alone.

The *Œuvres posthumes de Frederic II.* apply to particular facts.

1. The north of Europe stood, during this period, after the aggrandizement of Russia, in a closer connexion with the west than formerly; but, except the period of the seven years' war, its influence was rather of a diplomatic than military character. Notwithstanding, therefore, that we have been compelled to glance occasionally at the north in the foregoing period, it still requires its own separate history.

2. The relations of the north certainly, from this time, depend in a great measure upon Russia, but in a very different manner during the first half of this period to what they do in the last. The accession of Catharine II. forms the epoch; and the period naturally divides itself into two sections, before and after that event.

I. *From* 1740 *to the accession of Catharine II.*, 1762.

3. In this period the north of Europe offers, in a political respect, a perfect contrast with the former. Not a single prominent character appears, either on the throne, in the cabinet, or in the field. Personal interests and passions,

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frequently of the most detestable kind, decided respecting the foreign, no less than the domestic relations of the states. While the leading empire was vegetating under an indolent, but on that account a no less cruel despotism, anarchy was organized in the two bordering monarchies.

1. RUSSIA. After the short but stormy reign of the minor, Ivan the third, from Oct. 28, 1740, to Dec. 6, 1741, a revolution raised Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter I., to the throne. Her sway, (till Jan. 5, 1762,) beginning with the fall of foreigners, (see p. 220,) seemed about to bring back the empire to its ancient state of barbarism. Foreign affairs, divided between the privy councillor Lestoc and Count Bestuchef Riumin, chancellor of the empire, after the overthrow of the former, (Nov. 13, 1748,) came wholly under the management of the latter, till he also (Feb., 1755) prepared his own fall. The state subsisted, because it could not fall asunder; and was imposing, not by its spirit, but by its mass.

Respecting Lestoc and Bestuchef, see BÜSCHING'S *Magazin*, 1768, B. ii. Russia, N. 3, 4.

2. SWEDEN, under the reign of Frederic of Hesse, († 1751,) and yet more under his successor Adolphus Frederic, was rather an aristocracy than a monarchy; and the civil broils fomented among the various factions of the nobility, by the rankling hatred of Russia, seemed teeming with danger in a state where actual poverty made foreign subsidies so acceptable. Thus this kingdom became an instrument, as it were, in the hands of the foreign power who could pay most. And as for the factions of Syllenborg and Horn—of the *hats* and the *caps*, as they called themselves—though in principle the former was for war and the latter for peace, yet amid the various changes which took place, they became nothing more than a French and anti-French party.

DES GRAFEN R. F. ZU LYNAR *hinterlassene Staatsschriften*. Hamburg, 1793, 2 vols. 8vo. Under 1, 3, 4, and 7, they give by far the best account respecting the internal relations of Sweden during this period; which is perfectly confirmed by FLASSAN'S accounts.

3. POLAND, under Augustus III. and Brühl, (p. 208,) was the image of anarchy at rest, as Sweden was of anarchy in action. To the people misery, to the nobles pleasures had become necessary. And matters of state were among these pleasures, while they were managed by ladies. Among a people so enervated, the Czartorinskies and Branickies were able to form their projects and parties, without fear or trouble. Without attachment to Russia, but crouching under its feet, Poland possessed scarcely the shadow of liberty. As it could not protect itself, France and the Porte seemed to be its natural guardians: but even the alliance of France with Austria (and consequently with Russia) was insufficient to arouse them from their lethargy; and foreign influence, (additionally supported by the political relations of Courland, see p. 221,) notwithstanding all that a Williams or Broglio could do, was able to form nothing more than projects. Relations of a very different kind from those of policy were to decide the future destinies of Poland, after the youthful Poniatowski (nephew of Prince Czartorinski) was introduced

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by the councillor Williams into the grand duke's court at St. Petersburg, where he formed an alliance for himself.

4. DENMARK, without a rival after the fall of Sweden, was, under Christian VI. (Sept. 15, 1746) and Frederic V., (Jan. 14, 1766,) sufficiently happy in being able to retire within itself. Even the Russian cabinet, under Elizabeth, owing to the political relations with Sweden, made the preservation of its friendship with Denmark a maxim of state policy. Under these circumstances, what was wanting to complete the security of the latter power, had not the ancient feuds with Holstein-Gottorp still disturbed its prospects of the future?

5. For PRUSSIA, see above, page 271.

4. The period commenced, even under the empress Anne, with a Swedish-Russian war, (after the victory of the Syllenborg party at the imperial diet,) which was privately fomented by France, in order that she might not be thwarted in her designs upon Austria, by the intervention of Russia. Sweden actually expected to recover the lost provinces on the Baltic, including St. Petersburg! The war, however, though conducted with very ill success to Sweden, was nevertheless terminated by the peace at Abo, much more to her advantage than she could have dared to hope for. A more lasting peace with Russia, was not purchased too dearly at the expense of conceding the election of a successor, and a new adjustment of the boundary line in Finland. But the spirit of faction was not therefore destroyed, as it found perpetual encouragement and support in the machinations of France and Russia, the one power endeavouring to overthrow, the other to preserve the existing constitution.

Sweden declares war on Russia, Aug. 4, 1741; loses the battle at Willemstrand, Sept. 2, and then all Finland, for which two generals, Lewenhaupt and Buddenbrok, suffer on the scaffold. Peace concluded at Abo, Aug. 17, 1743. Conditions: 1. The Kymen made the boundary, by which Petersburg is made secure. 2. Adolphus Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp, according to Elizabeth's wish, is appointed next successor to the crown of Sweden.

5. The choice, however, which Elizabeth made, shortly after she came to the throne, of her future successor, had a considerable influence, not only on Russia, but on the northern states in general. The person she fixed on was her nephew, the young Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, Charles Peter Ulrich, who, by birth, had an equally near prospect of succeeding to the Swedish throne, which, however, he resigned in favour of his cousin Adolphus Frederic. The opening

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of such splendid prospects to a collateral branch of the house of Holstein, must have been an additional cause of apprehension to the direct reigning line in Denmark, because the young duke did by no means, in his new hopes, lose the deepest sense of the old grievances of his house. The consequence was, a long series of negotiations for adjusting the ancient contests concerning Holstein and Sleswick, which left policy the lesson how dangerous it is to attempt to execute even the most useful projects at an unseasonable time.

The history of these protracted negotiations is given at large in, *Staatsschriften des Grafen zu Lynar.* Th. i. No. 6.

6. But after Frederic's appearance on the scene, the affairs of the west occupied the Russian cabinet, far more than the affairs of Russia itself. The question was not, whether the interest of Russia was to be espoused, but whether that of Prussia or of Austria. After the fall of Lestoc, the Austrian party was triumphant, to which not 1748. only Bestuchef, (for thus only could subsidies be obtained from England,) but Elizabeth herself—it may be doubted if she knew why—was devoted.

Russia made an alliance with Austria, June 12, 1747, and a subsidiary treaty with England, for hastening the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. (See p. 235.)

7. Whether the increase of Prussia threatened danger to Russia was a problem for speculative politics; but the continued alliance with Austria and Saxony, which eventually led to an eager participation in the seven years' war, (p. 242,) was not viewed from so high a point. Though Russia, in the end, derived no aggrandizement from this war, it nevertheless first established in the west the renown of Russian arms; just as Sweden, by an equally impolitic participation, lost its fame; and while all the power of Russia was turned to this object, the Porte not only saw itself meanwhile secured, but even Poland could enjoy a kind of fallacious quiet, that prepared its fall.

8. But this eager participation against Prussia created in the court itself such a division, that, in all probability, nothing but the fall of the perfidious Bestuchef prevented a revolution, which he himself was de- 1758. sirous of producing. Three characters, so different in their

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principles and views as Elizabeth, Peter, and his young wife Catharine, could not live in harmony. Elizabeth died opportunely, not only for Frederic, but perhaps also for herself.

Jan. 6, 1762.

Biographie Peter's des Dritten; Tübingen, 1808, 2 Theile.—The first volume illustrates the history before his accession with discernment and love of truth.

9. It was easy to foresee a total change of political relations under her successor, Peter III. He ascended the throne, in ill humour at the treatment he had received, enthusiastic for Frederic, and exasperated against Denmark. Yet, notwithstanding his alliance with the former, (p. 245,) his projects against Denmark might have met with great difficulties in the execution. But after a reign of hardly six months, a revolution precipitated him from the throne into the grave; and with his successor Catharine II. a new order of things began.

July 9.

Histoire de la Révolution de Russe en 1762, par RHULIERE.—This work could not be printed till after Catharine's death.—It is also annexed to the *Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne*, tom. iv. Though not free, perhaps, from single inaccuracies, it is still the leading work.

II. *From the accession of Catharine II. to the alliance with Joseph II.*, 1762—1787.

A good biography of Catharine would almost form a complete history of this period. Till we obtain which, we must be content with,

Histoire de Catharine II. Impératrice de Russie, par J. CASTERA. Tom. i.—iii. Paris, An VIII. Respecting the history of the court and other single topics, the author or authors give good information.

1762—1787.

10. The accession of Catharine evidently constituted a new epoch, not only for Russia, but for the north in general. The ratification of the separate peace (though not of the alliance) with Prussia (p. 245) altered the relations of the north, by severing the alliance with Austria and leaving Catharine free scope.

11. It is of great importance to seize rightly the prevailing ideas in the policy of this princess. Even great historians have spoken of the dictatorship which she exercised or wished to exercise in Europe. But although her diplomacy encircled all Europe, she yet knew how to separate

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most accurately her sphere of practical influence. This embraced only the contiguous nations, the north and the Porte, and never exceeded these limits. Even personal affronts could urge her no further. Much of her greatness may be merely conventional; that her policy grew nobler with the progress of time, no one has maintained; but history will not deny her the rare honour, of having correctly estimated the strength of her dominions.

The indolent, and yet indispensable, Count Panin, was the minister of foreign affairs till 1781. But his influence was often outweighed by that of the favourite, Prince Gregory Orloff.

12. What a field for her projects was offered by her neighbours; Sweden, Poland, the Porte, in a state of anarchy, and all the other powers exhausted! Under the name of a great Northern Alliance, comprehending also Prussia and England, the principality of Russia was to be established; but soon forsaking such projects, she found in Poland the real theatre for her exertions. Its geographical situation must, of itself, have produced the various relations in which it stood with regard to the other powers.

13. What did Russia need in Poland, but the continuance of the existing anarchy? Under the pretence of preserving its liberty and constitution, a dominion could be founded, for which the nation had, as yet, to be grateful. The occupation of Courland had originally occasioned the altercation; but the vacancy of the throne, occasioned by the death of Augustus III., brought matters to a crisis. Oct. 5, 1763.

Prince Charles was driven from Courland, and Biron was again put in possession, 1763.

14. To give a king to Poland was now the decided wish of Catharine, although the final elevation of her former favourite was the work of her minister, rather than herself. To give Poland a king! how much did such a proposition include, when Frederic, and Maria Theresa, and Mustapha were to be the spectators, and France left unnoticed! What obstacles were to be surmounted in Poland itself, unless the decision was to be immediately effected by the bayonet! There was here no want of men of courage and experienced age. But what could individuals do, if the great body of the people, listening to no reason, regarded foreign tyranny

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as more tolerable than domestic sway? Thus could the crafty favourite of the empress open an avenue, by which the imperious Repnin soon attained his object, and the finely conceived plans of reform of the Czartorinskies were frustrated. Stanislaus Poniatowsky was elected under Russian arms.

Sept. 7, 1764.

15. No power could be more interested in these proceedings than Prussia. But Frederic, without allies, and the foe of Austria, solicited Russia's alliance; in return for which he was ready to sacrifice Poland. Though perhaps his situation excused this policy, the danger and degradation of which did not escape him, there is yet a limit of compliance which egotism itself does not readily exceed. That Frederic suffered the continuance of the Polish anarchy to be expressly made a condition, was a humiliating circumstance, which posterity cannot pardon in a hero. Yet this great man was not wholly untrue to himself. He did not, at least, conceal from Poland, that it had nothing to expect from him.

A treaty of alliance was signed between Russia and Prussia, April 11, 1764. The conditions were, a mutual defence and guarantee of all European possessions.—The preservation of the constitution of Poland was the subject of a secret article.

16. If this alliance settled the fate of Poland, and perhaps that of the whole north, Prussia now wanted nothing but a pretext for acquiring permanent dominion in Poland. This was soon discovered in the case of the *Dissidents.* By protecting them, a party was soon formed, and the reputation of being tolerant secured at the same time. But the dullest eye could not but perceive, that this was much less the object than the foundation of despotic power. It was not, therefore, blind fanaticism which impelled the patriotic party to resist; but its leaders, Soltik, Krasinsky, and Pulaski, men of exalted character, stirred up fanaticism, because they found their support in that alone. Even Catharine was apparently very desirous to produce it, as she soon demanded not merely toleration, but political equality for the dissidents.

Though the toleration of all dissidents (those who were not Catholics) was effected, yet the political equality could only refer to the dissident nobles, who were few in number. They themselves had asked

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no more than toleration. The Russian requisitions were declined, Nov. 1766.

17. Through the instrumentality of Repnin, June, 1737. a general confederacy was formed at Radom, by the union of the dissidents and other discontented persons, under Radzivil, who till now had been the enemy of the Russians and the king; and a diet was soon Oct., 1767. after convened at Warsaw. The adoption of the new laws, perpetuating the rights of the dissidents, and all the evils of the constitution, under the guarantee of Russia, was effected by force; but not till the bishops Soltik and Zaluski, and the Rzevuskies were arrested in Warsaw and sent to Siberia. Such men even a Repnin was unable to bend!

18. And yet they had miscalculated; because it had not been taken into consideration, that despair does not calculate at all. A counter-confederacy was formed at Feb., 1768. Bar, prepared by Bishop Krasinsky, and completed by Pelaski and Potocki. The object of the confederates now was the change of their union into a general confederacy for the dethronement of the king, who, always inclining to the Russian side, could never have gained the confidence of such a party. But a war, marked with all the cruelties of devastation, must first have opened them the way; and they soon had to experience how little the highest courage, unless fortune and numbers give it the superiority, can effect against a methodical art of war.

19. One hope, however, remained; and it was not delusive! The policy of the Porte had not altered, like that of the Christian courts. If the latter believed it necessary to yield, in the divan the old idea still survived, to allow no Russian army in Poland. The evacuation of Poland had always been, therefore, the constant demand of the Porte from Russia; and nothing but the gross ignorance of the divan would have made it possible to deceive it so long. The requisitions of the confederates and the influence of France finally prevailed. The Porte Oct. 30, 1768. declared war on Russia.

20. Thus the theatre expanded of itself, and peace could hardly be expected without great changes in the north. It was purchased at last by a six years' contest, which taught

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Catharine what she could do in the cabinet and in the field. Austria and Prussia quietly looked on; while Frederic paid his stipulated subsidies.

21. The war proceeded on land and sea. New and bold plans were projected for penetrating beyond the Danube; for urging the Greeks to rebellion; for despatching a squadron from the Baltic to the Archipelago, and menacing the capital; for contracting alliances in Egypt, in order to detach it from the Porte;—and all were executed, but only in part. A peace of almost thirty years had lulled the energies of the Porte; but a Romanzoff had first to be formed among the Russians.

Campaign on the Dniester, under Gallizin, against the allied Turks and Tartars, 1769, with little success. Possession was taken of Choczin, which had been abandoned, Sept. 9.—Romanzoff was invested with the command, who subdued Moldavia, after the victory on the Pruth, July 18, 1770; and Walachia after the greater victory on the Kagul, Aug. 1. Bender was conquered by Panin, Sept. 1.—Meanwhile, the Russian fleet under Alexis Orloff made its appearance in the Archipelago, obtained a victory at Scio, July 5, and burned the Turkish fleet at Tchesme, July 16, without making any further use of the victory.—In the following campaign of 1771, a defensive war was waged on the Danube; the Crimea was conquered by Dolgoruky. A connexion was formed with the then victorious Ali Bey in Egypt. The year 1772 elapsed with fruitless negotiations between Romanzoff and the grand vizier at Foczani and Bucharest.—Separate treaty made with the Tartars in the Crimea. The war renewed 1773. Romanzoff crossed the Danube; made a useless siege of Silistria, and retreated across the river. —Ali Bey was defeated and taken prisoner in Egypt, May 7.

A clear light is shed over Romanzoff's campaign by the well known correspondence, in their own hand-writings, between the empress and him.

Respecting the revolution attempted by Ali Bey:

(LOUSIGNAN) *Histoire de la Révolution d'Ali Bey.* Tom. i. ii. 1783; and the accounts of VOLNEY in his *Voyage en Syrie et en Ægypte.*

22. But although Catharine was fortunate in not being interrupted in her undertakings by the participation of other powers, her attention was nevertheless engaged by affairs of another kind, partly in the interior of her own empire,
1771. and partly in the neighbouring states. A deso-
1773. lating pestilence spread to Moscow; and the insurrection of a common Cossack, Pugatschef, who gave himself out for Peter III., employed an important part of her troops, and even threatened to shake her throne. But in two neighbouring kingdoms two most opposite revo-

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lutions were taking place at the same time; in Sweden contrary to, in Poland according to, her wishes.

23. The Swedish revolution, produced by Gustavus III., preserved the independence of this kingdom. The violent factions of the nobility, led on solely by family interests and foreign influence, offer a much more disgusting aspect than those of Poland. Not even a mistaken feeling of patriotism; not even single eminent characters; nothing but the weakness of the two former kings could have allowed such a state of things to continue. But in one respect, Sweden was superior to Poland; it still had a class of free citizens and peasants; and in this consisted the possibility of its salvation.

After the victory of the *Hats* in the diet of 1738, (p. 305,) this party, and with it the influence of France, (subsidiary treaty, Nov. 10, 1738; renewed 1747 and 1754,) maintained themselves till the diet of 1762. When France could or would pay nothing more, the *Caps* triumphed, and the Anglo-Russian influence began. A treaty was made with England, Feb. 5, 1766. But both parties, each in the time of its superiority, deemed it necessary to restrict the regal power; till in the diet extraordinary of 1769, France again purchased its influence, in the vain hope of alleviating Poland and the Porte, by exciting a war. King Adolphus Frederic died Feb. 11, 1771.

Compare Flassan, *Histoire*, (p. 3,) tom. v. p. 457, etc.

24. Gustavus III. appeared on the scene. He seemed to have derived much from Frederic, his grand-uncle; the quick-sighted eye of genius, elevation of mind, and every splendid talent. One thing only was wanting; that coolness of character, without which no man can become a great ruler. To remain in a state such as his, was for him impossible. The bloodless revolution, altogether his work, is also his greatest achievement; and was alike beneficial for himself and the kingdom. The states of the kingdom underwent no change, the council only was overturned.

The revolution broke out and was completed in Stockholm, Aug. 19, 1772; in understanding with France. The new constitution left the states their rights; the council of the kingdom was merely deprived of its share in the government. No aggressive war could be waged without the consent of the states.—It was not the fault of the constitution, if any thing was wanting to national happiness.

C. F. Sheridan's *History of the late Revolution in Sweden*. London, 1778, 8vo. The author was secretary to the English embassy in Stockholm. The work gives a clear and, for the most part, an impartial survey of the earlier internal relations, subsequent to 1720

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25. This restoration of the royal power in Sweden operated differently on the relations of the north in general. England beheld it with dissatisfaction, because France saw it with pleasure; the others had no objections; Russia alone had to feel it deeply, that no dominion could now be founded in Sweden as in Poland. But Catharine was sufficiently mistress of herself, to restrain her displeasure. She was too much occupied with other affairs.

The embarrassment of Frederic as guarantee of the Swedish constitution against Russia, was removed by the mediation of Austria; and his mediation again preserved the good understanding with Denmark, where, after Struensee's fall, Jan. 17, 1752, the widowed queen Juliana Maria had taken, for a short time, the administration into her own hands.

26. The fate of Poland drew near its decision in another way. The activity of the confederacy of Bar had not relaxed during the Turkish war; it had declared the throne vacant, and had dared to remove the king from his own residence. But the Porte had enough to do for itself: and the increasing preponderance of Russia finally seemed so dangerous to Austria also, that a further extension of the war seemed inevitable.

Nov. 3, 1771.

The Austrian cabinet was resolved not to permit the Russians to penetrate beyond the Danube, as was then meditated. Austria had also claimed and occupied the county of Zip, as formerly pledged to Poland.

Partition of Poland.

27. Under these circumstances, on occasion of a visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to Petersburg, a project was matured, to re-establish peace at the expense of Poland. Though Prince Henry and Catharine were its first authors, Frederic soon became its zealous advocate. Whatever share accident may have had in its origin is, on the whole, of less importance than the possibility of its being matured. Deep as public morals may sink, they can never sink so low, that the calmly concerted robbery of a neighbour should need any commentary. It was a fruit of the policy of aggrandizement and compactness of territory, proceeding from the divided situation of the Prussian monarchy.

Negotiations were entered upon respecting the first partition of Poland, at first between Prussia and Russia, and subsequently between Prussia and Austria. These negotiations were followed, Aug. 5, 1772, by the treaty of partition, in virtue of which, 1. Russia obtained the

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country between the Dwina, Dnieper, and Drutsch. 2. Austria, what was then East Galicia and Lodomiria. 3. Prussia, all Polish Prussia (except Dantzic and Thorn) and a part of Great Poland as far as the Netze; which boundaries were afterwards extended at will by Austria and Prussia. The three powers not only guaranteed mutually to each other what they had taken, but also guaranteed what remained after the partition, to Poland itself!

Mémoires et actes authentiques relatifs aux négociations, qui ont précédées le partage de la Pologne; tirés du portefeuille d'un ancien ministre du 18me siècle (le COMTE DE GOERTZ) 1810. From this source has been mostly drawn the narration in DOHM'S *Denkwürdigkeiten,* vol. i., and the additions in vol. ii., by which a clear light has been shed over the origin and progress of this deed of violence, of which Frederic, indeed, was not the author.

Vie privée, publique, et militaire, du Prince Henry de Prusse. Paris, 1809. This book gives a good account of the origin of the first Polish partition, as well as several contributions to the history of the progress of the system of connecting their territories among the great. The brother of Frederic had no other policy. He conferred quite as calmly with Joseph concerning the partition of Germany, as with Catharine concerning the partition of Poland.

28. The consent of the nation was extorted by force in the diet at Warsaw, after possession had already been taken. But Catharine was not willing to relinquish or divide her dominion in the rest of Poland; and who dared to contradict her? The erection of the perpetual council, and the guarantee of the kingdom as elective, together with the *liberum veto,* insured to her the lead, which, after Repnin's recall, ambassadors even of a much less determined character were able to take. As for the affair of the dissidents, it was, of course, left to shift for itself!

29. But what were the consequences to Poland, in comparison with those which threatened the political system of Europe? The potentates themselves had begun its subversion! Politicians consoled themselves, indeed, and so did Frederic, that the balance of power would be upheld in the north by the nearly equal division. So fearfully had the error taken root, that this is to be sought in the material power of the state, and not in the preservation of the maxims of international law. What dismemberment could be illegal, if this should be regarded as lawful? And what state could be more interested in maintaining the law of nations, than Prussia, a state which was itself conquered by piecemeal, and brought together by compacts and treaties of peace?

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30. This first Polish partition, in connexion with a successful campaign, facilitated the compromise between Russia and the Turks; since Catharine remitted her claims to Moldavia and Walachia, and the resolute Mustapha III. had been succeeded by his imbecile brother, Abdul-
Jan. 21, 1774. Hamid. The manner in which the peace was concluded at Kainardgé, near Silistria, without foreign mediation, fully proved that she could dictate the terms.

Romanzoff crossed the Danube a second time, and surrounded the grand vizier in the mountains of Bulgaria. A short negotiation was made in the Russian camp between Repnin and Achmet Effendi, and the peace was concluded at Kutschuk Kainardgé, July 21. Conditions: 1. The Tartars in the Crimea and in Cuban were to be independent under their khan. 2. The conquests, especially Moldavia and Walachia, were restored to the princes appointed by the Porte. Russia reserved, however, the right of taking an interest in their affairs at Constantinople. 3. Russia retained Kinburn and Azoph, as also in the Crimea, Jenikale and Kertsch with their districts, besides the greater and less Cabardia. 4. Commercial navigation was to be free in the Black Sea, and in all the Turkish seas. 5. Several arrangements were made respecting the prerogatives of the Russian ambassador to the Porte, the Russian consul, the imperial title, etc.

31. By this peace and the Polish partition, an order of things was established, which seemed merely a transition to further convulsions.—The alliance of Russia with Prussia continued in form; after the Swedish revolution, a secret alliance had been formed with Denmark; the as-
1773. cendency in Poland was confirmed; the relations with Sweden were very doubtful; those with the Porte very complicated. But what was the increase of the physical, compared with the moral power of Russia! After Catharine had succeeded in these great trials of her strength, she first learned to perceive what she was able to do. To enable her to make a full use of the strength of her vast empire, nothing was wanting but a methodical internal organization. For this also she found time. The new division into governments, and the whole administration founded on it, beneficial in many respects, was on that account no less suited to the masculine woman, who would herself be the efficient ruler.

32. It was about this time, that the new favourite Potemkin rose. Of the sparks of genius peculiar to the Titan race of the Orloffs, none seemed to have fallen on him; his

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impulses proceeded not so much from a desire of power and fame, as from avarice and the love of orders. At the side of a monarch capable of high and bold ideas, he flattered her; and supported by a degree of haughtiness adapted to his narrow-minded views, he acquired and maintained an influence, which determined the destinies of the north.

Potemkin (after 1776, a prince of the German empire) was the only one of Catharine's favourites, whose great political influence began after he had left the station of favourite. From 1778 to his death in 1791, he had almost the sole direction of foreign relations.

Potemkin der Taurier, in the *Minerva* of ARCHENHOLZ, in numbers, from April, 1797, to Dec., 1800. The well-informed author of this biography has not up to this time been contradicted in any essential point.

33. From this time the Grecian project received its form. To rear a Grecian empire on the ruins of the empire of the Ottomans, and to place a prince of her house on the new throne, was now the darling idea of Catharine. This scheme had been much advanced by the last war, and still more so by the last peace. The great difficulties which obstructed its accomplishment could not but be seen, but even these endowed it with greater charms in her eyes, and in the worst event, it seemed possible to remove them by a partition in the case of Turkey, as in that of Poland.

The correspondence, psychologically and physically interesting, of Catharine with ZIMMERMAN, contained in his *Verhaltnisse mit der Kaiserin von Markard*, 1803, contains (Lettre XXVI.) the confession of the empress herself on this subject. The origin and progress of this project has been best developed in DOHM's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. ii. Though the aged Münnich first gave the suggestion to Catharine, it was encouraged by VOLTAIRE in his *Tocsin des Rois*, and yet more in his letters to the empress.

34. This project was, however, and continued to be for a long time, a mere idea; and when a second war broke out with the Turks ten years after, insurmountable obstacles in the way of its execution were soon disclosed. But even as an idea, it had too great an influence to remain unnoticed. From this time, the Porte remained the aim of Russian policy; the dislike conceived against Sweden thus found another channel; the ancient domestic contest with Denmark (the subject of so long and fruitless negotiations, p. 306) was settled by an exchange and a present, and it determined its other relations with foreign countries.

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The ancient claims of Holstein-Gottorp were adjusted by the exchange of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst for the country of Holstein-Gottorp, June 1, 1773.—Oldenburg was conferred as a duchy on the younger line, as yet unprovided for, of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, July 14.

Leben des Grafen A. P. von Bernstor von v. EGGERS, 1800, gives the best account of this, as well as of Danish politics generally.

35. The alliance with Prussia, the work of Panin, now lost its importance; it afforded no assistance against the Turks, and the purpose for which it had been intended, was already attained. But without the acquiescence of England and the aid of Austria, it seemed impossible to put the grand project in execution; to gain them both was therefore the plan of Potemkin. The connexion with England was near a conclusion, when Panin by an armed
1780. neutrality (see p. 285) averted the stroke, which would have rendered him, as well as the Prussian alliance, unnecessary; and in the execution of this new project, a new career of glory was opened for Catharine, by which her ancient purpose was removed from her mind. But for that very reason, Potemkin did not lose sight of it, because he had nothing to gain from the armed neutrality.

36. If the conditions of the peace at Kainardgé, from their very nature, presaged a truce rather than a lasting peace, it was less to be doubted that, after politics had taken this direction, the principal thread of disputes would be broken off. The dominion of the Black Sea was apparently the necessary condition of the accomplishment of the leading plan; and this again implied the dominion of the Crimea and the contiguous countries. Thus the relations of this peninsula afforded materials for the demands of Russia, which at last terminated with its subjugation to Russian sway.

The Crimea and the plains of Cuban (Little Tartary) a remaining fragment of Ginghis Khan's vast empire, stood from 1441 each under its own khan, from the house of the conqueror. The khans were taken by Mahomed II., in 1474, under the protection of the Porte, which appointed the successors from the reigning house, without exacting tribute. In these nomads the Porte beheld faithful and powerful allies, devoted to it by religion and policy. How often was it assisted by their numerous armies of cavalry! To what indeed could their independence (stipulated of the Porte in the peace of 1774) lead, but to the establishment of a Russian principality, which was also provided for by the other conditions; and this principality led to complete subjection.

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Disputes arose with the Porte after the peace, but were allayed by the *Convention explicatoire*, March 10, 1779, by which the Porte acknowledged the khan Sahin Guerai, the protégé of Russia. New disputes arose, and the khan, banished by the Tartars themselves, was reinstated 1782. But the Crimea and Cuban were formally occupied in 1783, and incorporated into the Russian empire, in which transaction the Porte saw itself finally compelled to acquiesce by the treaty of Jan. 8, 1784. By this the river Cuban was agreed upon as the boundary; but most of the Tartars, exasperated and cruelly abused, left the country.

Mémoires du Baron de Tott, etc., (see p. 275,) and VON DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. ii. The monster Paul Potemkin caused thirty thousand Tartars to be massacred.

37. The immediate consequence of this peaceful conquest was the establishment of a navy on the Black Sea. Who would not now have expected the accomplishment of the chief project? But the building of the fleet cost time; and the intermediate events in the west, the Bavarian war of succession, the league of the princes, etc., admitted of no precipitation. The whole game of the political relations of the north seemed in general to disappoint almost all calculations, because it was so frequently determined by the personal conferences of the princes. Who was not attracted by Catharine's splendid court, and still more by herself? If Frederic did not attend in person, he at one time sent his second self, his brother Prince Henry, at another, the heir to his throne. Gustavus III. displayed the splendour of his genius; Joseph II. came to see; for Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a later journey was in reserve! The meeting of such talented princes could not be without consequences; but certainly they were not themselves able to calculate the results beforehand.

It is important for the history of politics to fix the dates of these meetings. Prince Henry's first journey, 1771. Consequence: The first partition of Poland. The second, 1776. Consequence: The confirmation of the alliance with Prussia by the second marriage of the heir to the Russian throne.—Perhaps the project was already started of a new division of Poland. Gustavus III. arrived in 1777. Consequence: Mutual distrust, afterwards leading to war. First meeting of Catharine and Joseph II. at Mohilow, and afterwards at Petersburg, 1780. Consequence: The subsequent alliance against the Porte was concerted, and the scheme for the exchange of Bavaria. The ensuing arrival of the crown prince of Prussia produced nothing but court festivals—and a friendship with the heir-apparent.

Ueber die Reise des Kronprinzen. VON DOHM, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. ii. in the Appendix to the first part.

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38. After Joseph's visit, therefore, Russian policy obtained a fixed direction. The alliance with Prussia was weakened, and that with Austria formed anew. If the armed neutrality kept England aloof, the other leading states were gained by advantageous treaties of commerce; who could contract them like Russia? Potemkin's political influence now rose to its zenith; the consequences were the disputes respecting the Crimea and its subjugation (see above). To protect the new conquests required a numerous army; and while Potemkin, raised to the dignity of field-marshal, was appointed at the same time governor-general of Taurida, he became possessed of a civil and military power, which may at other times have been taken, but has seldom been granted.

Of the number of treaties of commerce that Catharine then concluded, we must mention: that with Denmark, Oct. 19, 1782 (regulating among other things the duties in the Sound to be paid by Russia); with Austria, Nov. 12, 1785; (the privileges of the most favoured nations were mutually accorded; a tariff was made for Hungarian wines, for Russian leather, peltry, etc.;) but above all with France, Jan. 11, 1787, (see p. 277,) by which the jealousy of England was excited. They all contained a repetition of the maxims of the armed neutrality.

39. Nothing was wanting but the actual inspection of the empress herself, to give to the new conquest its full importance in the eyes of herself and the world. Catharine's famous journey to Taurida, similar in its pomp to a triumphant procession, was at the same time a homage done to Potemkin. But it was rendered more important by the consummation of the alliance with Austria, for Joseph II. hastened in his travelling carriage to meet her.

Jan. to June, 1787.

40. The Tauridian (for Catharine rewarded her favourites after the Roman fashion) thus saw his plans near their accomplishment. Though the conditions of the alliance that was concluded remained a secret, the consequences soon disclosed its reality. Whether a war against the Porte was formally concerted may be doubtful, but all preparations were made; and Potemkin, by diplomatic skill, took care that the Porte, notwithstanding its apathy, should soon be the first to declare against Russia.

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The general opinion that it was concerted has been denied by SEGUR, *Hist. de Fred. Guill. II.*, Catharine's travelling companion. But did the French ambassador know all that was concerted?

41. In this way a storm was prepared against the Porte, which seemed to forebode its overthrow. But never were the calculations of human foresight more signally disappointed. Many, who imagined themselves strong, lay in the dust; and the state devoted to destruction rose in pride over the ruins of Europe.

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THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE DEATH OF FREDERIC THE GREAT AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE, TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE IMPERIAL THRONE OF FRANCE AND THE RESTORATION OF THE LIBERTY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EUROPE. 1786—1820.

1. THOUGH the death of Frederic the Great was not an event that constituted a general epoch, it was, however, immediately followed by those great convulsions of states, which gave the ensuing period a character so different from the former. The contemporary world, which lived in it, calls it the revolutionary; but it is as yet too early to decide with what name it will be denoted by posterity, after the lapse of a century. Probably the constitutional; for the struggle after regular but free constitutions, is the thread that guides us through the whole confusion. But who will thus early determine to what end this struggle may at last lead? whether, as is to be hoped, to regular monarchical or republican constitutions, or to autocratic governments? The elements of either exist in abundance. The most desirable at all times, will be a diversity of constitutions adapted to the character and wants of the people. That the same thing is not and will not be suited to all, none but the most short-sighted can deny.

2. The attempts which had been hitherto made to subvert the freedom of the European political system were unsuccessful. At the death of Frederic, the proud structure stood erect, apparently unshaken and firm; if an overthrow was feared, it was in the east, and not in the west. The times however were impending, in which it was to experience severer storms, and, after being thrown down, to rise again from its ruins. After the catastrophe, which disap-

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pointed all expectation, it may be easier to unravel its causes. But do not the elements of it lie already in the preceding investigations?

3. He who examines more minutely the interior of the leading states, cannot avoid remarking, that the constitutions of the majority of them had by no means continued to improve, but had rather outlived themselves. That of Spain, since the Cortes had ceased, rested on the inquisition and the Catholic religion; that of France, since the disappearance of the states-general, was an autocracy; but at war in itself, and already for a long time involved in a silent internal contest, by disputes with the parliament; that of the republic, always misshapen, now without support, was torn by factions; the German empire, burdened by its tardy forms, was hardly able to move; that of Prussia was an artificial administration, now deprived of its mainspring, but no constitution; that of Austria, where it had one, was plunged in a reform, which soon proved unsuccessful; Poland and the Porte were in acknowledged anarchy. The efforts of the rulers to obtain unlimited power had overthrown the old national freedom in all the states of the continent; the assemblies of the states had disappeared, or were reduced to mere forms; no where had they been modelled into a true national representation.

4. But the idea of it not only lived in theory, disseminated and fostered by the first writers of the day, but was seen permanently realized in a neighbouring happy island state. It could not therefore pass away from practical politics, and was necessarily, during the storms of the following period, the polar star, which was ever kept in view in all the aberrations of the times.

5. But it was not merely the relation of the rulers to their subjects, it was no less the relation of the states to each other, which had been altered with the gradual dissolution or transformation of the old feudal constitutions. How little did the present class of citizens, how little did the present nobility, resemble those of earlier times! Did the latter still form the nation, or only the principal constituent part of it? Could any one still contest the claims of the former to be regarded as a part of the nation? Did the nobility fulfil the obligations, under which they had ob-

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tained their great privileges? The more oppressive the burdens of the state became, the louder were the demands, that they should be borne equally by all. Thus in every convulsion, the privileged classes were threatened even more, perhaps, than the princes. And yet the ancient constitutions were founded on this very difference of classes.

6. For the strength of the states no other criterion was known than standing armies. And in reality there hardly was any other. By the perfection, which they had attained, and which made almost equal steps with the growing power of the princes, the line of partition was gradually drawn between them and the nation; they only were armed; the nations were defenceless. What remained but subjection, if the army should be routed and destroyed? Thus the days of Zama and Pydna might again return; and one battle decide the fate of mighty empires.

7. How much more forcibly does this observation apply, if we compare the military with the pecuniary resources, without which the former were utterly dead! And they were indeed almost dead for all practical purposes. Not a single state of the continent was able to wage a great war of any length with its own resources; subsidies or extortions of a new kind alone rendered it possible. The time had thus come, when the carrying of the system too far brought with it its own punishment. The fearful consequences of this difference must needs have been unfolded at the very first opportunity.

8. But if these political supports were in a tottering condition, the moral were no less shattered. The corner-stone of every political system, the sanctity of legitimate possession, without which there would be only one war of all against all, was gone; politics had already thrown off the veil in Poland; the lust of aggrandizement had prevailed. The unhappy error, encouraged by statistical writers, which places the strength of a state in its physical power, and estimates its increase by square miles, and the revenue in money, had taken deep root. If the system did not fall at once, it was prevented, not by the acknowledged maxims of international law, but by mutable relations. The indissoluble bond, connecting morals and politics, resulted in

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making egotism the prevailing principle of public as well as of private life.

9. And yet who does not see that a political system, in which pure egotism is the principle, is near its dissolution? above all, a system of states, so unequal as the European, which had been hitherto upheld only by alliances against the too powerful? Experience soon proved, that alliances, attended by sacrifices, were regarded as foolish by the several cabinets; and yet what are alliances without sacrifices?

10. But new maxims had not only become prevalent in the morals of the cabinets; new opinions also were diffused among the nations themselves, which were in opposition to the existing order of things. And do not all human institutions, states, and their constitutions, rest ultimately on opinion? After sophistical arguments in favour of popular sovereignty, as the basis of the state in general, and therefore of the monarchical state also, had been circulated by writers, they had received an apparent confirmation from the independence of North America; and the defenders of America transported them to Europe. Democratic ideas were thus spread and cherished in the midst of the monarchical system; the ready materials for a conflagration, far more formidable than their authors had anticipated, should a burning spark unhappily light upon them. Others had already taken care to profane the popular religion; and what remains sacred to the people, when religion and constitution are profaned?

11. In addition to this was the change of morals, proceeding from alterations that took place in social life among the higher and middle classes, which had a necessary reaction on the public. Instead of natural improvement, its aim was mere pastime; and what ought to have been recreation soon became a daily necessity in the establishment of clubs and similar societies of men. That the foundations of the state can be shaken by the forms of private life, no one seemed ever to suspect, while, with the exception of the relations of menial service, a social equality was introduced, which stood in direct contradiction with the inequality unavoidable in all monarchical states. Did not this tend immediately to dissolve the tenderest and the strongest ties?

Ueber den Einfluss und die Wirkungen des Zeitgeistes auf die höhern

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Stände Deutschlands: von E. BRANDES. 1810. A continuation of the work, *Betrachtungen ueber den Zeitgeist in Deutschland.* 1808.—A bitter but true delineation of the dark side of the age.

12. One peculiar feature of these social relations consisted in the formation of secret societies, which arose in most countries after the middle of this century, through the diffusion of freemasonry over the continent of Europe. Foreign as political objects are, or should be, from this society, it was nevertheless exposed to abuse, like every other institution, especially in countries where it was oppressed or persecuted. The dangers apprehended for the states did not proceed so much from freemasonry as from the other societies, which only imitated its form. Of this the society of the Illuminati gave the first striking proof in Germany.

The expression, secret society, denotes either a society which conceals its existence, and thus endeavours to withdraw from the inspection of the state. Such a one, though not always liable to punishment, is always exposed to suspicion. Or it denotes a society, which conceals, not its existence, but its tenets, by delivering them under the mask of symbols. Freemasonry belongs to the latter class. To the former it belongs in those places only, where, contrary to its legitimate destination, it attempts to continue as a society, against the prohibition of the state. But the mode of communicating its tenets is not sufficient to make the tenets themselves suspicious.

13. Added to all this was the turn that literature had taken in all the principal countries of Europe. It had become, in a higher degree, the literature of journals and gazettes, and could not but degenerate in proportion, not only as the number, but also (especially by means of the French Moniteur) as the size of the gazettes increased. The constant ferment in which their periodical appearance enabled them to keep the public mind, banished all interest for other subjects; they were alike the lever of policy and the means of guiding or misguiding public opinion; and thus it might ultimately come to pass, that the question of the preservation of the states was connected with that of the freedom of the press.

14. Threatening as these circumstances were, yet it seemed possible in the usual course of things for every thing to continue as it was; and no one had any presentiment of the impending catastrophe. But in this consisted the danger, that every thing in Europe was calculated for the usual

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state, while every thing was thrown out of its course, as soon as any unusual complication of circumstances took place.

15. The following period is naturally divided into three divisions, between which the peace of Campo Formio, (because, from this peace, after Catharine's death, begins the active participation of the north in the disputes of the west, which has subsequently closely united Europe into one political system,) the establishment, and the overthrow of the imperial throne of France, constitute the points of separation.

As a collection of documents besides the *Recueil* par M. DE MARTENS, (p. 2,) see especially,

Recueil des principaux traités, etc., conclus entre la République Française et les différentes Puissances de l'Europe, depuis 1792 *jusqu' à la paix générale*, (par G. GEBHARD,) P. i. ii. à Goettingue, 1796. P. iii. iv. à Hambourg et Paris, 1803.

A real practical history of the whole period is reserved for a later generation. The most perfect narrative of the events is to be found in,

F. SAALFELD, *Allgemeine Geschichte der neuesten Zeit, seit dem Anfange der Französischen Revolution:* in four divisions, each in two volumes, the last of which has not yet appeared.

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THIRD PERIOD.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From 1786 *to the Peace at Campo Formio,* 1797.

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

I. *Public Contests in Europe, to* 1797.

Histoire des principaux évènemens du regne de Fréderic Guillaume II., roi de Prusse; et tableau politique de l'Europe, depuis 1786 *jusqu'en* 1796, *contenant un précis des Révolutions de Brabant, de Hollande, de Pologne, et de France,* par L. P. Segur l'ainé; ex-ambassadeur. Paris, 1800, 3 vols.—The title itself shows that it is a general history of the period, attached to that of Frederic William II. The author was the royal French ambassador at Petersburg. The sections which respect the north are therefore of greater value. A prejudice against Prussia and England may naturally enough be expected; but it is, notwithstanding, one of the best works.

Among the German political journals, the most complete is, *das Politisches Journal,* (p. 227.) The richest in single interesting essays is, *Minerva,* von v. Archenholz, (3 vols. annually since 1793.)

16. Diversified in their origin as were the internal disturbances of the states during this period, there was always manifest in them a struggle after more free constitutions. Those forms of government which had prevailed hitherto, rested far more on ancient usage than written documents; but for this reason so much more violent must have been the shock of revolutions, for written constitutions never acquire stability till established by prescription. In policy, however, the simplest truths are generally acknowledged with the greatest difficulty; and this explains the erroneous presumption, that not only every thing can be fixed in the

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original document of a constitution, but also that nothing is necessary but its introduction, to secure its permanency.

17. Though the death of Frederic the Great, occurring in a period of profound quiet, produced no immediate perceptible consequences, as his successor retained his ministers, yet the chasm he left was far too great for those consequences not to disclose themselves soon. The chief relations of Europe had been formed by his mind, and maintained by his character; but the latter was inherited by his successor still less than the former. And Frederic had never formed a minister who was competent to take the direction.

18. The first deviation from the policy of his predecessor was an active participation in the Dutch disturbances; the first link in that chain of revolutions, which was to overturn Europe. One step here inevitably involved another. These disturbances had their origin while Frederic yet lived, in the disputes of the Orange and patriotic parties, concerning the rights of the stadtholder, which the patriotic party wished to impair or wholly to abolish. The influence of England and France had fomented these disputes; but Frederic contented himself with recommending a reconciliation. His successor made a family affair a matter of state, and the easy overpowering of the patriots, forsaken as they were by France, led to a new series of relations.

The Dutch disturbances were a result of the germ of corruption in the constitution, modified by the relations of the times. The patriotic party, prevailing in the maritime cities, was something more than the old party of the states, though originating for the most part in it.—Party hatred arose during the war with England, 1780, and the hereditary stadtholder was accused of duplicity. It was increased during and after the peace of 1783 by French and English influence. The patriotic party acquired the superiority, and a defensive alliance of the republic with France was made by Vergennes, Nov. 10, 1785.—Attacks were made on the rights of the stadtholder, and he was removed from the Hague, 1786.—Bodies of armed patriots now made their appearance, a sight altogether new to Europe, which learned the lesson from America! The Orange party was possessed of little internal unity; the patriotic was destitute of adequate leaders and a fixed positive purpose. Who indeed could imagine that the successors of Vergennes († Feb. 13, 1787) would accomplish absolutely nothing!—Prussia intervened and a proclamation was promulgated, July 10, after the procrastinated journey of the wife of the stadtholder, June 29. Possession was easily taken of Holland by a Prussian corps, under the Duke of Brunswick, Sept., 1787.

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An introduction to the history of the Dutch Republic for the last ten years, reckoning from the year 1777, (by SIR J. HARRIS, at that time British ambassador; others say, by his secretary Ellis.) London, 1788. By no means a history, but a sketch of the internal relations. Harris himself does not conceal the deficiencies of the Orange party.

Mémoire sur la Révolution de la Hollande, par le citoyen CAILLARD, (then French Chargé-d'affaires at the Hague,) inserted in, SEGUR, *Hist. de Fred. Guill.*, vol. i. A very lucid delineation and narration, by a confidant of the patriotic party; and written in the spirit of that party.

19. The natural consequence of this catastrophe to the republic, was the reinstatement of the stadtholder in his old and new rights; but to an extent and with a severity that it almost seemed to be forgotten that there still existed a republic and an opposite party. The continuance of the constitution was, however, to be insured by strangers, and this naturally led to a triple alliance with England and Prussia, the effects of which, by establishing again the influence of England on the continent, spread in the following years over the rest of Europe, and particularly the north.

An alliance was first made of the two powers with the Republic, and a guarantee of the office of stadtholder and all its rights, April 15, 1788. A defensive alliance was next formed between England and Prussia at Loo, June 13. A mutual guarantee was made of all possessions. Prussia therefore became a guarantee of the English colonies.

20. During these storms in the United Netherlands, a similar spirit of turbulence began to rage in the Austrian Netherlands. It was roused by the plans of innovation of Joseph II., strengthened by his inconsistency; but when the insurrection had proceeded to a declaration of independence, the insurgents quarrelled among themselves, and there was no chief capable of maintaining unanimity. While it was desired in Flanders to retain the old constitution of the states, the democrats in Brabant were clamorous for a popular sovereignty. It was therefore easy for Leopold II., after the death of Joseph, to appease the tumult, particularly as the insurgents saw themselves deceived in their hopes of Prussian assistance.

The disturbances had their origin in 1787, owing to encroachments on the privileges accorded to the states in the *Joyeuse Entrée*, by the introduction of a new constitution of courts, churches, and universities. Tumultuous scenes occurred in several towns; the orders given were recalled, Sept. 2, 1787. But the continued attempts to make changes

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in the universities of Louvain gave nourishment to the strife between the clergy and the states. Subsidies were refused the emperor, Jan., 1789. The privileges of the states of Brabant were annulled, June 18, 1789. The insurrection was renewed by Van der Noot, the patriots were armed, and the imperial troops expelled, July—Nov. A sovereign congress of all the provinces except Luxemburg was erected; and independence declared, Jan. 4, 1790. But internal factions were soon formed; and after Leopold II.'s accession the strife was allayed by the ratification of the ancient privileges at the congress of Reichenbach, Dec. 10.

For want of a good history, the materials which as yet are the best, are contained in the *Politische Journal.*

21. The efforts at revolution in several small states, such as Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Geneva, which were made at this time, should by no means pass unnoticed, as they are so many proofs of the prevailing spirit. Different as they were in other respects, they all coincided in the circumstance, that a democratic party attempted to overturn the existing order of things. But the manner in which they were suppressed, though by armed mediation, gave a striking evidence of the respect still entertained for the rights even of small states.

The rebellion in Liege, against the sovereign bishop, was to maintain the rights of the states, Aug. 17, 1789. The imperial chamber issued a mandate, Aug. 17, and the execution was intrusted to the direction of the circle of Westphalia. After some remarkable proceedings, Prussia finally withdrew, April, 1790. On this the prince was at last reinstated by Austria, Jan., 1791.—The disturbances in Geneva, caused by the disputes of the *Négatifs* (aristocrats) and *Répresentans*, 1788, but quieted by the new constitution, Feb. 13, 1789, were a consequence of the previous ones of 1782, which had been quelled by the armed mediation of three powers.

Excellent preparatory studies to the history of greater revolutions.

Recherches sur l'histoire de la ci-devant principauté de Liege, (par M. Repelaer van Driel.) à Liege, 1817, 2 vols.

Tableau historique et politique des Révolutions de Génève dans le 18ᵐ siècle; (par M. d'Ivernois.) à Génève, 1782.

Meiners, *Briefe ueber die Schweiz*, 1790. B. iv. contains the best accounts of the last disturbances.

22. But what were all these petty commotions in comparison with the eruptions of the desolating volcano, that had arisen about this time in the leading state of western Europe?—Though we do not here treat of the internal, but the external history of the *French revolution*, that is, with regard to its influence on the political system of Europe, still the character of the one cannot be adequately described

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without a proper understanding of the other. It was the peculiarity of the age, that the external relations of the states proceeded from the internal.

23. The prevailing spirit of the age disclosed itself in the convocation of the states-general. Though occasioned by financial necessity, what was this but a restriction of the regal supremacy? what but an innovation on the existing constitution? And the very persons, that held this to be a salutary measure, could not but entertain, from what immediately happened, too well-founded apprehensions for the issue.

24. There were three principal points that necessarily precluded, beforehand, the prospect of a favourable issue. 1st, The measure in question was not confined to a reform or restoration of ancient usages, as was the case elsewhere; but it attempted something wholly new, and consequently had no point of support or stay on which to maintain itself. 2nd, This innovation was to be secured by means of a numerous popular assembly, left to itself, independent of the crown, and surrounded by an untractable populace. And, 3rdly, if any hope still remained, the idea, derived from the theories of the philosophers, of the entire or the greatest possible separation of the executive and legislative powers, was amply sufficient to frustrate it.

The new order of things was at once established immediately after the opening of the states, May 5, 1789, when the third state declared itself a national assembly. Thus there actually remained of the monarchy only the name; and the abolition of feudal rights in the tumult of the night of the 4th of August, (a spectacle without its parallel in the history of the world,) founded the popular sovereignty on the ruins of the old constitution,—and, even when this fell, still established a new futurity for France.

25. The reaction of this grand catastrophe on the rest of Europe could at first be moral only, not political. Who could have presumed to prescribe aught to France, respecting its internal affairs? But its moral influence on foreign countries was threatening, from the fact that it must infallibly inflame the hatred of the classes of society there, as in France. Who could say what might be the consequences of the general enthusiasm, quickened as it was by the general voice of authors, and which few individuals had the courage to resist?

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At the head of the few who *did* resist in England and Germany, stands,

EDMUND BURKE, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London.* 1790, 8vo. (Besides some smaller writings of the same kind in his *Works*, vol. iii. iv.) Written with all the force with which the conviction of the actual danger of his countrymen could inspire the British Demosthenes.—In Germany,

Politische Betrachtungen ueber die Französischen Revolution. 1790: (before Burke :) and,

Ueber einige bisherige Folgen der Französischen Revolution für Deutschland, von E. BRANDES; 2te Ausgabe, 1793.—Cool reasoning at a time of general giddiness.

For forming a judgment both of the subject and the principal works, may be recommended,

Untersuchungen uber die Französische Revolution, nebst kritischen Nachrichten von den merkwürdigsten Schriften, von A. W. REHBERG. 1793.

Among the deluge of French works, those of NECKAR and his talented daughter, *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*, par MAD. DE STAEL-HOLSTEIN, Paris, 1818, 3 vols., are the first in celebrity, but not equally so in point of internal value.

26. A political structure, like the ancient French, could hardly be thrown down at once, without injuring others. The first loss befell the German empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. Several princes who had possessions in Alsace lost theirs, and the emperor and empire took their part. Prudence at least, if not justice, would seem to dictate a compromise. But in vain! and there was no greater contrast than the new French, compared with the old German mode of doing business.

27. The numerous emigrations from France, the reception and projects of the emigrants in several neighbouring German countries, soon became more dangerous to the quiet of Europe than the contests which had occasioned them. Where did not emigrants bring with them their hopes and passions; and especially the emigrants from the higher and even the highest classes? The restoration of the ancient order of things, though by means of a war, was their wish; and their efforts were to make their cause the cause of Europe. An eventual concert, however, for the common defence of some German princes at Pilnitz, was the only expedient adopted. Few would be disposed to find fault with them in consequence, and yet this very expedient gave rise to mistrust.

A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz between Leopold II.,

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Frederic William II., and the elector of Saxony, Aug. 27, 1791. But unhappily the Count of Artois came, uninvited; a declaration, and that a very indefinite one, was all that he obtained.

Sept. 13, 1791. 28. As the new constitution of Louis XVI. was completed and accepted, the danger of a war seemed removed, a circular by the emperor Leopold II. himself, expressly notified this to the courts. Worse constitutions had subsisted much longer; but could it be seriously believed,—and yet it was believed,—that all was ended by this paper act? The transition from partial freedom to that which was called perfect freedom, was inevitable, with so passionate, and now so excited a nation: and how could this be effected without the most violent convulsions? The conflict of factions soon became milder than before, after the Jacobins acquired the predominance in the second National Convention, and the subversion of the 1792. throne was the object in view. They felt that a foreign war was necessary for their projects, (what policy could from this time have averted it?) and Austria, where Francis II. succeeded, after the unexpected March 1, 1792. death of Leopold II., was their nearest aim. April 20. Louis XVI. was obliged to yield; and accordingly he declared war on Austria.

After the dissolution of the *Assemblée constituante*, Sept. 30, 1791, the *Assemblée législative* was convened till Sept. 21, 1792, altogether under the influence of the Jacobins.

29. The conduct of the various cabinets themselves can hardly be called faultless. The fearful scenes in France were so new, that they lay wholly without the circle of their former policy. Kaunitz himself, the Nestor of ministers, had never beheld any thing like them; and his conduct showed how little he was able to estimate the power of a great popular faction. In this consisted a principal advantage of the democratic party, that they banished the whole system of cabinet politics out of their sphere.

30. It seemed almost necessary for the flame, when once in a blaze, to spread widely. Every passion was kindled; every political relation was altered; old foes became friends; old connexions were torn asunder. The cause of Louis XVI. seemed to be the cause of kings; and a king was about to place himself at its head, when he was snatched away by assassination.

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31. The connexion of Austria and Prussia gave the first proof of this change of relations. But the unsuccessful expedition to Champagne, undertaken in common, only accelerated the full eruption of the volcano. The royal throne of high antiquity was formally overthrown; and a democratic republic, a republic which loudly proclaimed the diffusion of its maxims, suddenly stood in the midst of the monarchico-political system of Europe. It was a war not merely against nations, but against constitutions.

The Russian and Prussian forces were combined under the duke of Brunswick, July, 1792, reinforced by Hessians and emigrants.—False representations were circulated by the latter respecting the situation of things in France. Nothing more than a second campaign to Holland was expected.—The duke of Brunswick issued a manifesto, July 25; and the French throne was subverted, Aug. 10. The National Convention (*Convention nationale*) assembled Sept. 21, 1792, till Oct., 1795, and France was immediately declared a republic; when the army, having pressed forward as far as Valmy, was forced to retreat, being opposed by Dumouriez, and still more by nature.

32. The immediately ensuing conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, showed at the same time the altered nature of the war, as well as prepared for its further extension. Had not the political system thus far principally depended on these provinces? Did not the bulwark of Holland fall with them? Must not England have been startled? One battle decided their fate, which, at other times, several campaigns had been unable to decide; and men, hitherto unknown, soon took the lead as famous generals. The bloodless seizure of Savoy afforded likewise a sample of the new republican international law.

A battle was fought at Genappe, Nov. 5, and Belgium was conquered, after Custine had seized upon unguarded Mentz in the heart of Germany, Oct. 21.—Of Savoy and Nice possession was taken in Sept. without a declaration of war, and they were forthwith incorporated with France in October.

33. But the grand tragedy at Paris was more influential than these conquests. The head of the guiltless Louis fell under the axe. It will ever be vain in politics to attempt to stifle all feeling, so long as princes continue to be men. Though the most vehement abhorrence constituted no cause of war, it yet troubled every negotiation. And how should princes negotiate with a

Jan. 21, 1793.

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Nov. 19, 1792. Convention, which loudly summoned their subjects to insurrection?—All Europe, therefore, necessarily tended to a great combination against the republic.

Mémoires secrètes pour servir à l'histoire de la dernière année du regne de Louis XVI., par BERTRAND et MOLLEVILLE, *ministres d'état à cette époque.* Londres, 1793, 3 vols.—Few could know, and none have said, more on the subject.

34. Great combinations have rarely been successful and of long continuance; but none had ever been so unfortunate as those which the world was now to behold. Much may be explained by the revolutionary measures of the enemy, much by the disinclination of the people, but not all. Within themselves also lay the causes of destruction. Was it a vague suspicion of this, which induced the age to term them, not alliances, but coalitions?

35. One of these causes lay in the disproportion of the financial to the military powers of the states (p. 324). Every power, with or without a treasury, found itself exhausted after a short effort; and they were enabled to persist, not by their own resources, (the revolutionary they could not apply,) but only by foreign subsidies. Did not this paralyse every effort? Of what use to the giant were his arms, if others had first to lift them for him?

36. Not a single European state, with the exception of England, could offer these subsidies. This country was, therefore, not only the bond of all, but it also acquired the direction of the war. It was, however, somewhat unsuited for this part, from its geographical situation, and still more from its separate interests. Its objects were not always those of the allies; its advantages were not theirs: nor were theirs its losses. Constantly averting the danger from itself by the war on land, it was readily consoled for those losses, if war only continued. Yet did its naval victories and conquests beyond the ocean essentially weaken the power of the enemy? And did they give the confederates a compensation for their sacrifices?

What are subsidies in themselves but a pecuniary aid to the allies whose preservation is our advantage? Thus Maria Theresa and Frederic obtained subsidies, and yet defended their own cause. On the other hand, what a revolution of political relations must take place, when subsidies become the principal resource!

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37. But a more dangerous cause of dissolution consisted in the general egotism, proceeding from the policy of the states to round off their territory. No connexion can exist without mutual sacrifices. How much more so, when the original object, the preservation of the present states of things, was forgotten amidst the hopes of aggrandizement! and when, moreover, the prospect of acquisitions, whether at the expense of a neighbour, or even an actual ally,—(and who had more to give or lend than victorious France?)—became an inducement to defection! Thus fearfully did morality avenge itself for its banishment from politics!—When misfortune came, not one possessed a friend in whom he could trust!

38. If these internal causes were sufficient to dissolve the connexions, this was equally promoted by the want of men who were competent to hold them together. No Eugene, no Marlborough appeared; even talent, hated by mediocrity, could not maintain itself; while in the revolutionary states, the most violent and energetic men forced themselves into the highest offices.

39. As the founder, and as the head of these combinations, history has only to mention William Pitt. His name lives in the annals of Great Britain and in the history of Europe. More correct than others in his estimate of the danger, and no less great in character than in talents, he never capitulated with political maxims. But his situation did not permit him to be, like William the III., the soul of a great alliance. This is not in the power of a financier, but only of him who is at once a statesman and a general. Whatever could be accomplished by gold and perseverance, he accomplished; but he was often faulty in his choice of means and persons, and he either could not or would not always take that elevated view, which places the general interest of Europe above the particular interest of England.

Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the House of Commons, vols. i. iii. London, 1808. The anti-revolutionary maxims of this great man may be fully learned from the two last volumes.

40. Under such auspices began the first coalition. The continued connexion of Austria and Prussia was reinvigorated by the declaration of war by the Convention against England, the hereditary stadtholder, and soon afterwards

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against Spain; Sardinia had already been attacked; Portugal, Naples, Tuscany, and the Pope were involved. How could the German empire, already suffering hostilities, have resisted the united influence of Austria and Prussia? The accession of Sweden was prevented only by the murder of Gustavus III.; no one threatened more loudly, or performed less, than Catharine. With the exception of some states of secondary rank, and, for the present, of the Porte, no neutrals were now to be found in Europe.

War was declared against England, after it had refused to recognise the republic, and against the stadtholder, as its ally, Feb. 1, 1793; against Spain, March 7. The German empire declared war, (Hanover opposing it,) March 22. England, as now the central point, formed alliances with Russia, March 25; with Sardinia, April 25; with Spain, May 25; with Naples, July 12; with Prussia, July 14; with Austria, Aug. 30; with Portugal, Sept. 29; with Tuscany, Oct. 28; besides subsidiary treaties with several German princes.

Ueber den Ursprung und Character des Krieges gegen die Französische Revolution, von FRIEDR. GENZ. Berlin, 1801. The most acute analysis, considered on the side of *right*.

Historische Uebersicht der Politik Englands und Frankreichs von der Conferenz zu Pilnitz bis zur Kriegserklärung gegen England, von HERBERT MARSH. Leipz. 1799.—A diplomatic justification of England.

41. This war was to decide, therefore, not, as usual, the conquest of a province—it was nothing less than the preservation or overthrow of the existing states. It was not merely a conflict of arms, but of clashing political elements. As far as the armies of the republic reached, (and who could fix their bounds?) an express decree of the Convention announced the introduction of the sovereignty of the people. The danger, however, seemed to be diminished in the first campaign, as several victories of the allies confined the French armies once more to their own territory.

Dec. 17, 1792.

The Austrians under Coburg gained a victory at Aldenhoven, March 1, 1793; at Neerwinden, March 18; the Netherlands were reconquered; Dumouriez went over, April 4. A victory was obtained at Farmars, May 23, and the French border fortresses were taken, especially Valenciennes, July 28. Mentz was invested and reduced by the Prussians and Hessians, July 22. Alsace was invaded, and a battle fought at Kaiserslautern, Nov. 28. But a retreat followed in Dec. —. The Spanish penetrated into Roussillon in June.

La vie privée et politique du Dumouriez. à Hambourg. T. i.—iii. It goes to the end of 1792. As a continuation for 1793,

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Mémoires du Général Dumouriez écrites par lui-même. 1794. T. i. ii. Compare,

Corréspondance du Général Miranda avec le Général Dumouriez. à Paris, 1794.

42. Rarely however has success been more fatal for the victors than here! While ideas of conquest usurped the place of the original object, they excited a resistance of despair; which, calling forth a reign of terror with all its cruelties and all its vigour, sanctioned at the same time a maxim, more momentous and fearful than a series of victories, *that every citizen is a soldier*. With one blow it annihilated in the leading state of Europe, the system of standing armies; was it credible, that under such circumstances the others could exist?

May 31, 1793.

Aug. 16.

The Committee of Public Safety (*Comité du salut public*) was established April 6, 1793, till July 27, 1794, consisting of eleven members, Robespierre, Barrere, St. Just, Carnot, etc., with dictatorial power over persons and property. After the fall of the Girondists, (the more moderate party,) May 31, the Revolutionary Tribunal was instituted throughout France, and made daily sacrifices. The armies remained the only safe place of refuge.

43. War, and the military art, therefore, necessarily acquired an entirely new aspect. The old tactics found an application indeed in single cases; but they were no longer practised in general; and the armies of the republic were more speedily formed, in proportion as the new system became simplified. Soldiers of low degree were soon famous as generals; and the next campaign, opening an access to Holland by the recovery of the Netherlands, was, on this side, decisive for the future. Holland was conquered, under favour of the patriotic party. The stadtholder fled to England, and Holland was changed into a single and indivisible Batavian republic.

1794.

The English were routed in 1793 at Hondschoote, Sept. 8, in consequence of their partial attack on Dunkirk.—Pichegru achieved a victory at Tournay, May 22, 1794, and Jourdan at Fleurus, June 26. The allies subsequently fell back upon the frontiers of Holland; and then retreated to Germany; Pichegru crossed on the ice, Dec. 27, and all Holland was conquered in Jan.—The contest on the Upper Rhine was bloody; battles were fought at Lautern, July 15 and Sept. 20, but here too the Austrians and Prussians retreated beyond the Rhine in Oct.—On the Spanish frontier, the French penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, in Nov.

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44. The conquest of Holland, then perhaps the richest country of Europe, attached it thenceforth to France; secured the possession of Belgium; excluded the army of England from the continent; and altogether changed the situation of Prussia and the north of Germany. Formerly it would alone have sufficed to subvert the whole system of Europe; whereas, now it was only a single act in the great drama.

A treaty of amity was concluded between the French and Batavian republics, May 16, 1795. Conditions: *a.* Payment of one hundred millions of guilders. *b.* Relinquishment of Dutch Flanders, in consideration of a future compensation. *c.* Use in common of the harbour of Vlissingen.

45. The most important consequence, however, was the change of the relations of England. Its actual participation in the war on land ceased; it had nothing more to lose on the continent. It inherited the trade of Holland, and the war now denounced on it, opened a prospect to the conquest of its colonies. Carefully as it encouraged the war, it was less interested in the course of it on land.

46. But the seeds of dissension had already been springing up among the allies of the continent. The most upright personal connexion of the monarchs in the cabinet, as well as in the army, were unable to eradicate the distrust of Austria and Prussia, nourished as it was for almost half a century by Frederic himself; and the consequences had been but frequently and too severely felt. When do not one-sided views in politics at last punish themselves?

47. Added to this there was, in the case of Prussia, an exhaustion, so rapid and complete, that it can hardly be explained even by the extravagant management of Frederic William II. Not a fourth of the army was used. And before quite two years were passed, debts had taken the place of a full treasury. Provision for the army was demanded from the frontier circles of the German empire; and new subsidies were received from England, apparently not for the sake of the war but of the money.

A subsidiary treaty was signed at the Hague between Prussia and England, April 19, 1794.

48. On the other hand, the double maxim was adopted by the Convention, to conclude only a separate peace, and

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not to terminate the war till the Rhine was made the boundary. What materials of serious consideration for the successor of Frederic the Great! But the German empire was not Prussia; the losses of the one and the other were not the same; Prussia had even hopes of gaining at the expense of its ecclesiastical fellow-states.—Peace was signed at Basle; and the line of demarcation fixed for the neutrality of the north of Germany.

Conditions of the peace at Basle, April 5, 1795. *a.* Until the arrangements to be made at the peace with the empire, France remained in possession of the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. *b.* France promised to admit the mediation of Prussia for the other states of the German empire, with respect to acceding to the peace. *c.* No hostile marches should be made through the Prussian provinces.—Hesse Cassel concluded a formal peace for itself, Aug. 28, the line of demarcation having been previously drawn, May 17, after the accession of Hanover, Saxony, etc.

The negotiators at Basle were, citizen Barthèlemy and the minister Baron von Hardenberg.

49. In this manner, without having attained the principal object of the war, which was the suppression of revolutionary principles, Prussia, together with the north of Germany, withdrew from the coalition. Half the empire had made peace! Meanwhile a union was formed for mutual defence; and it seemed to be the proper moment for reviving the last idea of Frederic the Great, and making Prussia the centre of a grand confederacy. But this required a separation from the German empire; and although the chief step was already taken, the name of it was held in terror. And whence could have been derived that confidence, which is the bond of every confederacy, when the new partition of Poland (see below) had just then been accomplished? Nuremberg was occupied to its gates; and the secret compact with the Convention, by which Prussia was to be indemnified at the expense of its own fellow-states, was soon no secret.

Prussia made a secret compact with France, Aug. 5, 1796. Conditions: Preliminary consent was given to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine; Prussia was to be indemnified by secularizations in Munster and elsewhere, according to convenience and agreement; for Orange in Wurzburg and Bamberg.

50. But another ally, Spain likewise, soon seceded from the coalition. Its accession had been occasioned by family

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relations; it soon had to perceive, that it could only lose by the war, and had nothing to gain; and the conclusion of the peace was too much promoted by the actual interest of France, to be liable to great difficulties.

Peace was concluded between France and Spain at Basle, July 22, 1795. Conditions: *a.* Restitution to Spain of all the conquests made. *b.* On the other hand, Spain relinquished to France its portion of the island St. Domingo. Previous to the peace with Spain and Prussia, the Convention had concluded peace with the grand duke of Tuscany, Feb. 9, as if it were to show that princes *could* conclude peace with it.
The negotiators at Basle were, citizen Barthèlemy and Don Yriarte.

51. But the half-ruined coalition was not to be altogether disunited. The continuation of war on the continent, whatever might be its course, was too important for England in order to pursue its plans. The war was prosecuted, for the most part, at its cost, in every country and on every sea. Who did not solicit money? Who did not obtain money? Vast loans (posterity will scarcely credit their amount) were necessary; and in a few years the sum of the national debt, and with it the burdens of the nation, were doubled. How was this possible, unless the income of the nation should likewise be doubled?

An inquiry concerning the rise and progress, the redemption and the present state of the National Debt of Great Britain, by ROB. HAMILTON. Edinburgh, 1814. This work gives the most exact and authentic information respecting the whole history of the British debt.
Owing to the loans made by Pitt during the war of the Revolution, the funded debt had increased at the peace of Amiens from 257 to 567 millions of pounds sterling, of which the annual interest amounted to twenty millions. But the public credit, supported by the sinking fund, did not waver.

52. But this rapid increase could not spring from its own soil; it could only proceed from foreign trade. To promote this by excluding others from it, as far as possible, was therefore the main object of exertion. Thus Pitt changed the whole foundation of the British power; for which, indeed, the possession of India had long been preparing. Instead of resting as before on the cultivation of its own soil and a few colonies, its present support was foreign commerce, embracing every quarter of the globe. The annihilation of hostile and the suppression of neutral trade, (in so far as it was not even required,) were therefore

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the fundamental maxims; and England was thereby placed in an entirely new relation with the continent. Thus the spirit of the mercantile system was here also triumphant; and the war of the revolution was a commercial war, almost as much as it was a war against constitutions.

The commercial oppressions practised on neutrals proceeded: *a.* From the plan of Pitt (the first of his mistakes) to reduce France by famine. Hence the nature of contraband was extended, and the importation of all kinds of provisions forbidden, June, 1793. *b.* From the extension of the blockade system; since not only actual blockades, but the mere declaration to that effect, as applied to a whole coast as well as to single harbours, was to prove a real state of blockade. *c.* From an extension of the practice of searching vessels, even when under neutral convoy. *d.* From the regulations laid down respecting the trade of neutrals with the colonies of the enemy. The rule of 1756 (see p. 249) was first renewed 1793, and an entire prohibition declared. At the remonstrances of the Americans, Jan., 1794, it was limited to the direct trade of neutrals from the colonies to Europe; and in 1798, it was remitted in favour of European neutrals trading to their own ports.

• *Ueber das Bestreben der Völker neuerer Zeit, sich einander in Seehandel recht wehe zu thun*, von JOH. G. BÜSCH. (*Umarbeitung der Abhandlung von der Zerrüttung des Seehandels.*) Hamburg, 1800. On very liberal principles, but deficient in method.

Essai concernant les armateurs, les prises, et surtout les reprises, par M. DE MARTENS. Goettingue, 1795. Containing also a critical history of privateering.

Handbuch ueber das praktische Seerecht der Engländer und Franzosen, von FR. JOH. JACOBSEN. Hamburg, 1803. 2 Thle. An interesting exposition of a very complicated subject.

War in disguise, or the frauds of the neutral flags. London, 1806. Undisguised British maritime orthodoxy, too rigorously asserted in the estimation even of English writers themselves.

53. The sole dominion of the seas and the ensuing conquest of the enemy's colonies, were the conditions under which alone the British system could be maintained during such a war. The reduction of the French marine by the revolution facilitated not a little the victories of England over the hostile squadrons. At the end of this period the French and Dutch navies were more than half destroyed, and the most important colonies were already in British hands.

Toulon was taken and occupied, Aug. 28—Dec. 21, 1793, and the fleet there carried off or destroyed. Naval victories were gained over the French: at Ushant under Howe, June 1, 1794; at Savona under Hotham, March 14, 1795; at L'Orient under Bridport, June 23; at the

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Hieres Islands, July 13. Over the Dutch, Aug. 16, 1796, in Saldanha Bay under Elphinstone; at Camperdown under Duncan, Oct. 11, 1797. Over the Spanish under Jervis at Cape St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797.—Conquests in the West Indies: several places on St. Domingo were occupied, 1793—1796, which however it was afterwards found necessary to evacuate; Tobago, April 15, 1793; Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucia, March and April, 1794. In the East Indies: Pondicherry, April 23, 1793.—From the Dutch, Ceylon; Malacca; their establishments on the Malabar coast, August, 1795. The Cape, Sept. 16. Demerara and Essequibo, April, 1796; the Moluccas, 1796.—From Spain, only the island of Trinidad was taken, Feb. 18, 1797.

54. After the secession of Prussia and Spain, England redoubled its exertions, in order to hold together the remainder of the coalition, and if possible to reinforce it by the adjunction of Russia; the more so, since it also had at heart the renewal of the treaty of commerce, which had now expired. It succeeded indeed in both; and after the triple alliance signed with Austria and Russia, a new treaty of commerce with Russia was effected. But an active cooperation (with the exception of sending a squadron to England, the very thing that was least needed) Catharine did not find advisable.

As early as Feb. 18, 1795, a defensive alliance was entered into between England and Russia, with a mutual guarantee of all possessions; and May 20, between England and Austria. Both were made the basis of a triple alliance, concluded Sept. 28, the conditions of which were not exactly known.—The treaty of commerce was concluded with Russia, Feb. 21, 1797, with still greater privileges than in 1766.

55. Thus the burden of the war on the continent always fell on Austria in connexion with Sardinia and the states of the south of Germany. The war itself however seemed to languish, nor was it till autumn renewed on the Upper Rhine, with success on the side of Austria, and thus a truce was effected before the end of the year.

The French armies under Pichegru were driven back (perhaps by agreement) across the Rhine; and Mentz was invested by Clairfait, Oct.—A truce was made with Austria, Dec. 30.

56. The course of the internal affairs of France, after the downfal of Robespierre and his faction, had in the mean time produced more moderate sentiments, and subsequently a new constitution; by which a more permanent order of things was to be established. The executive power was committed to a directory of five members, while the legislative

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was to be administered by an assembly divided into two chambers, the Council of Elders, and the Council of Five Hundred, a kind of Upper and Lower House. This entire separation soon necessarily engendered strife between the two. But of how many other evils were not the elements contained in this constitution, so much extolled as the result of high wisdom, and soon afterwards forced upon the acceptance of the daughter-states! Nothing essential was gained in the relations with foreign countries by these innovations, while the revolutionary system itself continued in full force.

The new constitution was introduced, the directory installed, and the legislative body opened, after the dissolution of the National Convention, Oct. 28, 1795.

57. Henceforward, the peace of the continent seemed to depend on that with Austria. To oblige this country to sue for it, by penetrating into the heart of its states, was consequently the object of the directory, which was to be effected by three armies, pressing forward from the Upper Rhine, from the Lower Rhine, and from Italy. Such a complex plan, difficult in itself to execute, must be far more so in Germany, while the fastnesses of the Rhine were in the hands of the Germans. Austria also succeeded in finding a general in its own imperial house, in the person of the Archduke Charles; who soon enjoyed the full confidence of the army. To him, Austria was then indebted for its preservation.

General Jourdan crossed the Lower Rhine and penetrated into the Palatinate; and General Moreau from the Upper Rhine into Bavaria, and a truce was made with Baden, Wirtemberg, etc., June and July, 1796. But the archduke gained a victory over Jourdan at Amberg, Aug. 24, and Wurzburg, Sept. 3.—Moreau made his celebrated retreat across the Rhine at Huningen, though obliged to fight his way at every step, Oct.

58. But the fate of Austria was not to be decided in Germany. Italy, hitherto of secondary importance, now became, through altered relations, the principal theatre of the war; far more, however, through the high spirit of the young general to whom the command there was intrusted. One campaign gave him Italy, the second, peace. But the age regarded him as something more than the mere conqueror and peace-maker, and erred only where he himself desired it to err.

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In the first campaign of Napoleon Buonaparte, after accepting the chief command at Nice, March 30, 1796, he gained a victory at Monte Notte, April 12; at Millesimo, April 15; and at Mendovi over the Piedmontese, April 22.—He forced Sardinia to solicit an armistice, April 28; and a separate peace was concluded, May 15. Terms: *a.* It should surrender Savoy and Nice, and *b.* allow the French to occupy the strongest fortresses.—Buonaparte pursued the Austrians, forced a passage over the bridge of Lodi, May 10, and conquered the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua.

Campagnes du Général Buonaparte en Italie pendant les années IV. et V. par un officier general. Paris, 1797. T. i. ii.

59. These victories decided the fate of the rest of Italy. The dukes of Parma and Modena, the Pope and the king of Naples, had to purchase their armistices and peace. But if the dominion of France in Italy had been acquired by arms, it was to be confirmed by policy. The means of doing this was the formation of a new republic, fashioned according to the model of France, out of the Austrian and papal provinces, under the name of the Cisalpine Republic.

A truce was granted to Parma, May 9; to Modena, May 17; to the Pope, June 13, in consideration of payment of money and the surrender of works of art; and then, by the peace at Tolentino, on Feb. 19, 1797, Bologna and Ferrara were relinquished, and all pretensions to Avignon renounced; a truce was granted to Naples, June 5, which was afterwards changed into an advantageous peace, Oct. 10. Genoa put itself under French protection, Oct. 19; and Corsica, having previously (June, 1794) been occupied by the English, was evacuated by them, but on the other hand, Elba was occupied, July 9.

60. The revolutionary system was thus made to embrace the whole of Italy; and the possession of the principal fortress, Mantua, was now the point on which the execution of the ulterior plans against Austria depended. The present century had never yet beheld a conflict so obstinate as that for Mantua. Four times Austria attempted to send relief; four times its armies were routed!—The fortress at length fell; and the way to Austria stood open.

Mantua was besieged from July, 1796, to Feb., 1797. The first attempt to succour it was made by the undaunted Wurmser; defeated at Brescia and the Lago di Garda, 3rd and 5th of August. He advanced again, but was again defeated at Roveredo and Bassano, 4th and 9th of September; but Wurmser, cut off from retreat, fought his way to Mantua. The third attempt was made by Alvinzi. After a battle, which lasted three days, he was routed at Arcola, 15th to 19th November. The last attempt was made under the same general, and a battle was fought at Rivoli, January 14, 1797. Mantua capitulated, Feb. 2.

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61. Buonaparte left Italy, and, crossing the Alps, penetrated into the interior of Austria as far as the Muhr, after several battles; while Moreau and Hoche were again to advance across the Rhine. It seemed as if a violent contest must decide the fate of the imperial city. But when the sword was about to decide, policy found an expedient; it was agreed to conclude peace at the expense of a third. March, 1797.

62. Venice was, for the present, destined to be the victim. Lost in stupor for a century, this republic had resorted, in the conflict of the more powerful, to neutrality, the usual defence of weak states. She had long outlived herself; but her fall first disclosed her utter weakness. She was not only without energy, but without counsel. She fell the victim of convenience and the desire of contiguity of possessions; but apart from this, how could a constitution subsist, which stood in the most direct contradiction to the prevailing maxims of the age?

Since the year 1718 (p. 189) the history of the political system of Europe has offered no opportunity of mentioning Venice. A peace of seventy-nine years had gradually matured, in the ruling classes, all the evils of an indolent apathy, so that not even an armed neutrality could have been carried into effect.

TENTORI, *Raccolta ragionata di documenti inediti che formano la storia diplomatica della rivoluzione e caduta della republica di Venezia corredata di critiche osservazioni.* T. i. ii. 1800. Valuable materials for the future historian. Compare P. DARU, *Histoire de la Republique de Venise.* T. v. 1819.

63. It was not however a definitive peace, but only the *preliminaries* (by no means without reason, as was shown by the result) that were concluded at Leoben on the Muhr. Every thing conceded in the preliminaries was not repeated in the definitive peace.

Preliminaries were signed at Leoben, April 18, 1797. The principal stipulations were: *a.* That Austria should resign all its rights in the Belgic provinces to France, and recognise the boundaries of France, fixed by the constitutional laws. *b.* A congress should be convened for the purpose of concluding peace with the German empire, assuming its integrity as the basis. *c.* That Austria should renounce its possessions beyond the Oglio, and receive in exchange the portion of the Venetian territory between the Oglio, the Po, and the Adriatic Sea; besides Venetian Dalmatia and Istria. *d.* Immediately after the ratification of the definitive peace, Austria should likewise receive the fortresses of Palma Nova, Mantua, Peschiera, and some castles. *e.* The

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republic of Venice should have Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara as an indemnification. *f.* Austria should recognise the Cisalpine (at first Cispadane) Republic, to be formed of the ceded provinces.

The complete treaty, with the secret articles, was first made public in Posselt, *Annalen*, 1804. st. xii.

64. Venice was overpowered, and its former constitution annulled. The provinces agreed upon were immediately occupied by Austria, and the remainder, with the capital, by France. Long negotiations were necessary to decide its final fate.

The French declared war against Venice, under the ostensible pretext of an insurrection, which had broken out in Verona, May 3. The aristocracy was abolished, and a popular sovereignty established, May 12. The city was occupied by French troops, May 16.—From thence the Grecian isles belonging to Venice were occupied, Corfu, Cephalonia, St. Mauro, Zante, and Cerigo, by a French-Venetian flotilla, June 28. In the preliminaries they had not even been mentioned.

65. The state of affairs intervening between the preliminaries and the definitive peace, could scarcely be more fluctuating than it was here. What ample materials still remained for negotiation! But how grand a prospect was opened to the general, who was the soul of the war, and no less of the pacification! Like Pompey of old, the arbiter of Asia after the Mithridatic war, Buonaparte had to regulate the affairs of Italy. In the erection of the Cisalpine Republic was seen the founder of states; and he had a powerful influence on the changes of the constitutions of the other Italian states. But his views were not confined to Italy. Switzerland stood in anxious expectation; a Polish legion was formed; and how far was it to Egypt?

The Cisalpine Republic was proclaimed, consisting of Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna, to which Brescia and Mantua were soon added, June 28.—The Genoese republic was changed into a Ligurian, with a democratic constitution, under the direction of the French minister Faipoult, May 22—31. Great democratic commotions took place in Piedmont, the States of the Church, etc.

66. But the relations in the west of Europe were also changed; for Spain had returned to its ancient connexion with France, and the favourite, Don Godoi, duke of Alcudia, (Principe de la paz,) who was devoted to the interest of France, from this time guided the helm of state with almost unlimited power. The immediate consequence of it was the participation in the war against England; but for the

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future also, the fate of Spain was so bound to that of France by the treaty of alliance, that it depended at least on the latter alone, how far Spain should partake in its wars.

A treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Spain, Aug. 19, 1798. 1. An alliance offensive and defensive in all wars. 2. In the present, however, only against England. 3. Arrangements as to the aid to be afforded on sea and land.—Spain declared war against England, Oct. 5.—Trinidad was lost, Feb. 18, 1797; but the attacks of the English on Porto Rico, April 17, and on Teneriffe, in July, were repelled.

67. Notwithstanding this extension of the war, the horizon appeared to brighten after the preliminaries of Leoben. Austria continued to negotiate; and England, now without allies on the continent, deemed itself also bound to negotiate. But while the hopes of pacification were augmenting, they had to be partially annihilated again by a new revolution in the French authorities. Much sooner than had been supposed, it was ascertained that no government could be less adapted to the national character, than the many-headed directorial government.

Negotiations were commenced at Lille, July—Sept. 17, by Lord Malmesbury. (The same person had previously attempted them in vain at Paris, Oct.—Dec., 1796.) But after the revolution of Sept. 4, (Fructidor 18,) in which the evils of the directorial constitution manifested themselves sooner than was expected, and by which the minority of the directory and the legislative body was displaced, and a part of them transported, the pacific negotiations with England were broken off.—A short time before, peace had been concluded with Portugal, Aug. 20; but it was now renounced by France, Oct. 26.

Recueil de toutes les pièces officielles, relatives à la négociation de Lille, Oct., 1797.

68. The case was entirely different with regard to the negotiations of peace with Austria. They were, and continued to be, in the hands of the peace-maker, not of the directory; peace was made because he wished it, and as he wished it. For half a year it was negotiated at Milan; and when it was finally concluded at Campo Formio, near Udine, and the secret articles were afterwards made public, the length of the negotiations was satisfactorily explained!

Peace between France and Austria, concluded Oct. 17, 1797. Conditions: *a.* Austria renounced all its claims to the Netherlands in favour of France. *b.* Austria obtained the territory of Venice, from the Lago di Garda, the city of Venice itself, Istria, Dalmatia with the islands, and Bocca di Cattaro. *c.* France acquired the Venetian Greek islands,

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and the possessions in Albania. *d.* Austria acknowledged the Cisalpine Republic. *e.* A congress was to be convened at Rastadt for making peace with the empire. *f.* Austria was to indemnify the duke of Modena with Breisgau.—Secret conditions: *a.* Austria acquiesced in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine from Basle to the confluence of the Rhine and Nethe at Andernach, with the city and fortress of Mayence. *b.* The navigation of the Rhine was to be common to both parties. *c.* France engaged to intercede that Austria might obtain Salzburg, and the part of Bavaria between this, Tyrol, and the Inn and Salza. *d.* Austria agreed to relinquish Frickthal in the peace of the empire. *e.* A mutual compensation for all that France should hereafter obtain in the German empire. *f.* Mutual guarantee that Prussia should make no further acquisitions, upon the restoration of its possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. The injured princes and states on the left bank of the Rhine were to receive indemnifications in Germany. *g.* Within twenty days after the ratification, all the fortresses on the Rhine, as also Ulm and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the Austrian troops.

The negotiators of the peace were: from France, General Buonaparte; from Austria, the Marquis de Gallo, Count L. Cobenzl, Count von Meerveldt, Baron von Degelman.

69. Conformably to this pacification, France remained in possession of Belgium, and the dominion of Italy; the republic of Venice disappeared altogether from the number of states. The German empire, abandoned in secret by Austria, as it had before been by Prussia—(what disclosures do these secret contracts, compared with each other, (p. 341,) offer to posterity!)—anxiously looked forward to its fate. The pillars of the old political system lay prostrate; but politicians spoke of perpetual peace, now that France and Austria had become contiguous in their respective possessions and natural boundaries.

II. *History of Colonial Affairs, from* 1786 *to* 1804.

[To facilitate the general view, colonial history is at once continued to the end of the second division of the period.]

1. It was almost impossible to determine what influence the great convulsions of Europe would have on the colonies, since it depended not merely on the extension of arms, but still more on the extension of principles. How different, moreover, must be the operation of the latter, according to the various relations of the classes of society in the colonial countries! How entirely different in North America and in the East and West Indies! Add to this the fluctuations in

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the course of commerce. And yet the trade of the world, and with it the fate of more than one leading state of Europe, was connected with the colonies.

America.

2. Of the colonies, independent America stands at the head, both for itself, and its influence on Europe. It is seldom that any state can so rapidly increase as America, because it is seldom so highly favoured by circumstances. If the culture of the earth made such an extraordinary progress, that the number of the provinces advanced in this period from thirteen to sixteen, the progress of its commerce was far more astonishing, which in a short time, no longer limited to the exportation of domestic products, but spreading over every sea, gave America, since the beginning of the European maritime war, such a vast carrying trade, especially between the West Indies and Europe, that its commercial navigation was hardly surpassed by the British.

Besides the natural advantages that America possessed for navigation above any country in Europe, such as her situation, the character of her coasts, and an abundance of wood proper for building vessels, as well as the nature of her productions, the principal causes of the prosperity of her foreign trade consisted: 1. In her regulations respecting duties. It was adopted as a fundamental law, that the exportation of home produce should be entirely free; while imported goods were entitled to a drawback upon re-exportation. 2. In her advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign powers. With France, Feb. 6, 1778. The two parties mutually treated each other on the footing of the most favoured nations. (It was renounced by America on account of the injuries of the Convention, July 7, 1798. By the new treaty, Sept. 30, 1800, a preliminary settlement of free navigation, with the reserve of further negotiations.) The treaties of commerce with the United Netherlands, Oct. 8, 1782; with Sweden, April 3, 1783; with Prussia, Sept. 10, 1785; with Spain, Oct. 27, 1795, contained similar concessions and liberal maxims both with respect to the contraband trade (limited to the actual necessities of war) and the rights of neutral flags; in that with Prussia all privateering even was renounced in case of a war. But the most important of all was the treaty with England, Nov. 19, 1794, not ratified till June 14, 1795; the first ten articles (the adjustment of boundaries, evacuations, indemnifications, etc.) of permanent obligation; the rest, eleven to twenty-eight, (the real treaty of commerce,) for twelve years. Among these: *a.* Trade to the British West Indies in American vessels under seventy tons was made free; the importation of American and exportation of West Indian produce, however, only to America. (This article was suspended, and never came into effect.) *b.* Navigation was made free to the British East Indies, both as to imports and exports; the last only to the ports of America.

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c. But on the other hand, the British maxims were recognised, respecting the rights of neutral flags, the contraband trade, and the right of blockade.

A defence of the treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, entered into between the United States of America and Great Britain, by CAMILLUS (ALEX. HAMILTON). 1795. Only a defence of the permanent articles.

3. While America by this spirit of concession opened to herself, in the war of the French revolution, every sea, it was impossible for her to avoid contests with the belligerent powers, to which she was the more exposed from being almost wholly destitute of a navy. The treaty with England exasperated the directory; and the decrees of Jan. 18, 1798. the Convention, bearing so heavily on the navigation of neutrals, did not permit the disputes to subside. But contests arose with England itself, which began to see in America a formidable rival; these disputes, inflamed yet more by the parties formed in the interior, finally impelled America, in order to escape war, to have recourse to the unexampled resolution of voluntarily suspending her own commerce.

The disputes between the United States and England had their origin: 1. In the prohibited serving of British seamen in American vessels; and in the violent seizure of them. This point was passed over in the treaty on account of its great difficulties. 2. On account of the colonial trade.—The restriction of the prohibition to the direct trade from the colonies to Europe, Jan., 1794, (p. 343,) enabled the Americans, by means of drawbacks, to export to Europe the colonial commodities brought to their harbours, and for which duties had been paid. Disputes arose after the renewal of the war, in 1803, respecting the question, what is a *bona fide* importation? American vessels were captured from May, 1805; and soon after, August 3, the trade with the hostile colonies was limited to the British free ports in the West Indies, in order to secure the commerce to England.

Respecting the contest between the United States and England, *Polit. Journal*, 1807, B. i. p. 27 seq.

4. The further influence of America on commerce depended for the most part on her determination to become a maritime power. But the situation of this republic was materially changed by the purchase of Louisiana from France, about the end of this period; by which purchase, not only her territory, soon extending to the Pacific, was almost doubled, but she came into the full possession of the

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Mississippi river, with all its subordinate streams, and especially the mighty Missouri. What a prospect for the future!

Louisiana, with the city and territory of New Orleans, in the same extent as formerly possessed by Spain, was purchased for sixty millions of francs, April 30, 1803. Rapid progress was made in the improvement of the country, which had never thriven as a European colony; but disputes had already arisen with Spain; partly respecting the boundaries of Louisiana and West Florida; and partly respecting the boundary on the side of New Mexico, viz., as to whether the neighbouring river Sabine, or the remote Rio Bravo, was to constitute it.

Voyage dans les deux Louisianes en 1801—1803, par PERRIN DU LAC. Paris, 1805. A description of the interior of this rich country, especially the country on the Missouri.

Travels of Capt. Lewis and Clarke from St. Louis by the way of Missouri and Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, compiled by GASS. Philadelphia, 1809. This voyage of discovery, undertaken by order of congress, first disclosed the full value of the country.

West Indies.

5. The West India colonies, founded on slavery, underwent during this period the greatest changes, and some of them the most fearful catastrophes. They had reached their maturity, and would probably have begun to decline by degrees, even without any violent commotions, after the culture of their produce by free labourers had become general on the continent of America, and no less so in the East Indies. But it was not wars alone, the great revolution of ideas in Europe exerted a still stronger influence on their destiny. The voice of humanity was raised against the cruelties of the slave trade, and was eventually triumphant. But the inconsiderate application of general maxims created in some of them, greater atrocities than those which they were designed to prevent.

We must carefully discriminate between the abolition of the *slave trade*, and the abolition of *slavery*. The opponents of the slave trade were not, for that reason, unconditional opponents of slavery; the actual propagation of the blacks in the West Indies was to suffice for their culture. The subject was discussed in England and America. As early as 1754, the traffic in blacks had been abolished among the Quakers, and emancipations soon became general, to the advantage, it has been asserted, of the owners. But the grand impulse was given by the independence of America, and the prohibition, imposed on the introduction of negroes (with the exception of the Carolinas and Georgia). In England, the public interest was strongly excited by the works of Ramsay, and the prize essay of Clarkson at Cambridge, 1785. The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded at Manchester, 1787, by Granville Sharp, (founder of the Sierra Leone colony, p. 287,)

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and soon spread through all England. The matter was first brought before parliament by means of petitions, Feb. 1, 1788; the only result was, an act for the better regulation of the slave trade, July 10. The honour of being the first to abolish it in Europe belongs to Denmark. A royal order was issued, May 16, 1792, that the traffic in blacks should cease in the Danish possessions from the end of 1802. But England did not remain inactive; Clarkson himself, then a young man, contributed to excite the public attention, as much by his own personal activity, as he had before done by his prize essay; and after May 12, 1788, the cause of the blacks found in the exalted Wilberforce, so persevering an advocate in parliament, that after a conflict, annually renewed for eighteen years, and supported against him for a long time by Fox and even by Pitt, and latterly by a pressure of circumstances, it was finally carried in the Lower House. The act for the abolition of the slave trade was passed March 24, 1807.

An essay on the treatment and conversion of the African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies, by the Rev. JAMES RAMSAY. Lond. 1784. The author resided for some time in St. Christopher, in a professional capacity.

Essay on the Slavery and the Commerce of the human species, by THOM. CLARKSON. Lond. 1786. A translation of the Latin prize essay in answer to the question: Num liceat invitos in servitutem dare?

CLARENDON'S *accurate and copious account of the Debates of the House of Commons on Mr. Wilberforce's Motion for an Abolition of the Slave Trade, April* 2, (Lond. 1792,) gives most of the arguments for and against it.

The History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, by THOM. CLARKSON. Lond. 1808, 2 vols. 8vo. The leading work for the history.

Agreeing in most respects with the above, but compiled from different sources, is,

D. HUNE, *Darstellung*, etc., (p. 58,) the whole of the second part. The most comprehensive work on the subject.

An enumeration of many other works may be found in, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Negersklavenhandels*, von JOH. JAC. SELL. Halle, 1791.

6. This matter took an entirely different course in France and in the French colonies. Instead of following the dictates of experience, the national assembly acted on general principles, and applying the declaration of the Rights of Man to the islands, by the decree of May 16, gave the signal to scenes of horror, of which it soon, but too late, repented. It was not however the blacks, but the mulattos, who demanding equal rights with the white inhabitants, began the insurrection and led away the blacks. Though these rebellions were quelled on the smaller islands, that of St. Domingo on the other hand was unavoidably sacrificed; and with it, the mother country lost one of the richest sources of her foreign trade (see p. 297).

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The *Société des amis des Noirs* was formed in Paris, 1788, for the abolition not only of the slave trade, but also of slavery itself. Its influence reached the colonies by means of the mulattos then in Paris.—Immediately after the opening of the national assembly, commotions and contests arose among the whites themselves; especially on St. Domingo.—The decree of the national assembly of May 15, 1791, established the equality of rights of the white inhabitants and the mulattos (*gens de couleur*). The whites evinced a repugnance to this measure, and an attachment to the cause of royalty. The mulattos seized arms, and stirred up the blacks to insurrection. The rebellion commenced Aug., 1771. The plantations were destroyed, and Port au Prince burned Nov. —. The commissaries Santhonax and Polverel, two staunch Jacobins, were sent out with dictatorial power and six thousand men, by the second national assembly, Sept., 1792. They united with the mulattos; a reign of terror ensued; disputes arose with the commandant Galbaud (the whites were never agreed among themselves); they invoked against him the aid of the blacks, and the plundering, massacre, and burning of Cape François followed, June 21, 1793. The negroes were declared free.—War having broken out with England, the English began their attempts on Domingo, Sept., 1793, at the invitation of a party among the whites; several places were conquered, 1793—1797 (see p. 344). But the climate devoured more than the sword. The island was evacuated, 1798. The whites emigrated, and the negroes exercised the sovereignty under Toussaint L'Ouverture; and after his removal, 1803, under Dessalines, Christopher, etc.

Bryan Edwards's *Historical survey of the French Colony in the island of St. Domingo*, 1797, 4to. (See p. 115.) This work reaches down to the year 1793.

Histoire des désastres de St. Domingue. Paris, 1795. Narrated with exactness, by an emigrant planter. What are the horrors of civil, in comparison with those of servile wars!

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de St. Domingue, par le Lieut.-Gén. Baron Pamphile de Lacroix. 2 vols. 1820. The author was on the spot, and his work is the leading authority on the French side of the question.

7. The fruitless efforts to reconquer the island after the peace of Amiens strengthened the dominion of the blacks, who, after the utter destruction of the city, erected a distinct state, Hayti. But the leaders soon waged war against each other, and France maintained itself, at least in the portion ceded by Spain. 1802. Oct. 29, 1803.

M. Rainsford, *Account of the Black empire of Hayti.* Lond. 1805.

8. Although the peace of Amiens, which left Trinidad only to the English, who restored all other conquests, made no great changes in the state of possessions in the West Indies, they nevertheless were not what they had been before

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the war. The first of these colonies was made desolate; the tranquillity of the others was preserved with difficulty; loud complaints reached Europe itself. Even Jamaica could not recover. A concurrence of circumstances could alone make these hot-houses prosper; these however had changed; and their happy times were gone, probably for ever.

Spain. 9. The situation of the great Spanish colonies on the continent of America was entirely different. Though slavery existed among them, the slaves never had the preponderance. No disturbances of importance were ever heard of; and the interruption of communication with the mother country seemed to be the only evil that the war inflicted on them. Well-informed travellers in great measure withdrew the veil which formerly concealed them, and gave authentic accounts of their tranquil internal prosperity, a result of their greater commercial privileges, (see p. 300,) though they had but just emerged from an infant state. At their head stood Mexico, destined to be the first commercial country by its population, its treasures, its productions, and its situation. Buenos Ayres, New Granada, and Peru, (the two latter however in a less degree as it would seem than the former,) had all arisen by commerce. As the political relations of these countries developed themselves, their commercial relations also must of necessity undergo some change; and to what results might not this change lead?

Among the works which shed so much light over Spanish America, the first are the works of AL. VON HUMBOLDT; of these we must here cite:

Essai politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1808. Since its completion it has been the leading work on Mexico.

Voyage à la partie orientale de la Tierra firma, par DE PONS. Paris, 1806, 3 vols. The leading work for Caraccas, Venezuela, etc.

SKINNER, *On the present state of Peru.* London, 1806, 4to. It contains very instructive extracts from the *Mercurio Peruano.*

D. FELIX AZARA, *Voyage dans l'Amerique meridionale, depuis* 1781—1801. Paris, 1807, T. i. iv. The leading work on Buenos Ayres and Paraguay. The two last volumes comprise their natural history.

Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniss der Spanischen Besitzungen in Amerika, von CHR. AUG. FISCHER. Dresden, 1802. Compiled from Spanish sources, and particularly important for the modern commercial state of Buenos Ayres.

Brazil. 10. The political relations of Brazil differed considerably from those of Spanish America. Pom-

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bal's monopoly of the company of Maranhao terminated, indeed, after his fall; yet the commercial restraints were by no means lessened. As, however, the mother country remained in the interest of England, the free communication was not interrupted, and it had more to gain than to lose from the naval wars of the Europeans. The times approached when the political relations of the mother country were to occasion the independence of the colony, and South America was to contain an empire equal in extent, and perhaps superior in fertility, to the republic of North America.

Schizze von Brasilien, von J. LOBO DA SILVEIRA. Stockholm, 1809. Written in German by a Portuguese; and full of interesting information, which confirms at the same time its internal prosperity.

Der Handel von Portugal im Jahre 1804, in *Europäische Annalen*, 1806, st. 4, s. 42, gives the most authentic account of the exports of Brazil at that time.

Africa.

11. What influence the revolution of Brazil, and the abolition of the slave trade in England and Denmark, will have upon the colonies on the coast of Africa, time must show. But in general Africa was drawn within the horizon of the Europeans, much more in this period than in the former. To explore its interior was the grand problem of the day. Owing to the labours of Bruce, the British African Association, and the Egyptian Expedition, the darkness which covered this quarter of the globe was in part removed, and what still remained unexplored, only gave an additional charm to enterprise, and stimulated the zeal of future travellers. What a new world dawns here also on the prospect of the European!

Travels to discover the sources of the Nile, in the years 1768—1773, by JAMES BRUCE. London, 1790, 5 vols. 4to. Second edition, 1805, 7 vols. 8vo.

Proceedings of the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa. London, 1790, 4to. The Society, founded June, 1788, doubled the value of their transactions by subjoining RENNEL's excellent Maps of N. Africa.

British East Indies.

12. The influence of the European revolutions on the East Indies was at first of a purely military character. On the continent of India the British had to fear no European rivals; the war with Holland gave them the islands also; and they became, in consequence the sole ruling nation. But in India itself war still con

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tinued, and the fall of the kingdom of Mysore constituted an important epoch.

13. As long as Tippoo Saib reigned he was the most formidable enemy of the British; and their military forces were therefore more concentrated in the south. To prevent combinations of the other Indian powers, especially of the princes of the Mahrattas with Tippoo, and to secure their co-operation, wherever possible, by a division of the spoil, was therefore the grand aim of British policy. The power of the new Jugurtha was thus broken in the next war, by which he lost half of his territories, though his resentment against the British was doubled.

The new war of Tippoo, 1790—1792, was caused by his attack on the rajah of Travancore, the ally of the English, in order to conquer the coast of South Malabar. This gave rise to the participation of the English, in connexion with the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Bangalore was conquered, 1791; but fruitless attacks were made on the capital under Cornwallis and Abercrombie. The expedition was renewed in 1792, and a peace, inclusive of the British allies, was negotiated under the walls of Seringapatam, March 17. Conditions: *a*. Tippoo relinquished half of his territories, according to the choice of the allies. *b*. He agreed to pay three crores of rupees, and gave two of his sons as hostages till the payment should be made.—For themselves and their allies, the English selected the provinces that bordered on their old possessions.

Respecting the causes of this war, exact information may be found in *Polit. Journal*, 1792, p. 1045.

14. Under these circumstances was it to be wondered that Tippoo should resume his sword on occasion of the Egyptian expedition? But the precipitate promulgation of his embassy to the Isle of France had roused the British; they resolved to anticipate him; and with the conquest of Seringapatam, his empire fell, overwhelming Tippoo in its ruins.

Some adventurers transmitted the influence of the French revolution to Tippoo; and a Jacobin club was instituted at the court of the citizen sultan, 1797. He despatched an embassy to the Isle of France, and to Zemaun-shah of East Persia, 1798. The apprehensions of the British impelled them to great activity; and their armies pressed forward under General Harris, Feb., 1799. Seringapatam was invested and taken by assault, May 4. The sultan was slain, and his empire divided; while in the remainder, a branch of the old dynasty of the Hindu rajahs was elevated to the throne, as a subsidiary of the British.

View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultan, by ALEX. BEATSON. London, 1800.

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Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saheb, oder historisch geographische Uebersicht des Mysorischen Reichs, und dessen Entstehung und Zertheilung, von M. C. SPRENGEL. Weimer, 1801. The author had the advantage of the best British sources.

15. Since the fall of Mysore the British policy in the East Indies has evidently changed, as the policy of an all-powerful conqueror is usually found to do. Its indirect dominion was transformed into a direct one; the allies of the company were deposed; their lands altogether or for the most part confiscated; and in those which they retained they had to support British garrisons or pay tribute instead.

Tanjore was taken, 1799, the rajah consenting to receive a pension; half of Oude and Allahabad followed after the expulsion of the refractory nabob Ali, under pretence of protecting an incompetent pretender to the throne, 1799, who was soon after pensioned. The whole Carnatic was taken after the death of the nabob of Arcot, 1805, in the most revolting manner.

Instructions of the nabob of the Carnatic to his agents in London; in von ARCHENHOLZ *Minerva*, 1802, p. 335.

[The author appears to view the subject in too partial, not to say a prejudiced, light; the following vivid but rather startling picture of the manner in which our Indian empire has gone on increasing, is drawn by a well-qualified judge, Mr. R. Jenkins, who was political resident at Nagpore for twenty years. "The rise and progress of our power in India have been rapid and marvellous. Unlike other empires, ours in the East has been in a great degree forced upon us, and built up at almost every step against our own deliberate resolution to avoid it; in the face of every opposition which could be given to it by the legislature, his Majesty's government, and by the court of directors, acting upon corresponding dispositions in our governments abroad. Each successive governor-general in the last half century, sent out from this country with minds fresh and untouched by local prejudices—including Lord Cornwallis during his first administration, who went to India under an act containing an express denunciation against conquest and extension of dominion, Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, Lord Hastings, (the last two strongly impressed against the existing foreign policy in India,) and Lord Amherst—have seen reason to enter into wars and negotiations, defensive in their objects, but generally terminating in that very extension of territory and dominion which was so much dreaded." MR. JENKINS, *Evidence before the House of Commons*, March 27, 1832. TRANSL.]

16. The princes of the Mahrattas were thus the only remaining powerful foes in India; formidable partly on account of their personal qualities, like Holkar, and partly on account of the French officers whom they took into their

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service. Happily for the British, no harmony prevailed among them. But how can peace exist with nations, who are habitually in a state of war, as long as they are not incapacitated from waging it?

War was carried on with the combined rajahs of Berar (p. 293) and Scindia, who caused his troops to be organized after the European manner, by Perron, Sept.—Dec., 1803. The British were victorious, conquered Agri and Delhi itself, the residence of the Great Mogul. Peace was agreed upon, Dec. 30, 1803. Conditions: *a*. The resignation of the Duab (between the Jumna and the Ganges); of Beroach in Guzerat, and of the district of Kuttak with the harbour of Balasore, between Bengal and the Circars. *b*. The rajahs promised neither to engage or retain foreign Europeans in their service. *c*. The Great Mogul was to remain in the most perfect dependence on the British (he soon became a mere pensionary).—The war with Holkar, (at the same time the enemy of Scindia,) prosecuted by the British since April, 1804, at first with ill success, consisted only of a border war.

Contributions to the latest history of India, in *Europäische Annalen*, 1805, B. 3, 4, from intercepted despatches of Governor-general Wellesley, first published in the *Moniteur*.

17. These wars and conquests, to which were added, at the peace of Amiens, the possessions of the Dutch in Ceylon, extended the immediate territory of the company over all the eastern coast, the greater part of the western coast, and on the Ganges and Jumna as far as Delhi. They moreover totally changed the military situation of the British in the East Indies. Instead of southern India, the northern, the countries on the Upper Ganges, became the principal seat of their power. They were again neighbours of the Seiks and other warlike nations, with which the maintenance of their dominion kept them in a state of constant dispute.

18. With the great enlargement of territory, especially of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, by Tippoo's fall, the territorial incomes were necessarily augmented. But hardly more than to meet the expenditures; and an intentional darkness was apparently thrown over the whole affairs of the company. Much depended of course on the character of the governor-general in India; what a difference was there between the spirit of the administration under the simple Cornwallis and the sumptuous Wellesley! With the extension of territory the power of these viceroys

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became greater of itself; but circumstances sometimes required it to be expressly increased.

After Hastings, 1774—1785, the British governor-generals in India were: first, Lord Cornwallis, till 1794; then Sir J. Shore, and he having been recalled, in 1796, in consequence of some disturbances among the soldiery, Cornwallis was again appointed, but resigned his office, in 1797, without going to India, the disturbances having been allayed; he was followed by the Marquis Wellesley, (Lord Mornington,) who was recalled in 1804; when Lord Cornwallis, appointed a third time, actually went out, but died soon after his arrival, 1805. He was succeeded by Lord Minto, who was followed, in 1813, by the Earl of Moira (Marquis Hastings).

The East India annual Register and Directory. This British-Indian state Calendar, appearing annually in London, affords the best information respecting the interior organization of the government.

19. The Bristish East India commerce was naturally enlarged by the conquests from the Dutch, (p. 344,) as the whole of the spice trade came into the hands of the British. Though the monopoly of the company continued, it was circumscribed by the regulation, that private persons might trade to India on paying a fixed tax, provided it were in the vessels of the company. An oppressive monopoly of the company was in reality incompatible with the well-known regulations of the traffic in its stock, and its periodical sales by auction. 1793.

20. The Dutch East India company, having been for a long time approaching its dissolution, resembled, after the revolution of the mother country, an expiring taper. Its downfal was produced, not by the loss of its possessions, but by its own want of actual internal vitality. The territorial receipts of most of the possessions had long been inadequate to defray the expenses of the administration; and the smuggling, carried on by its own officers, who were paid with illiberal parsimony, robbed it in a great degree of the advantages of commerce. Its possessions, of which Ceylon only was ceded by the peace of Amiens, became the property of the nation; and its debts were attached to the mass of the national debt. In Europe the administration was committed to a board of control; in India, it seems to have remained unaltered. As for the commerce, the monopoly of

Holland. Sept. 5, 1795. Dec. 24.

Mar. 1, 1803. it to the western part of India was revoked, and limited to the eastern part alone (the Moluccas and the spice trade).

The speedy fall of the company followed its slow decline after the war with England, 1780. The debts, which amounted in 1781 to no more than twelve millions of guilders, had increased in 1792 to one hundred and seven millions; at this time the receipts were more than seventy millions less, and the expenditures thirty millions more than in the twelve preceding years.

Staat der Generale Nederlandschen Oostindischen Compagnie behelzende Rapporten, van de Heeren Haar Ed. Groot Mogende Gecommitteerden en Bylagen, in date 14 *Juli,* 1791. Amsterdam, 1792, 2 vols. 8vo. This book contains a threefold report of the commissaries to the states-general, respecting the finances of the company, with all the necessary documents.—Afterwards appeared,

Bericht rakende de Vernietiging van het tegenwoordig Bewind der Oost-Indische Compagnie; in, *Nieuwe Nederlansche Jaarboeken,* Oct., 1795, p. 6381 seq. The principal document for the history of the last period of the company, 1772—1792, with references and proofs.—The internal decay, which had already begun at an earlier period, is here confessed.

Bericht van den tegenwoordigen toestand der bataafsche Bezittingen in Oost-Indien, van den Handel op dezelve, door Dirck van Hoogendorp. Delft, 1799, 8vo. The most lively (whether the most faithful?) sketch of the miserable condition of the company's affairs in the East Indies themselves. The author was arrested in Java, but escaped to Holland. He has not been contradicted.

Beknopte Beschryving der Oost-Indischen Etablissementen, verzeld van eenige Bylagen, door Aby Huysers, Oud Koopmann, etc. Utrecht, 1789, 8vo. Useful for obtaining a knowledge of the organization of the company in India, especially from the Appendix, No. 3, which includes the regulation of the governor-general, James Mossel, 1753, respecting the rank and pay of the officers of the company in the East Indies.

France. 21. The French East Indies were soon limited, after the beginning of the war of the revolution, to the isles of France and Bourbon. Protected by their situation, and faithful to the mother country, these islands maintained themselves not only against foreign attacks, but also, what was much more difficult, against the internal storms of the revolution. They were always a thorn in the side of England, on account both of the privateering they carried on, and of the connexion they sustained with single Indian princes.

22. The settlements of the British in Australia (p. 295) were already so thriving, that they supported themselves,

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and promised a rich reward to the mother country, particularly from their flocks. Two colonies had been already settled on Norfolk Island and Van Dieman's Land. The navigation of the British continued to embrace the great Pacific. Missions were established to Otaheite; the Sandwich Islands began to adopt European culture, and 1790.
parts, hitherto unknown, of North America, around Nootka Sound, acquired such an importance from the trade in peltry, that they almost caused a war between Great Britain and Spain.

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THIRD PERIOD.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From 1786 *to* 1797.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

1. The internal relations of the north in this period, grew chiefly out of the alliance of Russia with Austria, and the dissolution of its connexion with Prussia. Hence proceeded the Russian-Austrian war against the Turks, and in consequence, the war with Sweden, as well as the whole series of the destinies of Poland, and the final destruction of that state. The league, occasioned by the Dutch disturbances, between Prussia and England, gave the latter power a greater influence over the north than it had hitherto exercised; and towards the close of this period, the north was influenced by the new scenes in France, which modified, in a greater or less degree, the spirit of all the European cabinets.

2. The circumstance of Russia being thus at variance with England and Prussia, may perhaps have contributed, as much as foreign policy, to the breaking out of the war with Turkey: Potemkin was nevertheless its principal author, as he was its soul, in the capacity of commander-in-chief. Aug. 16, 1787. But the war acquired the aspect of a defensive war, since the Porte was the first to declare it. With so much the greater certainty could the Feb. 9, 1788. participation of Joseph be reckoned upon; notwithstanding the Turks avoided, with the utmost care, giving the least offence. Thus arose a conflict of four

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years, by which Russia saw only a small proportion of its wishes accomplished, and Joseph, fearfully deluded in his hopes, prepared his own grave, before witnessing the issue.

The theatres of the war were: partly the Crimea and Bessarabia for the Russians alone; and partly the countries on the Danube, from Bosnia to Moldavia, for the Austrians and Russians. In 1787, the Turks made some fruitless attacks by sea upon Kinburn, Sept. and Oct., for the purpose of reconquering the Crimea. The Russians, hitherto accustomed, like the Romans, to appear with moderate armies, this time came forward in greater force; the principal army under Potemkin; a second on the frontiers of Moldavia under Romanzoff. The Turks, avoiding decisive battles, defended their fortresses. In the year 1788, naval battles, unfavourable to the Turks, were fought at the mouths of the Dnieper, June 28, and July 12; and soon after Oczakoff was besieged by Potemkin, July—December. It was taken by assault, with terrible carnage, Dec. 17. The Austrian war was begun by the main army under Joseph himself and Lascy, March. A singular system of defensive war by means of a frontier cordon was adopted; it was penetrated by the Turks in the Bannat, in August. The night at Lugosch, Sept. 20, cost Joseph his reputation as a general, and his health. He soon abandoned the army in discontent; Laudon with Haddik obtaining the chief command.—The body under the Prince of Cobourg joined the Russians in Moldavia, and Choczim was reduced, Sept. 19.—In the following campaign, 1789, the Austrians were more successful under Laudon, conquered Belgrade, Oct. 8, and invested Orsowa. In Moldavia under Cobourg and Suwarrow they won a battle at Fockschani, July 31, and at Martinestie on the Rimnik, Sept. 22. The Russians were constantly laying sieges. Gallacia was conquered, May 1; Ackermann, Oct. 13; Bender, Nov. 15. No less achievements were effected in the campaign of 1790, when Austria had withdrawn, after the death of Joseph. Killanova was conquered, Oct. 15; and the terrible storming of Ismail, by Suwarrow, took place Dec. 22.

Geschichte des Oestreichisch-Russischen und Turkischen Krieges in den Jahren von 1787—1792, nebst AKTENSTUCKEN und URKUNDEN. Leipzig, 1792. Compiled from the *Political Journal.*

Considerations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs, par M. DE VOLNEY. à Londres, 1788.—Respecting the impending partition of the Turkish empire, and the interest of France in it, especially with respect to Egypt.

Examen du livre intitulé Considérations, etc., par M. DE PEYSSONEL. Amsterdam, 1788.—Very profound as a critical performance, but dry and uninteresting.

3. But the distresses of the Porte had roused the activity of other powers, England, and particularly Prussia. Without themselves engaging in the contest, they attempted to effect diversions in Poland and Sweden. Gustavus III. believed the favourable moment had arrived for extricating himself from the burdensome preponderance of a neighbour, by a

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bold stroke. He therefore quarrelled with Russia; and having to contend with domestic as well as foreign antagonists, he soon had ample opportunity of showing what an extraordinary man is able to perform, even when left to himself alone. His conflict was not without glory, and ended without loss.

The king invaded Russian Finland, June 23, 1788; and Russia declared war, July 11. The war, both on land and sea, was rendered more extensive by the participation of Denmark in favour of Russia, conformably to the existing alliance, (p. 316,) Sept. Norway was invaded and Gottenburg menaced; but on the application of Britain, Oct. 9, an armistice was agreed upon, and subsequently a retreat.—An indecisive naval battle occurred at Hochland, July 7.—But the Swedish army mutinied, because an aggressive war was contrary to the constitution, and of itself concluded a truce with Russia. The states were convened; and by the Act of Union and Safety, April 3, 1789, the royal power was augmented and invested with the right of war and peace, not without the vehement resistance of the nobility. The war was renewed; in Finland, however, none but frequent battles near the ports occurred. On sea, the contest was bloody, of the main fleet as well as of the squadrons. A victory was obtained by a Russian squadron, Aug. 24. So also in the following year, 1790. The attack on the fleet at Neval, was repelled, May 14; but the king gained a victory with his squadrons, May 15. After the naval battle of June 3, the Swedish fleet retreated and was blockaded in Wiburg Sound, and suffered great loss in the battle of July 3. But the king was again victorious with the squadron in Svensca Sound, July 9. Negotiations were then entered upon; and peace was concluded, without foreign mediation, at Werela, Aug. 14. Conditions: *a.* Restoration of the *status quo* before the war. *b.* Russia acknowledged the existing Swedish constitution.

Plenipotentiaries: from Russia, Baron Igelström: from Sweden, Baron Armfeldt.

Mémoire sur la Campagne de 1788 *en Suede*, par le PRINCE CHARLES DE HESSE. à Copenhague, 1789. For the history of the Danish campaign.

4. Much greater difficulties obstructed the termination of the Turkish war, because strangers mingled in it. England, and particularly Prussia, desired to prescribe the terms; a Prussian alliance was concluded with the Porte; (Jan. 31, 1790.) and a Prussian army was assembled in Silesia. The death of Joseph II., (Feb. 20.) and the situation of the monarchy at the accession of Leopold, strengthened the hopes of pacification. Belgium was in open rebellion, (p. 329,) Hungary discontented and turbulent, the whole state exhausted and destitute of internal support.

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The congress at Reichenbach was nevertheless opened under very uncertain prospects.

The congress was holden at Reichenbach, June, 1790. The project of Hertzberg was to restore Galicia to Poland in consideration of an indemnification in Servia and Walachia, according to the boundaries of Passarowitz (see p. 189); and to Prussia, Dantzic and Thorn; this was rejected by Austria. The project was abandoned on Hertzberg's fall, and a strict *status quo* insisted on. The convention at Reichenbach, June 27, was to be the basis of future peace between Austria and the Porte; Austria agreed to the *status quo;* and Prussia and the maritime powers promised their aid in the Netherlands.

Plenipotentiaries: from Austria, Prince Reuss and Baron von Spielmann; from Prussia, Count Hertzberg; from England, Jos. Ewart; from the republic, Van Reede.

HERZBERG, *Recueil*, etc. T. iii. p. 77 seq.

5. The immediate consequence of this procedure was a truce between Austria and the Porte; but the conclusion of the definitive peace at Szistové was delayed, on account of several intermediate events and some modifications, till the middle of the following year. Sept. 19.

Peace was concluded between Austria and the Porte, Aug. 4, 1791. Conditions: *a.* Restoration of the *status quo* before the war; but old Orsova remained with Austria, though without fortifications. *b.* The fortress of Choczim was to be occupied by Austria, till the peace with Russia. *c.* The boundaries were more accurately fixed; and afterwards ratified by the convention of Nov. 28, 1795.

Plenipotentiaries: the Baron v. Herbert; and the reis Effendi.

6. The negotiation with Russia was attended with much greater difficulties. Catharine, already reconciled with Sweden, was not pleased with the high tone in which Prussia, and still more England, were desirous of prescribing to her similar conditions of the *status quo.* In vain did Pitt, amid the murmurs of the nation, equip a fleet; Catharine declared her resolution to conclude her peace alone, and she did conclude it alone.

Preliminaries were signed between Russia and Austria, Aug. 11, 1791; they were changed into a definitive peace at Jassy, Jan. 9, 1792. Conditions: *a.* Russia obtained Oczakoff with the strip of land between the Dnieper and the Niester, which last constituted the boundary. *b.* In other respects, all conquests being restored, the boundaries were the same as before the war.—Potemkin, the author of the war, did not live to see the pacification. He died, while travelling, under a tree, not far from Jassy, Oct. 15, 1791.

The plenipotentiaries at Jassy were: the Count Besborodko, and the grand vizier Jussuf Pacha.

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7. After four years of contest, and with streams of blood, it was hardly found possible to break down even the outworks of a state, which it had been attempted to overthrow; (so much can national feeling and courage do against tactics!) and even these had to be restored with a few slight exceptions. But even without further conquests, the war was no less replete with consequences.

8. The first and most important one was the establishment of the dominion of Russia on the Black Sea. It continued to hold the Crimea and the contiguous countries, then indeed deserts, but deserts where Cherson and Odessa were soon afterwards to bloom. Catharine planted here, not for herself, but for future generations. What may become of these places is manifest by a glance at the neighbouring sea with its coasts and islands; what will become of them, future history must narrate.

But these advantages were purchased with the embarrassment of the Russian money affairs, an embarrassment not yet remedied. Since the beginning of this Turkish war, the paper money, issued by Catharine in 1768, fell below its nominal value; and the issues being repeated, it continued to depreciate, till it fell to about a fourth of its value.

Ueber Russlands Papiergeld und die Mittel, dasselbe bei einem unveränderlichen Werthe zu erhalten von L. H. Jakob. Halle, 1817. Drawn from a thorough practical as well as theoretical knowledge of the subject.

9. A higher advantage for the present was the formation of generals. Russia and Germany found theirs; Suwarrow and Cobourg, rivals without envy, were of much more value than the devastation of Oczakoff and Choczim. The times were approaching when both should appear on another stage. Why had their great career to begin in the evening of their life?

Anthing, *Versuch einer Kriegsgeschichte des Grafen. Al. Suwarrow.* 1799, 3 Thle.

10. For the two neighbouring states, Sweden and Poland, this second Turkish war had opposite results. For Sweden, the guerdon of the war was its restored independence and friendship with Russia. But could the new augmentation of the regal power be regarded as fortunate? The very next years proved, that it might be highly dangerous for Sweden: and no one atoned for it more severely than the ill-fated Gustavus III.!

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The peace at Werela was shortly followed by a defensive alliance with Russia, Oct. 19, 1791, brought about by their similar sentiments towards France. Gustavus III. resolved to join the alliance against France, and place himself at its head. But a great ferment arose among the nobility; and the king was murdered after the diet at Gefle, March 16, 1792. The consequence was the preservation of neutrality under the regency of Duke Charles of Südermanland (till 1796).

Reisen über den Sund. Tübingen, 1803. Valuable for the information it conveys of this period.

11. A series of extremely different destinies grew out of the wars, as affecting the condition of Poland. Its fall had meanwhile been preparing. The variance of Russia and Prussia necessarily reacted on this state; and its situation soon became such, that neutrality was impossible.

Russia had made a proposal, favoured by Stanislaus, in the diet of the confederacy, for a league, in order to involve Poland in the Turkish war; on the other hand, Prussia declared to Poland, Oct. 12, 1788, that it would consider this as a step against itself.

Vom Entstehen und Untergange der Polnischen Constitution vom 3 Mai, 1791. Germanien, 1793, 2 Thl. Comprehending the accomplishment of the second partition of Poland, Oct. 1793. Written by Polish patriots. Grief, even when best justified, does well to moderate its expression.—The opposite side of the picture is shown in,

Histoire de la pretendue Révolution de Pologne, avec un examen de sa nouvelle constitution; par M. MEHÉE. Paris, 1793. The new constitution certainly could not please a violent Jacobin.

12. The anti-Russian party became clamorous, as soon as a defender was seen in Prussia. The abolition of the constitution, guaranteed by Russia, (p. 314,) and the introduction of a new one more adapted to the age, were its principal objects. Constantly encouraged in them by Prussia, it came to an alliance with this power, in which not only the present possessions of Poland were guaranteed, but assistance promised, should others attack it on account of its domestic affairs. The Poles were indeed startled, as the acquisition of Dantzic and Thorn already began to be agitated.

March 29, 1790.

The first differences between Prussia and Poland originated in the discussions respecting the treaty of commerce; in which the cession of Dantzic was proposed. The alliance was concluded, the treaty of commerce remaining unfinished.

13. Freeing itself of Russian guardianship, and refusing to permit Russian troops to march through the country, Poland now assumed the attitude of a sovereign state. Ig-

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natius Potocki and his friends meanwhile pursued in profound secrecy, and with the approbation of Prussia, the project of the new constitution. The king also was gained, as far as he could be. But still the ancient prejudices were so radical, that the accepting this constitution could only be effected by a kind of surprise.

May 3, 1791.

The chief points of the constitution of May 3, were: *a*. The change from an elective to an hereditary kingdom. *b*. The elector of Saxony was declared the successor;—the throne was to be hereditary in his house. *c*. The king, with the council of state, was invested with the executive power. *d*. The diet should continue in two chambers; with the abrogation of the *liberum veto*. *e*. All the privileges of the nobility were confirmed, though *f*. some favours were accorded to the citizens and peasants. These were, indeed, very slight; but could more be granted at once, without irritating the former nation, the nobility?

The best critical view of the constitution is to be found in JEKEL, *Staatsveränderungen, etc.* (see p. 167).

14. Rarely has a new constitution ever been accepted with greater enthusiasm. The nation considered it the dawn of their liberty. But to defend was more difficult than to project; and in fact this was almost impossible, because the king, who ought to have defended it, was too weak even to have the wish.

15. Catharine appeared intentionally to observe an ominous silence, so long as her hands were bound by the war with the Turks. And she did not break it without a pretext. This had to be afforded by the union of a small number of discontented persons, Felix Potocki and his assistants, at Targowitz, for maintaining the old constitution. Under her protection, they erected a confederacy, (soon loudly execrated by themselves,) which was called the nation. What was not now to be expected, when the peace at Jassy (p. 367) left Catharine free!

May 14, 1792.

A Russian army advanced into Poland, May, 1792. A bold but useless resistance was made under Poniatowsky, Kosciusko, and others. The king joined the confederacy of Targowitz, July 23; a truce was made, and the new constitution entirely overthrown.

16. Still, however, the hopes of Poland rested on Prussia. But many changes had meanwhile taken place in the west. Frederic William II. had returned from Champagne, without laurels and with his treasury almost exhausted; and the war on the Rhine continued. What a prospect,

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joined to that of a second war with Russia! That Prussia would abandon them, the Poles might therefore anticipate; but that their protector, already in secret connexion with Russia, would aid in their ruin—was more than could have been expected!

The Prussian troops marched into Poland under the pretence of suppressing Jacobinism, and issued a declaration, Jan. 16, 1793, which was followed by a second, Feb. 24, respecting the taking of Dantzic, which had been the declared object of Prussian policy since the first partition, but was prudently concealed by Catharine, and by the prosecution of which object Frederic had detracted from his reputation in 1783. But the declaration in common, of April 16, dispelled all uncertainty.

17. Poland was again divided, between Russia and Prussia, and lost all but a third of its former territory. The partition itself was bad enough, but the manner in which the consent of the nation was extorted at the diet of Grodno was still worse. Such scenes had never before been witnessed in Europe.

The cession, of what had been seized, to Russia, was extorted Aug. 17, 1793; to Prussia, Sept. 3, in consideration of a renunciation of all further claims, and of a guarantee of what was left behind.

18. That the rest of Poland was to be under the sway of Russia was tacitly understood. A closer union with the latter country left it hardly the shadow of independence; and what other but a military dominion could now have existed? Even the capital was occupied by Russian troops, and the commander-in-chief was likewise the ambassador.

A treaty of union was made with Russia, Oct. 16. Chief points: *a.* Russia reserved the direction of future wars. *b.* Its consent was to be no less necessary in all future compacts with foreign states. *c.* Its troops should be allowed to march into Poland, on the shortest notice.—For the present, the heaviest measure was the appointment of the general Igelström as ambassador.

19. Under these circumstances hardly a semblance of hope seemed to remain; yet the nation was not entirely given up by the patriots, who had fled to foreign countries, and were acquainted with the state of public feeling in Poland. They found in Kosciusko the man, competent as a general to be the head of a revolution. Prepared by him, it broke out in Cracow, and soon after- 1794.

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wards in the capital also; and the only measure likely to insure success was adopted, of placing the leader, as supreme magistrate, at the head of the nation.

The revolution broke out on occasion of the reduction of the Polish troops in Cracow under Madalinsky, March 24. The peasants were armed, and the measures adopted were marked with boldness. It broke out in Warsaw, April 17. The Russians suffered a bloody defeat. A government was erected; (the king retaining his title;) and the national insurrection quickly spread.

Versuch einer Geschichte der letzen Polnischen Insurrection von Jahr 1794. 1796, 2 Th. In a certain degree, a continuation of the work; *Vom Entstehen, etc.*, (see p. 69,) but in a more moderate tone, and by another author.

Mémoires sur la Révolution de la Pologne, trouvées à Berlin. Paris, 1806. Containing, after a sketch of Polish history, the despatches to the empress from General Pistor respecting the occurrences in Warsaw.

20. Though in contest with two most powerful enemies, the hopes of the Poles were not a little animated by Frederic William's fruitless expedition against Warsaw. But their preservation was connected with one man; his fate decided theirs. In a short time nothing but the capital remained; and Poland ceased to be reckoned among the nations.

The siege of Warsaw was raised by Frederic William, an insurrection having arisen in his rear, Sept., 1794. But Kosciusko was defeated and made prisoner by the Russians under Fersen, Oct. 10. Suwarrow pressed forward and took Praga by assault, with a terrible massacre of the inhabitants, Nov. 4.

21. Poland was dismembered a third time and completely, with the co-operation of Austria, after a mere convention of the three courts, as the consent of Poland was no longer necessary. The annihilation of this state was followed by the subjection of Courland, its former fief, (see p. 220,) to Russia.

The two imperial courts first issued declarations, with a preliminary definition of the boundaries, Jan. 3, 1795; and then, after a convention, a threefold mutual compact was concluded, Oct. 24, according to the boundaries as they then were.—The voluntary and unconditional act of subjugation of Courland was promulgated March 18, 1795.

FERRAND, *Histoire des trois demembremens de la Pologne, pour faire suite á l'histoire de l'anarchie de la Pologne*, par RHULIERES. Paris, 1820, 3 vols. An exact detail of the previous negotiations.

22. Catharine thus lived to see the conclusion of the grand tragedy, which, in fact, she alone terminated, as she

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alone had begun it thirty years before. She had divided the soil with others, but not the dominion; and what she had granted, would perhaps have only been lent, had she not been surprised by death. No one of her predecessors had exercised influence like hers on Europe; but history has shown, that this influence had its bounds, and what they were. Things were entirely changed, when her only son Paul I. ascended the throne, too late for himself, with contrary maxims.

Nov. 17, 1796.

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THIRD PERIOD.

SECOND DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the peace at Campo Formio, to the establishment of the French imperial throne. 1797 *to* 1804.

HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

SCHUTZ, *Handbuch der Geschichte Napoleons und seines Zeitalters.* Leipzig, 1810. A complete chronological enumeration of the events from 1769 to 1810.

Geschichte Napoleon Buonaparte's, von FRIEDR. SAALFELD. Leipzig, 1817, 2 Theile. A copious narrative.

1. AT the beginning of this period, the situation of the leading powers of Europe, though they all stood erect, had essentially changed. France, already geographically aggrandized by the possession of Belgium, Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, and most closely allied with Spain, held Italy and Holland occupied, and could confidently reckon upon the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, and the consequent dependence of the German empire. What more did it need for assuming the entire sway of the continent? Austria was employed in healing its wounds. In the east was Russia, with unweakened vigour, not only aggrandized by the last Polish partitions, but brought geographically nearer to the west, and, since the accession of the new ruler, adopting a line of policy substantially changed by a participation in the war of the revolution. This participation once begun, how could it have ceased, even in case of a change of party? From this time, therefore, the former separation of the northern and southern states disappears, and, by the closer union of them both, Europe now constitutes but one political system.

2. Between them stood Prussia, rapidly drained by an

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extravagant administration; now become the immediate neighbour of Russia, and soon afterwards of France, with frontiers open to both; and, though possessed of a great commercial navigation, yet from the want of a navy exposed to every attack on sea. Whether to attach itself to Russia or France was the grand question at home. The idea seems to have been buried with Frederic that there was yet a third, perhaps the only course left for Prussia, to stand or fall with the former political system of Europe:—for what place would there be for this intermediate state, in a new order of things?

King Frederic William II. died before the meeting of the congress at Rastadt, Nov. 16, 1797. A reform was soon introduced into the court and ministry under Frederic William III.; there was no material change, however, in the organization of the state, or in foreign relations. *Historische Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Verfalls des Preussischen Staats seit dem Jahre* 1794, *von dem Obristen von Massenbach.* 1809, 2 Th. Even the wisest heads believed aggrandizement to be the only remedy for the state.

3. Even after the peace, it was soon felt that things were still in an uncertain state. The naval war continued, and who could doubt that Pitt would do every thing to rekindle the war on land? The conclusion also of the peace of the empire at Rastadt, could not be unattended with difficulties; and even if neither had been the case, the continued republicanizing plans of the directory gave support to that conflict of political maxims, which admitted of no permanent pacification.

4. The congress met at Rastadt, under the most melancholy auspices for the empire. It was only to be supported by a close union of Austria and Prussia; but old maxims, new projects, and new prospects already opened, (p. 341, sqq.,) formed too strong a wall of partition; and the surrender of Mayence and the capture of Ehrenbreitstein, during the negotiations, showed beforehand the future situation of Germany. The demands of France were doubled: 1st, The cession of the whole left bank of the Rhine, which secured its military influence. 2nd, The adoption of the maxim of indemnifying the injured princes by secularizations, which secured its political influence.

The congress at Rastadt lasted from Dec. 9, 1797-8, to April, 1799. After the principal demands of France had been granted, March 11,

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1798, on the side of the empire, a speedier termination might have been expected, had it not been shown that this did not depend on the congress itself, but on the situation of Europe, which became every day more complicated.

The deputies were: from France, Bonnier, Jean de Bry, and Roberjot (the last after Trielhard's departure); from the emperor, Count Metternich, Count L. Cobenzl, and von Lehrbach; from Prussia, Count Goertz, von Jacobi, von Dohm; from the electorate of Mayence, Baron von Albini, etc.

Geheime Geschichte der Rastadter Friedensunterhandlungen in Verbindungen mit den Staatshändeln deiser Zeit. Von einem Schweizer. Nebst den wichtigsten Urkunden. Germanien, 1799, 6 Th. 8vo. Only the first part of this comprehensive work contains, in a condensed sketch, the history from the beginning of the wars of the revolution to the breaking out of the war, 1799; the remaining five contain the collection of documents.

5. During these negotiations several of the countries, and especially Italy, continued in a revolutionary state. Since the erection of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics the democratic party had become more widely spread, and had caused, in Rome itself, the subversion of the existing government, and a Roman republic. But no where would the tree of liberty take less root than there.

Rome was occupied by French troops on occasion of a popular insurrection, Feb. 10, 1798. The Roman republic was proclaimed, Feb. 15. Pius the Sixth, now eighty years old, (who died in exile, Aug. 29, 1799,) was harshly treated and carried away, together with several cardinals, Feb. 20.

A brief account of the subversion of the Papal government, 1798, by R. Duppa. London, 1799.

6. If this treatment of the head of the church at the order of the directory was a proof of its contempt of public opinion, a much more striking one was seen in the violent revolution of Switzerland. For almost three hundred years this republic in the midst of Europe had not only succeeded in avoiding all participation in those great disputes, with which the world had been entangled, but the conventional international law had also accorded to it, in a certain measure, an inviolability which bordered on sanctity. How could an age that spared nothing have spared this sanctity, in which there was freedom indeed, but no equality? Besides the financial gain that it was hoped would accrue from the spoils, the military importance of the country, from its situation and character, was in all probability a no less power-

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ful motive. Notwithstanding the resistance offered, a few weeks were sufficient to overthrow the structure of centuries, and to transform the league of the confederates into one Helvetian republic.

Switzerland preserved its neutrality notwithstanding the disputes respecting the emigrants, till the revolution of Fructidor 18 (p. 349) determined its fate, by the expulsion of Barthèlemy and Carnot. Switzerland became agitated, and the revolution began in Pays de Vaud, Dec., 1797. The evils of the federal constitution were soon disclosed; there was a want of unity, and the burden at last fell almost exclusively on Berne. Here also there was no want of deliberation and energy; but the majority adopted partial measures, and with Kosciusko's courage, the bold d'Erlach was never possessed of Kosciusko's means. The French advanced on two sides, and obstinate battles ensued; Berne was overpowered, March 2—5, 1798; and the other cantons were conquered, with the exception of the three smaller. These made an obstinate resistance and an honourable capitulation, May 1—4. The Helvetian republic was proclaimed, April 12. Then followed five unhappy years of war and faction, till the French Act of Mediation, Feb. 19, 1803, restored to the Swiss their federal (but altered) constitution and tranquillity.—At the time of the taking of Switzerland, the republic of Geneva was destroyed, by its incorporation with France, April 26, 1798.

Essai historique sur la déstruction de la ligue et de la liberté Helvétique, par MALLET DU PAN. Londres, 1798. Is there no native of Berne to write this history?

Authentic information respecting the destruction of the republic of Geneva may be found in the *Polit. Journal*, May, 1798.

7. England stood against the continent; with doubled power; with doubled debts; with doubled resources. The fearful secret began to be avowed, that it could exist as it was only in war; and experience soon showed, that a peace would be nothing but an armistice. Pitt's long and disinterested administration concentrated the power in the hands of a few families, and in the bosom of the free constitution an oligarchy was formed, which, subsequently pushing to a scandalous excess the altercations respecting the offices of state, was nevertheless long unable to produce a single leading mind. But the maxims of the anti-revolutionary policy had been firmly established by Pitt; and the government had soon to recur to them, even when it seemed, for a short space, to have abandoned them.

8. But the continued war with England about this time matured an enterprise, which, executed by the hero of the day, for whom there was now no suitable theatre in Europe,

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attracted by its novelty the interest of the world. The conquest and colonization of Egypt was at the same time to afford a compensation for the West Indies, and give another direction to the colonial system of Europe. Prepared under the mask of an expedition against England, the execution was yet more wonderful than the preparation. The conquest of Malta, combined with it, has been followed by almost greater consequences to Europe than the conquest of Egypt itself.

Great preparations and embarkations were made at Toulon (as constituting the left wing of the 'army of England' in the Channel). The fleet and army under Buonaparte set sail May 18, 1798. Malta capitulated and was occupied, June 10—12, without resistance. The fleet was pursued but not overtaken by the British, and finally anchored at Marabou. The troops landed July 1. Alexandria was taken on the 2nd, after which Buonaparte pressed forward towards Cairo, and gained the battle of the Pyramids, July 21. Cairo was invested on the 22nd. Desaix made an expedition against Upper Egypt, and subdued it after the battle at Sediman, Oct. 7. The Syrian expedition was defeated at Acre, Dec.—May, 1799; (it was ascertained too late that Egypt cannot be maintained without the possession of Syria.) The Turks landed and were defeated at Aboukir, July 25.

Relation des campagnes du Général Buonaparte en Egypte et en Syrie, par BERTHIER. Paris, 1800.

9. No undertaking ever created such intense anxiety in England. Even the great naval victory at Aboukir, Aug. 1. by which Nelson almost annihilated the French fleet, could not allay it. But by this victory it acquired the dominion of the Mediterranean, and the British ministry made it a maxim not to rest till Egypt should be torn from France.

10. The epoch of the victory at Aboukir gave this battle a greater political importance than naval battles usually possess. Sept. 12. The first consequences were a declaration of war against France by the Porte, on account of the invasion of Egypt, accompanied with efforts to reconquer it, aided by England. Thus was dissolved the oldest bond of amity in Europe!

11. A still more important consequence was the formation which it promoted, of a second coalition, by means of England and Russia. Nov. 24. The office, accepted by Paul I. after the conquest of Malta, as grand master of the order, led to further steps, and the world beheld a new

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example, how antiquated institutions may recover a momentary importance from the passions of rulers.

Russia formed alliances with Naples, Nov. 29, 1798; with the Porte, Dec. 23; with England, Dec. 29; and with the remote Portugal, Sept. 28, 1799. England formed alliances with Sicily, Dec. 1; with the Porte, Jan. 5, 1799. So also did Naples with the Porte, Jan. 21.

12. The condition of these treaties were, in general, a mutual guarantee of all possessions, (including Egypt, in the case of the Porte,) a common prosecution of the war, according to exact stipulations, and none but a common conclusion of peace: the closing of all harbours, especially in the Mediterranean, to French navigation and commerce; British subsidies to Russia and others. The duration of the treaties was fixed for eight years.

13. But it was the accession of the two leading German powers, which could alone open to this mighty combination the way of attack. The course of affairs in Rastadt, and the increasing differences with Austria, hardly left room for a doubt, that these might be gained. Prussia, on the other hand, thinking to steer in the general storm between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted, with unshaken purpose, in its neutrality. The warrior state suddenly changed its character, and became the most peaceful. The most dangerous of all experiments, when the state itself destroys the halo of its power!

After the fruitless negotiations at Selz, May 30—July 6, 1798, Austria began to contract closer relations with Russia and England, conceding to Russia the mediation with Prussia respecting future indemnifications. The advance of a Russian army through the Austrian territories, Dec., gave the clearest proofs; and caused the French ambassador to make a declaration, Jan. 2, 1799.

14. Thus a new combination was formed against the French republic, in extent, at least, greater than the former, but from this very circumstance, proportionably checked in its operations. What obstacles were thrown in its way by the geographical distance of London, Petersburg, and Vienna, obstructing all concert; what by the neutrality of Prussia, covering at the same time Holland and Belgium; what still greater obstacles were presented by the clashing interests of England and the continent, and the capricious character of the Russian monarch! Besides, the premature secession of Naples, which soon proved destructive both to

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itself and Sardinia, did not permit very important consequences to be expected from such combinations.

The war broke out in Naples, Nov., 1798. The directory declared war against Naples and Sardinia, Dec. 6, and compelled Charles Emmanuel IV. to renounce all his possessions on the continent, Dec. 9. The Neapolitan war proceeded unfortunately under Mack. The king fled to Palermo, June 2, 1799. Naples was taken after some obstinate fighting by Championnet, Jan. 23, and erected into a so-called Parthenopæan republic, though not formally recognised as such by the directory.

15. Those obstacles, however, could not weaken the first onset; and the financial embarrassment and the declining importance of the directorial government, in France itself, impeded all its steps. But the choice of leaders was most decisive. If the directory here failed, the Archduke Charles, on the contrary, and the dreaded Suwarrow, at the head of the allies, were the harbingers of victory. The
1799. congress of Rastadt was dissolved; and one campaign was enough to give the victorious allies Italy, Switzerland, and Germany.

The congress of Rastadt broke up, April 8, 1799, and the French ambassadors were barbarously murdered on their return, April 28. The war was already begun on the Upper Rhine. The archduke won a battle at Ostrach, March 21, and at Stockach on the 25th, over Jourdan. He penetrated Switzerland as far as Zurich against Massena, till, separated from the Russians under Korsakow, (Sept.,) he held the command victoriously on the Upper Rhine. Manheim was taken, Sept. 18.—The war began in Italy, and Kray was victorious over Scherer at Verona, March 26; at Magnano, April 5. After his arrival, Suwarrow took the command of the Russian-Austrian army, April 16. A victory was gained at Cassano, April 27, and Milan and Turin were taken. Almost all the fortresses, even Mantua itself, fell, July 28. The French under Macdonald retreated from Naples, and were defeated by Suwarrow on the Trebia, June 17—19. Naples was reconquered by the Calabrians under Cardinal Ruffo, when the most revolting cruelties were perpetrated, and the throne was re-established, supported by Russians, Turks, and Britons, (a singular combination,) as also the papal dominion under Pius VII. Another French army advanced under Joubert; it was likewise routed by Suwarrow at Novi, Aug. 15. Genoa and Ancona alone remained occupied by French troops.

Précis des evènements militaires, ou essais historiques sur les campagnes de 1799 *à* 1814, *avec cartes et plans*, par M. LE COMTE MATTHIEU DUMAS; lieutenant-général des armées du Roi. Paris, 1817. The six vols. that have hitherto appeared of this valuable work, comprehend the campaigns of 1799, 1800, and 1801.

Geschichte der Wirkungen und Folgen des Oestreichischen Feldzuges in der Schweiz, von C. L. VON HALLER. Zwei Theile, 1801.

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Mémoires pour servir à l' histoire des dernières révolutions de Naples, par B. N. témoin oculaire. Paris, 1803.

Die Geschichte des Feldzuges 1799 *in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.* Wien, 1819, Th. i. ii. (by the ARCHDUKE CHARLES). The best account of the campaign of 1796 in Germany, has been given by the *Grundzüge der Strategie* of the same author.

16. Were not these days of victory the days for founding peace? Or was it not the time for a neutral power, like Prussia, to assert with effect and dignity the restoration of Europe? But when has it not been more difficult to make a wise use of a victory, than to obtain the victory itself? The precious moments were gone, and before the year was expired, the coalition had fallen asunder, by the secession of Russia.

A misunderstanding had arisen between Austria and Russia in Italy respecting Ancona and Piedmont, Russia having taken Sardinia under its protection. The Russians withdrew under Suwarrow to Switzerland, to join Korsakow. But Korsakow had been defeated two days before by Massena, Sept. 25—27, and Suwarrow retreated over pathless Alps to Upper Suabia, the last and greatest of his achievements! He and his army were recalled, Jan. 1800, and met with a cold reception! England and Russia also were disunited by the unsuccessful combined descent on North Holland under the Duke of York, Aug.—Oct.; one advantage, however, accrued to England from it, namely, the surrender of the Dutch fleet in the Texel, Aug. 30.

17. While the allies were thus trifling away the advantages of their success, a much more important change was proceeding in France. The ship, which was freighted with the immediate destinies of France and Europe, had landed at Frejus. A few weeks were sufficient to establish a new order of things by the overthrow of the long-undermined directorial constitution—the directory abdicated; the deputies of the people were driven asunder with clubs;—and one campaign was enough to reconquer the lost fruits of victory, and peace at the same time. Oct. 9.

General Buonaparte returned from Egypt, Oct. 9, 1799. Preparations were made for an internal revolution, executed after the removal of the chambers of St. Cloud, principally through the instrumentality of the council of the ancients, Nov. 9 (Brumaire 18). The consular constitution was introduced, Dec. 15. Buonaparte was appointed regent, as first consul. The popular sovereignty was abolished by the abrogation of the municipal governments, and the appointment of prefects. The separation of the legislative and executive authority ceased, the government reserving to itself the sole right of originating bills in

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the legislative body. In appearance it was the outline of a constitution, rather than a finished draught.

18. After peace had been vainly proffered to England, (the manner in which it was proffered would alone have frustrated it,) preparations were made for opening the campaign. How very different was the situation of affairs now, when Russia, no longer co-operating, was soon half won! On the continent, therefore, Austria only had to be vanquished, being feebly supported by Naples and a part of the German empire, but soon more closely united to England by a new subsidiary treaty. It even seemed
June 26.
to be the general wish, to assist the purposes of France; for, previous to the commencement of the campaign, the Archduke Charles was recalled from the command!

A double plan was marked out for the campaign of 1800; in Italy under the first consul; in Upper Germany under Moreau. In Italy, Genoa was obstinately defended by Massena, till June 4. Meanwhile the reserve army crossed Mont St. Bernard. Milan was entered, and the Cisalpine republic restored. Buonaparte gained a victory at Marengo, over Melas, June 14, and a capitulation was made on the 15th, by which Lombardy and all the fortresses to Mantua were to be evacuated. Thus the fruits of a whole year were lost in one day.—In Germany, Moreau crossed the Rhine into Alsace, April 25, and advanced without intermission, beating Kray in several engagements, to Ulm, May 2—10; he then penetrated into Bavaria and the Grisons, June and July. Repeated armistices were made in Germany (after preliminaries had been concluded, July 28, but not ratified in Vienna) in consideration of the evacuation of Ulm and Ingolstadt, July 15—Nov. 9, and in Italy, after Sept. 29. A great victory was gained at Hohenlinden, Dec. 3, and Austria was entered as far as Linz; and at the same time another victory was gained in Italy on the Mincio, under Brune, Dec. 26; and the Adige was passed, Jan. 1, 1801, till a truce was concluded at Treviso, Jan. 16.

19. While the old century departed, thus stained with blood, the new ushered in at least a hope of peace. Gladly would humbled Austria have acceded to it: but the dissolution of the connexion with England was the condition. Hardly had Austria consented to this, at the close of the
Dec. 31.
previous century, when negotiations were opened at Luneville, of which a peace, both for the emperor and empire, was the consequence; followed by another peace at Florence with Naples.

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Negotiations were carried on at Luneville, Jan. 1—Feb. 9, 1801. The basis of them was, not only the peace at Campo Formio, but also the concessions already made by the emperor at Rastadt; new ones, however, were added. Chief conditions: *a.* The cession of Belgium and Frickthal (afterwards granted to Helvetia, Aug., 1802) to France. *b.* Confirmation of the cessions made in the peace of Campo Formio to Austria in the Venetian territory. *c.* As also of Breisgau to Modena. *d.* Resignation of the grand duchy of Tuscany in favour of the house of Parma, in consideration of an indemnity in Germany. *e.* The emperor and empire acquiesced in the alienation of the left bank of the Rhine, so that the course of the Rhine constituted the boundary. *f.* The hereditary princes, who suffered deprivations, were to be remunerated in the empire. *g.* The Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics were acknowledged, and included in the peace.—For the preservation of Tuscany, (afterwards changed into the kingdom of Etruria, in favour of Parma,) besides Parma itself, Louisiana was ceded by Spain to France, March 21, from which it was afterwards purchased by the United States of America (p. 353). A truce was made with Naples at Foligno, Feb. 18; and peace was concluded at Florence, March 28, 1801. Conditions: *a.* The harbours were to be closed against British and Turkish vessels. *b.* The relinquishment of its possessions in Tuscany, Elba, and Piombino. (Stati degli presidi.) *c.* Otranto remained occupied by French troops.

The negotiators at Luneville were Joseph Buonaparte and Count L. Cobenzl.

20. If the continent of Europe began to enjoy tranquillity by these pacifications, (if a tranquillity, enforced by the sword, can be called such,) the war was still waged on the ocean; the altered policy of Russia soon produced new scenes in the north; and the indemnities, to be allotted in Germany, opened a wide field for negotiation.

21. Since the conquest of Egypt, the Mediterranean had been the principal theatre of the naval war, being covered by Russian, Turkish, and English fleets. To establish here its new dominion, was the grand object of British policy; and the final surrender of Malta, reduced by hunger, laid for it a foundation, which can hardly be shaken. From this time, who could hope for a lasting maritime peace?—The conquest of the French Grecian islands by the Russians and Turks exhibited to Europe the strange spectacle of a Grecian republic; and a republic —founded by Russia and the Porte!

Sept. 5, 1800.

Corfu was taken by the Russian-Turkish fleet, March 1, 1799. The republic of the Seven Islands was erected under Turkish protection and Russian guarantee, by the convention at Constantinople between Russia and the Porte, March 21, 1800. Its constant occupation during the

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war by Russian forces, till 1807, gave Russia an important influence in the Mediterranean.—Minorca had been added to the conquests of the British in that sea, Oct. 15, 1798; and in the West Indies, the other Dutch colonies were conquered, (p. 344,) Surinam, Aug. 21, 1799, and Curaçao, Sept. 13, 1800.

22. Of no less moment was the procedure of Paul I. in the north. Withdrawing from his connexion with England and Austria, and craftily won over by the flattering policy of the new French ruler, he first drew the northern states nearer to himself; but the increased oppressions, inflicted on neutral flags by the British, soon led him to further projects. Catharine's scheme of an armed neutrality was renewed; the eruption of a new maritime war in the north was the consequence, which would perhaps have been carried much further, had not the relations been altered by the death of Paul I.

A defensive alliance was formed between Russia and Sweden, Oct. 29, 1799. Closer relations were contracted with Prussia, 1800; the former ones with Denmark continuing. The project of the armed neutrality was renewed, on account of the capture of Danish and Swedish ships under convoy, Aug., 1800. To this end, Russia entered upon a connexion with Sweden and Denmark, Dec. 16, to which Prussia acceded, Feb. 12, 1801. The principles of 1780 (p. 285) were repeated, with the addition, that convoy protected from search.—An embargo was laid on British ships in Russia, Nov. 8. The banks of the Weser and Elbe were occupied by Prussians and Danes, and in a short time, Hanover by Prussia, March, 1801. A British squadron was despatched to the Baltic; the battle of Copenhagen was fought, April 2, when the emperor Paul had already ceased to live, March 24. Alexander I. adopted different measures. A convention was made with England, (according to its wishes,) June 17, to which the allies acceded, and the conquests in Europe and the West Indies were evacuated.

23. The great change in Russia, (rarely has a greater been produced by a change of rulers,) and the mild spirit of the new monarch, who, by the restoration of the old relations, concluded peace both with France and Spain, had a perceptible influence on the tone of politics. Even England, distressed for want of corn, and almost insulated, desired peace, and it was regarded as a presage of it, that Pitt, who was fully conscious that he could never make peace himself, left of his own accord the post he had so long occupied. But the fate of Egypt gave the actual decision. In this matter, British policy did not waver; and the most unlimited exer-

Oct. 4-8, 1801.

Feb. 9, 1801.

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tions were not, in its opinion, too great for attaining this end.—Were these apprehensions well founded?

The fate of Egypt was determined from the departure of Buonaparte, who devolved the command on Kleber, Aug. 22, 1799. A British-Turkish army advanced from Syria, and conquered El-Arisch, Dec. 29. A convention was made with the grand vizier, Jan. 24, 1800. It was annulled, and the grand vizier was surprised and defeated at Heliopolis, March 20. General Kleber was murdered at Cairo and was followed by Menou, June 14. A British army under Abercrombie was sent out in Dec., and disembarked at Aboukir, March 8, while another, under Bairel, came from the East Indies by way of the Red Sea, in April. A victory was gained at Ramanié, March 21. Abercrombie died; and his successor, Lord Hutchinson, made a convention at Cairo for the evacuation of Egypt, June 27. This was done, and Alexandria surrendered in Sept. Egypt was restored to the Porte.

WILSON's *History of the British Expedition to Egypt.* London, 1800. —Respecting the importance of Egypt as a colony, consult,

HEEREN's Treatise: *Ueber die Colonisation von Ægypten und ihre Folgen fur das Europäische Staatensystem ueberhaupt,* in *Vermischte historische Schriften.* Th. ii.

24. By this issue, the principal obstacle which stood, for the present at least, in the way of the nearer approaches of England and France, was removed. The peace, which Portugal, attacked by Spain at the instigation of France, had to conclude with both, on condition of the cession of Olivenza, and the closing of its harbours to British vessels, was a new inducement. Thus the preliminaries, so long discussed in London, were soon concluded. The negotiations for the definitive peace, conducted at Amiens, led to the desired end in the ensuing spring. After the peace between France and England, that with the Porte could meet with no difficulty.

June 6.

Oct. 1.

Peace was concluded at Amiens between England on the one side, and France, Spain, and the Batavian republic on the other, March 25, 1802. Conditions: *a.* Restoration to France and its allies of all the conquests made by England, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, resigned by Spain, and Ceylon, ceded by the Batavian republic. *b.* The Porte was to be preserved in its integrity. It was comprehended in the peace, and was to be invited to join it. *c.* France recognised the republic of the Seven Islands. *d.* The island of Malta, with Gozzo and Comino, was to revert to the Order, to be evacuated within two months, to be occupied by Neapolitan troops, and its independence guaranteed by France, England, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. Neither the French nor English tongue was to prevail; the Maltese tongue was to be cultivated, and the returning knights were to elect a grand master from among themselves.

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The plenipotentiaries at Amiens were: from France, Joseph Buonaparte; from England, Lord Cornwallis; preliminaries having already been negotiated in London by Lord Hawkesbury and the French envoy, M. Otto; from Spain, Don Jos. Nic. de Azarra; from the Batavian republic, the ambassador to Paris, Schimmelpennink.

Peace was concluded between France and the Porte (according to the preliminaries previously agreed upon, Oct. 8, 1801). *a.* Egypt was restored, and the possessions of both parties guaranteed. *b.* The old compacts were renewed, and the navigation of the Black Sea opened to France. *c.* The republic of the Seven Islands was acknowledged. *d.* Mutual treatment on the footing of the most favoured states.

25. The conditions, on which the peace of Amiens was concluded, must excite the highest astonishment. The war had not been waged for Ceylon and Trinidad; but for the freedom of Europe. This was tacitly relinquished, for England seemed to renounce all participation in the affairs of the continent; even the evacuation of Holland was not stipulated. The war was therefore terminated, with its object still unattained; and the question, whether such a state of things, as this peace produced, could possibly continue long, must soon have become problematical.

26. This peace raised the first consul to the zenith of his renown. France retired from the conflict, with its interior well ordered and tranquillized, increased in territory, with all its colonies restored, and with but a slight loss on the part of its allies. All this, even the rebuilding of the altars and the establishment of religious liberty, seemed his work: and together with the power of arms, he was surrounded by the still greater power of public opinion. It now stood in his choice to rule Europe without further contests. And he would have governed it, had he been able to—govern himself!

Buonaparte was appointed first consul for life, Aug. 4, 1802, after he had already been nominated president of the Italian republics, June 26. He took the title of mediator of Switzerland, Feb. 19, 1803. This transformation of the French constitution had a corresponding influence on the secondary states; the Batavian republic received a directory; the Ligurian a doge; even the little Lucca (for which no new name had been found) did not escape transformation.—The *Concordat* with the Pope was concluded, July 15, 1801, ratified by the legislative body, April 8, 1802. Not only the Catholic but also the Protestant worship thus acquired its forms.

27. But the maintenance of public opinion, indispensable for the first magistrate of the republic, as it was still called,

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presupposed the maintenance of a great political character. He could not but sink in the former, in the same proportion as he was untrue to the latter; and the steps which undeceived the nations on this point followed in but too rapid succession!

28. The first great political transaction was the affair of the German indemnities, fixed at the peace of Luneville. It was prosecuted in Ratisbon, under the mediation of France and Russia, and the predominant influence and the policy of the former were here most clearly displayed. While all the spiritual princes were deprived of their seats, —that only of the arch-chancellor of the empire, with whom it was not deemed possible to dispense, being retained, though transferred from Mayence to Ratisbon,—the temporal estates, being more or less favoured by France, shared their inheritance. Every German would rather turn his eyes from a transaction, which, though perhaps inevitable in itself, is revolting from the manner in which it was executed.

A preliminary convention was made at Paris between Russia and France, respecting the plan of indemnities, June 4, 1802. It was given up and a proclamation issued by the diet, Aug. 18. The sessions of the extraordinary deputation of the empire were opened Aug. 24; final resolve of that deputation Feb. 25, 1803. The most favoured, in comparison with their losses, were Prussia, and the states near the Rhine; and the easiest to be kept in dependence, Baden, Wirtemberg, and Nassau; less so Bavaria; least of all Austria. Two Italian princes also were directed to Germany, the great land for indemnities; Tuscany had to satisfy itself with Salzburg, Modena with Breisgau and Ortenau. Four new electoral hats were conferred on Wirtemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Salzburg; men no longer aspired to a dignity, which soon remained but an empty title.

29. Thus there was still a German empire, but not the old German empire. It was an aggregate of states under foreign influence, with the emperor as nominal sovereign. Antiquated as it was, the truth was soon confirmed, that the central state of Europe could not disappear without a general convulsion.

30. The scanty period of peace enjoyed by Europe gave a striking proof of the extraordinary energies of its inhabitants. All strove by applying themselves to industry, trade, and navigation, to heal the wounds that had been inflicted, and, deep as they were, a few years of peace would have

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been sufficient. But peace did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife, which soon received too ample support. England, perceiving its error, would not relinquish Malta, (the bulwark of Egypt, which France never lost from its sphere of vision,) and with it the dominion of the Mediterranean, nor would France concede these points; and the formal incorporation of plundered Piedmont, without any previous agreement, showed the nations of the continent that the natural boundaries, on which so much stress had been placed, were boundaries no more.

The restoration of Malta was refused, because after the abolition that had taken place of the Spanish and Bavarian tongue, it could not return to the Order in its old form. In Sept., 1802, a mission was instituted, and Col. Sebastiani made an offensive report respecting the situation of Egypt and the Levant, Jan. 30, 1803, while on the other side, the public animosity was inflamed by the constant paper war carried on by the journalists of London.

31. It was therefore soon manifest that the treaty of Amiens, though not intended as a mere armistice, was in reality nothing more; and the palm of peace had not been planted a year, when it was torn up by a new war, more lasting and important than its authors had foreseen.

The king of England sent a message to parliament respecting the threatened security of the British territory, March 8, 1803. The negotiations of Lord Whitworth at Paris were fruitless.—Great Britain declared war against France, May 18.

32. This war, however, in which the Batavian republic, and all the other daughter-states of France, had to participate, was of an entirely different nature, since the two powers, the one strong on land, and the other on sea, found few points of contact, notwithstanding all their desire to inflict mutual injuries. The occupation of the neutral Hanover, without the least indication of it having been previously given at Ratisbon, and without any remonstrance from the diet, was as indecisive as the vain, though ostentatious, display of forces for a descent on the coasts of the Channel. This display served rather to call the British nation to arms. France and England might be said to be in the condition of war, rather than actually at war; and who could foresee the end?

Hanover was occupied by General Mortier, after the convention at Sulingen, June 3; and the capitulation at Artlenburg, July 5.

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33. But the immediate and widely important consequence of this war was the re-establishment of an hereditary throne in France, to which the consular constitution was only designed as a state of transition. But instead of the ancient regal throne, an imperial one was erected; instead of the legitimate monarch it was ascended by a successful soldier, who, in defiance of all morality and policy, had just dipped his hands in the blood of a branch of the royal family. Europe, accustomed for a long time only to legitimate princes, was now to learn from a grand example how tyrants rise.

March 20.

A decree of the senate was passed May 18, 1804, by which, at the proposal of the tribunate, the first consul was proclaimed emperor, and the dignity declared hereditary in his family. The votes were taken, (those not voting were regarded as assenting,) and it was declared to be accepted by the nation, Nov. 6. Napoleon I. was accordingly crowned and anointed by Pius VII. as emperor of the French, Dec. 2.

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THIRD PERIOD.

THIRD DIVISION OF THE PERIOD.

From the establishment of the French imperial throne to the restoration of the political system of Europe by its fall; and the establishment of the freedom of America; from 1804 *to* 1821.

FIRST SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN STATES-SYSTEM.

Histoire abregée des traités de paix, entre les puissances de l'Europe, depuis la paix de Westphalie, par feu M. DE KOCH. *Ouvrage entièrement refondu, augmenté et continué jusqu'au Congrés de Vienne et aux traites de Paris de* 1815, par F. SCHOELL, conseiller d'ambassade de S. M. le roi de Prusse près la cour de France. Paris, 1817, vol. i.—xiv. We mention this very important, and indeed indispensable, work for modern history, in conformity with its principal contents, here rather than at p. 128. The vols. vi.—xi. refer to the present period; the last three comprise the history of the system of the north. In connexion with this work is,

Recueil de pièces officielles destinées à detromper les Français sur les evènements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années, par FRED. SCHOELL. Paris, 1814, vol. i.—ix. 8vo. The collection begins with the Russian campaign of 1812, but comprehends also the Spanish war and the disputes with the Pope since 1808.

1. THE project of universal monarchy, a project fraught with terror to former periods, had almost fallen into oblivion, when it was again revived in the breast of the man who had already advanced almost half way to this object. If we understand by this expression the dominion either direct or indirect of Europe, this can no longer be subject to doubt. The problem for the history of this period is to show how far, and by what means, he advanced on this way, till destiny, interposing, assisted the abused nations in recovering their liberty.

2. Never had a potentate in Europe such resources at command as the present emperor, Napoleon. His sove-

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reignty in the interior was absolute, since the despotism of freedom had levelled every thing; the legislative body was mute after the weakening and subsequent abolition of the tribunate; while the so-called conservative senate, was a ready instrument of tyranny, for freedom does not live in dead forms! Abroad, France extended to the Rhine and beyond the Alps, and the Italian republic, as it was now to be called, was soon changed into the kingdom of Italy, under Buonaparte's sceptre and his immediate dominion; Spain, Batavia, Helvetia, the rest of Italy, and the German states on the Rhine, were kept in dependence by alliances or by fear: by the occupation of Hanover, a French army was stationed in the heart of the Prussian monarchy and on the frontiers of Denmark; while Austria was liable to immediate invasion, whenever it should be deemed expedient. The distant Russia alone with Sweden stood erect, but with a more gloomy aspect since the murder of Enghien; and the dominion of the sea was out of the question.

Aug., 1807.

March 17, 1805.

All diplomatic relations with France were broken off on the side of Russia, Aug. 28, and of Sweden, Sept., 1804. Both refused to acknowledge the new imperial dignity.

3. The repeated solemn assurance, that the territory of France should be enlarged by no further incorporations, seemed, indeed, to fix the future boundaries; but who could repose any trust in an assurance, which was violated, almost before it was given, by the incorporation of the Ligurian republic? The insulting language, which the new ruler employed in his bulletins against foreign princes, could hardly serve to conciliate their minds. Is not such language still more irritating in public than in private life? And though the newly-erected throne was called the re-established throne of Charlemagne, this very expression sufficiently showed, that there was no room for it in the old system of Europe.

Dec. 27, 1804.

June, 1805.

4. Under these circumstances, in England the helm of state was a second time committed to William Pitt. Who, that knew his ancient policy and the new relations, could doubt of his attempts to form a new combination against France? By this he only anticipated the wishes of Napoleon, who could no longer permit

August, 1804.

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his army to parade idly on the Channel.—The war was already enlarged by the participation of Spain, which had hitherto been able to purchase its fluctuating
Oct. 30, 1803. neutrality only by subsidies to France; and Portugal began to be threatened as partial to France.

The Spanish galleons, returning with their treasures, were taken before Cadiz, Oct. 5, 1804. War was declared against England, after reiterated negotiations, Dec. 12, retaliated by England, Jan. 11, 1805.

Fr. Gentz, *authentische Darstellung des Verhältnisses zwischen England und Spanien*, 1806.

5. The third coalition against France was formed. England was its centre; a general rising of Europe was, according to Pitt's plan, to reduce France to its old bounds, and the independence of the states was to be secured by judicious regulations and divisions. That the restoration of the old royal house was in that case a necessary condition, no one ventured to affirm; so far did it then lie without the province of probability.

6. But although in part effected, the project of Pitt could be only half executed; and even the formation of this coalition is involved in an obscurity which time alone can fully explain. Though it was joined by Sweden, Russia, and Austria, Prussia on the contrary, obstinately insisting on a neutrality, of which it soon had most bitter cause to repent, was not to be gained. And yet, without Prussia's accession, no efficient attack on France was possible. Its mere neutrality was a full protection to the northern half of the French empire.

England contracted an alliance with Russia, April 11; with Sweden, (which was already allied to Russia, Jan. 14,) August 31, renewed Oct. 3, 1805. A Russian-Swedish army was to land in Pomerania. Had the power and understanding of Gustavus IV. been equal to his hatred and perseverance, Napoleon would have found in him his most formidable opponent. Austria acceded to the alliance between England and Russia, August 9. British subsidies, and an army of five hundred thousand men, were to restore the freedom of Europe, without dictating to France in the least with respect to its internal affairs. On the other hand, by the treaty with Napoleon, June 25, Naples was forced to permit the entrance of French troops; which were afterwards designedly withdrawn.

Fr. Gentz, *Fragmente aus der neusten Geschichte des politischen Gleichgewichts in Europa*, 1806. Unfortunately only the fragments of an imperfect work, containing a preface written with the pen of Tacitus in a season of despondency.

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7. The war broke out after fruitless negotiations; and the whole plan of the allies was overthrown by the attack made on the Austrian army near the Iller, (where Mack was opposed to Napoleon,) before the Russians could join it. After its annihilation, in the lapse of a few days, the projected aggressive war in Italy fell away of itself; and, being reinforced on his march by the accession of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, Napoleon was able to march to the imperial city.

Ulm capitulated, October 17; after which the other detachments of the army, separated, were almost all taken prisoners.—The Italian army under the Archduke Charles, notwithstanding the successful battle at Caldiero, Oct. 30, retreated to the boundary of Croatia.—The French entered Vienna, Nov. 13.

8. The Russians upon their arrival found only the remains of the army which they were to have joined, and the assistance which they were able to afford them on the bloody day at Austerlitz in Moravia, was but slight. When they were compelled to retreat, there was no alternative to the humbled and abandoned Austria, but to receive the conditions of peace which were offered. It was concluded at Presburg after short deliberation. Dec. 2.

Conditions of the peace at Presburg, Dec. 26: *a.* France was to keep all the countries in Italy which were embodied with it, or administered by French laws (Piedmont, Parma, and Piacenza). *b.* Austria resigned all that she had acquired from Venice (including therefore Dalmatia, formerly belonging to Venice, and bordering on the Turkish empire) to the Italian kingdom, and recognised Napoleon as its king. *c.* Bavaria and Wirtemberg received the royal dignity with full sovereignty in all their possessions, old as well as new. *d.* Austria ceded to Bavaria the whole of Tyrol with Voralberg, and the bishoprics of Brescia and Trent, Burgau, Eichstadt, Passau, Lindau, and several principalities; Augsburg also fell to Bavaria. *e.* It gave to Wirtemberg and Baden the nearer Austrian countries, of which Baden obtained the greater part of the Breisgau, Ortenau, and the city Constance; and Wirtemberg the rest. *f.* Austria obtained Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden, as a duchy; besides the hereditary dignity (already secularized) of grand master of the Teutonic order; the elector of Salzburg was indemnified on the part of Bavaria by Wurzburg as an electorate. *g.* Napoleon guaranteed the integrity of the rest of the Austrian monarchy.

The negotiators at Presburg were, Talleyrand, and Prince Lichtenstein, with Count Giulay.

9. The peace at Presburg was not universal, since Russia still remained in a state of war. But a new and important step towards universal dominion was made. The power of

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Austria was broken; deprived of its bulwarks Tyrol and Venice, its security now consisted in the fidelity of the inhabitants. The southern states of Germany were still more closely connected with France; and, by a crafty division, aggrandized in appearance more than in reality; for how willingly could Bavaria have dispensed with Tyrol so that she retained Wurzburg! With the custom of exchanges of lands, all security of possession had vanished, and the most sacred ties, which had hitherto bound the nations to their princes, as well as the princes to their nations, were dissolved.

Dec. 27. 10. The first instance of a royal family being dethroned by bare proclamation, occurred at Naples, and Buonaparte laid the foundation of his family in Europe by the promotion of Joseph his elder brother, and of Eugene Beauharnois, his adopted step-son, to the vice-royalty of Italy; while the family itself was by a special law slavishly subjected to its head.

The neutrality of Naples, which had been evacuated, was said to have been violated, by the landing of a corps composed of English and Russians, from Corfu; it is uncertain whether in compliance with, or against, the will of the king. A proclamation was issued from Schönbrun, Dec. 27, 1805, declaring, "That the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign," and on Feb. 25, 1806, Naples was occupied, and Joseph the new king entered and was proclaimed king of both Sicilies, while the court of Naples retired to Palermo. The narrow Strait of Messina was sufficient to limit the power of the conqueror. His sisters were provided for in Lucca, Piombino, and Guastalla; which last, but a short time after it had been conferred, March 30, was again resumed in order to be joined to France with Parma and Piacenza, July 21, 1805; for the blind arbitrary will of the emperor was displayed in small as well as in great affairs.

11. During these triumphs on the continent, the freedom of Europe would have been vindicated on the ocean, had it there been at issue. The expeditions of smaller and larger French squadrons to the East and West Indies, which England could not prevent, were without permanent results; the colonies that had been restored fell again, almost without resistance, into the hands of the English; and the battle of Trafalgar, a double victory by the glorious death of Nelson, almost entirely destroyed at one blow the navies of France and Spain, and all the plans which had been founded on them.

Feb., 1805.

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Surinam was taken, April 29, 1804; Gorée, March 8; the Cape, Jan. 18, 1806; from which an unsuccessful attack was made on Buenos Ayres, July 2, 1806, and after it had been repelled, Aug. 12, was vainly repeated, July, 1807.

12. The messengers of those defeats, by which the third coalition was dissolved, found its author on his death-bed. Impoverished and involved in debt, (for in his intense devotion to his country and Europe he had never thought of himself,) and with a broken heart, died the man, who to his last breath had maintained the cause of liberty. He left no heir of his greatness; but he left a school which had imbibed his maxims, and was yet one day to be victorious. And although his opponent was his successor, his brief administration was destined only to justify the policy of his predecessor.

William Pitt died Jan. 23, 1806.—The ministry of Grenville and Fox was compounded of different elements. The negotiations carried on with France since Feb. soon demonstrated that the man of the people is not always the man of the state.—Napoleon refused to negotiate with England and Russia in common, April 1. And after a separate discussion had been agreed upon, a new contest arose with England respecting the basis of the peace, the *uti possidetis;* and the deliberations with Russia were broken off, the compact made by the Russian minister Oubril, July 20, not having been ratified. With the death of Fox all hopes of peace disappeared, which, however, would hardly have been even a miserable armistice.—Whether Pitt or Fox were the greater is still made a question in England; but what would have become of Europe had Fox stood in the place of Pitt? The constant advocate of ideas, apparently or really liberal, will always enjoy the public favour, while the truly great minister is above courting popularity.

Speeches of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox in the House of Commons. London, 1815, 6 vols. Fox has had no want of panegyric biographies, while the greatest statesman of his time was destitute of a worthy historian till his former instructor, the bishop of Winchester, attempted to supply the chasm, in a work of six volumes: *The life of W. Pitt.* How much history was buried with Pitt!

13. As if in complete ignorance of what was passing on the continent, Fox, on his death-bed, negotiated for peace. The consequences of the compact of Presburg were developed rapidly and fearfully for Europe; and the error was soon dissipated of those who had erroneously presumed that neutrality could be preserved towards him who wished for no neutrality, and could wish for none on the road to his object. Prussia now stood directly in his way; during the war its neutrality had already been set at nought by the

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march of French armies through one of its provinces. And the transactions after the peace, by forcing on Prussia the garment of Nessus for several of its provinces in Hanover, plunged it into such embarrassment that its fall could be foreseen even before the contest.

The disputes with Prussia had their origin in Bernadotte's arbitrary march from Hanover to the Danube, by way of Anspach, Oct., 1805. Prussia began to make preparations after the war had been actually decided at Ulm and Austerlitz. Haugwitz was peacefully sent to Vienna, and obtaining an audience not till *after* the battle at Austerlitz, concluded a treaty, Dec. 15; according to which the tranquillity of northern Germany was to be peremptorily purchased on condition, that, *a.* Prussia should cede to France the province of Anspach, the still remaining Cleves and Neufchatel; and in return, *b.* Should take possession of Hanover. Reduced to the alternative of accepting the treaty of war, the just disposition of the king was yet more deeply mortified by the circumstance, that the *provisory* occupation of Hanover, proclaimed Jan. 26, 1806, had to be changed by a supplementary treaty of March 9, into a definitive one, of which the immediate consequences were: the declaration of war by England, April 20, and the capture of the Prussian merchant vessels; and even a state of war with Sweden, since Gustavus IV. would not relinquish Lauenburg, which he occupied for Hanover. A compromise was at last effected with him, August 22.

14. The cessions exacted from Prussia were employed to augment the dominion of the family of the emperor. To his brother-in-law Joachim Murat, Cleves and Berg were assigned as a grand duchy; instead of Berg, Bavaria, having been drawn into the family interest by the marriage of the viceroy, received Anspach; and Neufchatel was granted as a principality to the bosom friend and constant companion of the emperor, Marshal Berthier. What prince must not have trembled on his throne at perceiving the continually increasing number of those for whom provision was to be made?

Jan. 14, 1806.

Murat was appointed hereditary grand duke of Cleves and Berg, March 23, "for guarding the frontiers of the empire;" Berthier, hereditary prince of Neufchatel, March 3. Even the arch-chancellor elector did not refuse to appoint, of his own accord, the step-uncle of the emperor, Cardinal Fesch, his successor as coadjutor, May 28.

15. But this family power acquired a more important augmentation about this time by the change of the Batavian republic into a kingdom. A mere decree—which had first to be solicited—was sufficient to overthrow the republic, and erect upon its ruins a new throne for Louis, a younger

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brother of the emperor. When this was formerly attempted by Louis XIV., half Europe had taken up arms, while now not even a single voice was raised against it.

This transformation had been already prepared by the revolution of April 29, 1805, by which a chief was placed at the head in the person of the Grand Pensionary, as he was called,—almost in actual mockery of this unhappy state.—A preliminary contract was made, May 24, 1806, and the royal constitution was promulgated, June 10, modelled after that of France. By it Louis Buonaparte was declared hereditary king of Holland, but always in subordination to the family statute. Thus was his dependence more than sufficiently secured.

16. After such advances little seemed to be wanting to universal dominion but the name. The federative system was now loudly spoken of,—called by others the gravitation system,—which was to take the place of the balance of power. Less was said of the great nation, but more of the great empire. A decree of the senate had already given the monarch the surname of Great, (Jan. 26, 1806.) and, religion itself being perverted to flattery, the solemnization of St. Napoleon's day, rendered it intelligible how in ancient times at Rome tyrants could (Aug. 15.) be transferred to the number of the gods.

A difference arose between France (*la France*) and the French empire (*empire Française*). It is no less interesting to pursue the ideas connected with this subject and gradually developing themselves, than in the case of the *Socii Populi Romani* of old.

17. And yet there were many impediments to be removed. Though the German empire was only a form, yet the form itself of the ancient central state of Europe was troublesome, because it obstructed a new arrangement. History was to give a new example how states outlive themselves. A simple declaration of the new potentate to the diet, that he no longer recognised the (Aug. 1, 1806.) German empire, was sufficient to subvert the structure of a thousand years. In consequence Austria voluntarily laid aside the imperial crown of Germany, (Aug. 6.) adopting instead the hereditary imperial crown of Austria. Only in the heart of Germans did the German emperor survive.

18. But not the empire alone, the very name even of German, for this too he hated, was if possible to disappear.

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On the fallen ruins of the ancient edifice a new one was immediately erected; of which the first authors have refused to betray their names to posterity. At the same time with the declaration mentioned above, another was submitted to the diet by the princes of southern Germany, to the effect, that, renouncing their old connexion, they had formed a new one, of which Napoleon was the protector, under the appellation of the Confederation of the Rhine.

The constitution of the Confederation of the Rhine was framed and signed, July 12, by Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Berg, the archchancellor, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Usingen, and Nassau-Weilburg, Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Siegmaringen, Salm-Salm and Salm-Kirburg, Isenburg, Aremberg, Lichtenstein, and the Count of Leyen, forming altogether a strange combination; the three preceding the last, being uninvited; the last, a relation of the archchancellor. The ministers who signed it cannot for that reason be regarded, on the whole, as its authors. The subscribers made a declaration at the diet of Aug. 1. Though all the German princes gradually joined it, with the exception of Austria, Brandenburg, the houses of Brunswick and the electorate of Hesse, (Swedish Pomerania and Holstein were united, the former with Sweden, the latter with Denmark, Sept. 9, 1806,) it cannot be regarded as a voluntary accession; it was the only means of safety.

19. This new combination was the more revolting, since it was at the same time the sentence of death to many small princes and free cities; of which the former were incorporated into the larger powers, the latter taken possession of. Thus the validity of the right of the stronger was enforced, and would not this soon end in the right of the strongest? The affair itself was revolting enough; yet the treatment of the reduced princes by more than one of their new rulers was still worse.

The aggrandizements were made, partly by mutual cessions, according to the system of contiguity, partly by confiscation of the proscribed estates of the Teutonic order, and partly by the reduction of the smaller princes. The archchancellor was changed into a prince primate, and obtained Frankfort with its territory; while Nuremberg was allotted to Bavaria. The electoral hats were laid aside; but the princes became dukes, and dukes became archdukes, and counts became princes!

20. It was soon evident that this confederacy was no union, but merely an attachment to the protector to favour his purposes. The duties towards him, participation in all his wars, and the aid to be furnished, were most strictly defined and exacted; but of the diet, which was to assemble

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at Frankfort in two chambers, that of the kings and that of the princes, nothing was ever said, except in the Act of Confederation. In return, the protector remunerated them with the magic word of sovereignty; a mockery for subjects; but unjustly used by some for destroying the constitutions of their states, and the legitimate relations towards their people, concerning whom the protector gave himself no trouble. The humble are always prone to follow the example of tyranny in the exalted.

Sovereignty, with respect to foreign countries, denotes the independence of one state of another, and need not first be conferred, for it belongs naturally to every state as such. Did the confederates of the Rhine possess it in relation to their head?—With respect to the interior, it denotes the possession of the supreme power; but by no means the sole right of legislation without consulting the nation. And even if it meant this, whence had the protector a right to confer it?

21. Another great stride had been taken towards universal dominion, by the erection of the Confederation of the Rhine. Not only was it henceforth impossible to form a league in Germany against France, but each German state was now individually chained to France by fetters of iron. Thus was prepared the fall of Prussia, now in reality isolated. Could Napoleon rule Germany, so long as this power stood upright?

The erection of the Confederation of the Rhine without the knowledge of Prussia, which was the party most interested in it, was in itself an injury; but the invitation to establish a northern confederacy in Germany seemed almost derision.—The incorporation of Wesel, July 29, the taking of Essen and Werden, the ill-treatment of the Prince of Orange—were so many challenges; while French armies in the midst of peace occupied half Germany. But the certainty, that France had offered, in the negotiations with England, to take from Prussia that very Hanover she had forced upon it, brought to maturity the determination to make war.—After the negotiations in Paris by Knobelsdorf had been broken off, Prussia declared war, Oct. 8, 1806.

22. The situation of Prussia at the beginning of the war was dangerous, both within and without. The whole strength of the state, the military and civil classes being wholly separate, depended on an unpractised army, under a general who had already outlived himself. It was without allies abroad except Russia, whose armies were at a distance, and Saxony, half on compulsion; while Hesse imagined it possible to maintain a neutrality, though disunited not merely

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from England, but also from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. It was thus thrown upon its own resources, during the decisive days, when it had to contend against an almost double force. But no kingdom has ever been in modern times so utterly overthrown by one battle, as Prussia was by that at Jena and Auerstadt! In a few weeks, all its provinces as far as the Vistula, with their fastnesses, were in the hands of the enemy, and even beyond that stream the royal house found an asylum only under Russian protection.

The Prussian army was collected in Thuringia under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, Sept. and Oct., and suffered a total defeat in the battle at Jena and Auerstadt, Oct. 14, 1806.—The army, put to flight and dispersed, were in part taken prisoners; and the duke, severely wounded, and expelled moreover from his own country, died at Altona, Nov. 10. The fortresses (with the exception of Colberg and Graudentz) were most incredibly surrendered, and even Magdeburg, Nov. 8, to the utter surprise of the enemy himself. A separate peace and alliance was concluded with Saxony at Posen, Dec. 11, which, being raised to a kingdom, Dec. 20, acceded to the Confederation of the Rhine. On the other side, the elector of Hesse was surprised and expelled, Nov. 1,—in reward of his neutrality,—and all his territories, both of Hanover and Brunswick, with the Hanseatic cities, were occupied. "The houses of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick had ceased to reign."

23. With Prussia, the bulwark of Russia had fallen; on its boundaries, the victor conceived another project, the restoration of Poland; by which he might obtain, perhaps, a spy on Russia. The erection of a Polish legion, (see p. 348,) had proved, that from the beginning this country lay within the horizon of the potentate; but the inevitable certainty of giving offence to three leading powers in the full execution of his plan, made him more cautious than ever, so that for this time the restoration remained partial, after the insurrection had been created.

The Poles were summoned to insurrection, under the abused name of Kosciusko, Nov. 1.—The insurrection spread in Prussian Poland; and an auxiliary army was formed.

24. Thus the war was transferred, as if by magic, from the banks of the Saal to the banks of the Vistula; and Russia, which was moreover involved in a war with the Porte, (see below,) had to defend its own frontiers. Old Prussia was the theatre of a devastating war; and though Russian valour was there tried, it was nevertheless seen,

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how difficult it was for this power, to concentrate great masses of troops out of its boundaries. It was found impossible to relieve so important a place as Dantzic.

After several bloody combats at Pultusk, etc., the grand battle was fought at Preussisch-Eylau, Feb. 8, 1807. Though indecisive, it led to the fall of the bravely defended Dantzic, May 24. After several skirmishes, another great conflict took place at Friedland, June 14. Konigsberg was taken, and the Russian and Prussian armies retreated across the Niemen; Memel, the last city in the kingdom, was the only refuge that remained to the royal house of Prussia.

25. The battle of Friedland led to an armistice, and soon afterwards to a peace, the motives of which require further explanation. After a personal meeting of the two emperors in the middle of the Niemen, it was concluded at Tilsit. The czar still needed, it seems, personal experience, that no concessions could gain the friendship of the conqueror.

A truce was agreed upon between France and Russia, June 21, while Prussia, left to itself, made its pacification on the 25th. The two monarchs met on the Niemen, June 25. Peace was concluded between Russia and France at Tilsit, July 7, 1807. *a.* The provinces to be returned to Prussia were fixed. *b.* Russia recognised the duchy of Warsaw, consisting of South Prussia as before, and a part of West Prussia, under the king of Saxony. *c.* Dantzic was declared again a free city. *d.* A part of New East Prussia, the government Bialystock, was ceded to Russia. *e.* Russia recognised Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as king of Holland, (to which it promised also to relinquish the lordship of Jever,) and Jerome Buonaparte as king of the newly-erected kingdom of Westphalia. *f.* Russia likewise acknowledged the Confederation of the Rhine, not only in its present extent and constituent parts, but also in its future enlargements, on mere notice being given. *g.* Mutual guarantee of the state of both parties and of their allies, who were included in the treaty. *h.* Russia at the same time concluded an armistice with the Porte, withdrew its forces from Moldavia and Walachia, which remained unoccupied by the Turks; and accepted the mediation of Napoleon. *i.* Napoleon accepted the mediation of Russia with England, on condition that England should accept of it within a month after the exchange of the present treaty. *j.* In a *secret* article (Moniteur, July 8, 1812) Russia entered upon an obligation to make common cause with France, in case England should reject the peace, with the acknowledgment of the freedom of the ocean; to require the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to do the same; and to declare war against England.

The negotiators of the peace of Tilsit with Russia were Talleyrand and Prince Kurakin.

26. The peace with Prussia, concluded two days after, by which about half of the monarchy was returned as a gift

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of charity, reduced this state, in extent and material power, to a state of the second rank. But this loss of territory was not its greatest misfortune. The oppression it had to bear in the peace, and the most contemptuous treatment, which only the haughty conqueror can allow himself to exercise, seemed—if any object can be ascribed to it—to justify the suspicion, that his only wish was to urge it to the resistance of despair, in order to complete the half-perfected work, as in the case of Venice and Naples, and elsewhere, and to declare that, "The house of Brandenburg had ceased to reign." Does not a moral degradation inflict a deeper wound on a generous people than a political? Or must this first occur, to make it felt by all, that life is not the first of blessings?

The conditions of the peace at Tilsit, between France and Prussia, July 9, 1807: 1. Prussia received back the territories it was not required to resign. 2. Prussia ceded and left to the disposition of the French emperor: *a.* All its possessions between the Elbe and the Rhine without exception. *b.* The circle of Cotbuss to Saxony. *c.* All its provinces acquired since 1772 from Poland; (all of South Prussia, and a part of West Prussia and New East Prussia;) of which the duchy of Warsaw was formed, and consigned to the king of Saxony. *d.* The city of Dantzic with its territory. 3. Prussia recognised Joseph Buonaparte as king of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as king of Holland, and Jerome Buonaparte as king of Westphalia, as also the formation of this kingdom from the ceded Prussian and other countries. 4. All Prussian harbours and countries should remain closed, till the future peace, against British navigation and trade. 5. All sums and monies, which were imposed on private persons or institutions in the restored provinces, or on Prussian institutions in the ceded provinces, should revert to the owners. 6. All further points respecting the return and evacuation of the provinces and fortresses, were to be regulated by a particular convention, which was concluded at Konigsberg, on July 12. The entire evacuation of the Prussian territory by the 1st of Oct. was promised, on condition of the payment of all contributions levied since Nov. 1, 1806, and still in arrears. But instead of the 19 millions of francs, according to Prussian reckoning, the French estimate fixed it at 112 millions; even this, after long negotiations and unheard-of oppressions, was arbitrarily augmented to 140 millions, Sept. 8, 1808. And after 120 millions of this had been already paid, the evacuation was accorded, Nov. 3, only under the proviso, that three fortresses, Stettins, Custrin, and Glogau, should be occupied, and provisioned at the expense of Prussia. Dantzic also, though a free city, received a French garrison. And yet amidst all this public misery, the university of Berlin was founded to supply the loss of Halle. So high does intellectual culture stand in the regard of a German state!—Prussia had already concluded peace with England at Memel, Jan. 28, 1807, in consideration of renouncing all claims to Hanover.

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27. The peace at Tilsit determined likewise, though in a very different manner, the political relations with the Porte and Sweden. To the former it gave quiet and restored a province already lost; on the latter it brought down renewed war, and soon afterwards, the loss of almost half its territory.

In consequence of the dominion of the British in the Mediterranean, the occupation of Corfu by Russian troops, and the insurrection and war of liberty of the Servians, favoured by them, under their heroic leader Czerni George, after 1801, on the one side, and the neighbourhood of France through the cession of Dalmatia (see p. 393) on the other, the situation of the Porte had become much more critical in the eyes of every one but itself. General Sebastiani was sent thither in 1806, and demanded that the connexion, renewed with England and Russia, (Dec. 30, 1805,) should be dissolved, Sept. 16, and acquired an increasing influence in the Divan. Russia anticipated a movement, and occupied Moldavia in Nov. The Porte declared war on Russia, Jan. 7, 1807. The Turks lost a naval battle at Lemnos, July 1, but no further use of their victory was made by the Russians. An English squadron also appeared for the first time, though in vain, before Constantinople, Feb. 20.—In consequence of the peace of Tilsit, a truce was made at Sloboja, Aug. 24, and Moldavia was evacuated.—The relations of France with Sweden, after the armistice already concluded in Pomerania at Schlatkov, July 3, had been annulled in a most ill-fated hour, were inimical, and were soon the cause of war with Russia.

28. After such pacifications, the universal dominion of Buonaparte seemed to be sufficiently established on the European continent. Russia, expressly renouncing all influence, appeared no longer to belong to it; on its frontier the duchy of Warsaw was a rival, striving after aggrandizement; Prussia, overthrown and dismembered; Austria, humbled; Germany, fettered to France by the enlargement of the Confederation of the Rhine, and by the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia, as it was called, at the expense of Prussia, Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick (though never acknowledged by the three last); French princes on the thrones of Holland and Italy; Spain in alliance; from the Pyrenees to the Vistula, French dominion, French law, and, in the midst of peace, French armies—where could any hope survive, unless it were in Britain?

The decree for the foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia was promulgated, Aug. 18, 1807, and afterwards increased by the rest of Hanover, Feb., 1810. Half the domains were reserved, together with the property of the cloisters, for the endowment of French officers.

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29. But a new and greater storm was gathering against Britain. By the peace of Tilsit—contrary to all expectation—Russia had been made beforehand not merely a spectator, but an active participator in it, by the secret articles. Dependence was placed on the voluntary or forcible co-operation of the fleet of Denmark. This, however, was anticipated by England, and the compelled surrender of the Danish fleet, in consequence of the bombardment of Copenhagen, gave her an accession of security, though not of renown.

Had the committing of the mediation to Russia at the peace of Tilsit, (the consequences of which were easily foreseen,) any other object than to estrange Russia and England?—The refusal to impart the secret articles (which were learned, however, through other channels) could but check confidence between the two states; and if at such a juncture, proportionably petty motives, like the refusal of a loan, or the demand of commercial concessions, operated on either side, it was one of those moments, of which policy but too soon repents.—The attack on Copenhagen, the triumph of French artifice, brought the war to an open rupture. Russia declared war against England, Nov. 7, 1808.—Another consequence was, an alliance of Denmark with France, Oct. 31, 1807, which was to open to the latter power the road to Sweden.

30. And yet it was too evident, that even the connexion with Russia could not compel impregnable England to peace by open force. This then was to be effected in another way, and the continental system, as it was termed,—the total exclusion of England from all trade and all communication with the continent,—was brought forward. Though the idea itself was by no means new, it was made so by the extent and mode of its enforcement. Practical tyranny was unveiled in all its odious characters in the system of customs and espionage; and while the despot involved himself in a conflict with nature herself, who dictates the exchange of the productions of every zone, he began a contest, of which the final issue could not be doubtful to the intelligent observer.

The idea of the continental system originated in America (see p. 280); but its enforcement in such an extent was a result, and at the same time a proof, of Napoleon's universal dominion. Its corner-stone was laid by the decrees of Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806, as a fundamental law of the empire, till England should recognise the French maritime law: by them, *a*. The British islands were declared in a state of blockade. *b*. Every English subject on the continent was declared a prisoner of war. *c*. All trade in English merchandise was prohibited; and all articles of

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its manufactures or its colonies were confiscated. *d.* No vessel should be admitted from a British harbour or its colonies. These regulations were met by the British orders in council, Jan. 7, 1807, which prohibited every ship from entering any French port, or any port under French influence, under pain of confiscation. This was followed by the decree of Warsaw, Jan. 25, 1807, declaring that all British commodities were confiscated in the (just occupied) Hanseatic cities, without respect of owners. This decree was retaliated, March 11, by a strict blockade of the Elbe and Weser; and the order in council of Nov. 11, declaring all ports from which the British flag was excluded to be in a state of blockade; and that all ships proceeding thither should be captured, unless they had touched at a British port and paid a duty. This was answered by the decree of Milan, Dec. 17, 1807, by which every ship, which should submit to these conditions, was declared *denationalized*, and a lawful prize. Thus all the navigation of neutrals was suppressed.—Would it not have been—especially with respect to the United States of America—more politic and more worthy of England to have replied to the first decree by silence?—Finally, by the frantic decree of Fontainbleau, Oct. 19, 1810, it was ordered that all British manufactures should be burned, from Naples to Holland, and from Spain to Germany. Instead of the pyres of the inquisition of belief, those of the inquisition of commerce were now reared, often the objects of ridicule to those by whom they were kindled. And yet the love of gain was stronger than madness. By the decrees of Trianon, Aug. 5, and Sept. 12, 1810, permission was given to import colonial commodities on payment of a duty of 50 per cent. on their value. And finally—will posterity believe it?—a formal trade was allowed to be carried on by *licences*, contrary to his own decrees! The contraband trade was carried on to an incredible extent, which no lines of custom-houses and no oaths could prevent.

Napoleon has a right to demand, that his policy should be viewed from his own position. This is done to the utmost in the *Manuscrit venu de St. Helene*, London, 1817, written by him. The open avowal, that "he never took into consideration the right, but only the matter," p. 6, applied to the assertion, that "he had made it his aim as emperor, not only to rule France, but to subdue the world," p. 28, gives the fullest key to his policy, to which we have certainly but little reason to object the want of consistency. After such a confession, the judiciousness of the measures he adopted, and not their morality and justice, is to be considered. We shall therefore have, hereafter, to view them from this point only.

31. The consequences of this system were alike pernicious both in a mercantile and political respect. By the continental system, the despot put himself in opposition to our whole civilization. It was most closely connected with commerce, and this, prosecuted for a long time with every portion of the earth, could not be reduced to a miserable internal trade, without being followed by its destruction. What was all the trade in woad and beet-root in comparison

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with the trade of the two Indies? Domestic manufacturers, it was said, were the gainers. But is the gain of the manufacturers at the same time a sure gain of the people at large, so long as they do not offer as good and cheap commodities as foreign countries?

32. In a political point of view, the continental system was a false system, because it rested on the double assumption, that the foreign commerce of the British was to them the grand source of acquisition, and that this would be annihilated by closing the continent. Experience has shown the contrary. If single sources of gain failed, a people that ruled every sea could easily open others. Was it not the very discovery of the secret, that, in case of necessity, the continent itself might be foregone—at least for a long time—which must have made Great Britain invincible in her own estimation?

33. But it was easy to foresee the consequences, which the continental system must have upon the dominion of the emperor on the continent itself. Its entire impoverishment would have imposed a limit; for among the continental states themselves—France only was to be benefited at the cost of others, even of its allies—there existed any thing but freedom of traffic; and such a compulsion must have been short in proportion to the strictness with which it was enforced. The feeling of intolerable oppression must have created the greater opposition, and soon resistance, in proportion to the number of those who had been forced to submit. It is instructive to see, in a new example, how tyranny becomes the mother of liberty.

Russia and Prussia acceded to the continental system by the treaty of Tilsit; Denmark by its alliance; the Confederation of the Rhine, Holland, and Italy, by their relations; Austria and Spain, in Jan., 1808; and at last even Sweden, in 1810. At the two extremities of Europe, there remained Portugal, and the Porte; to which the whole system was probably a riddle, and which self-interest still prompted to spare.

34. Projects were planned against Portugal, which was devoted to England, in order to prepare the way for greater plans against Spain. But first Spain itself was to assist in overthrowing Portugal. The partition of Portugal was concerted in a secret treaty, and Spain was assured of its share of the spoil; while a French-Spanish army marched against Lisbon.

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A secret treaty was signed at Fontainbleau, Oct. 27, 1807, between Duroc and Don Izquierdo.—Portugal was divided into three parts; the northern, Lusitania, was destined for the king of Etruria, who relinquished his kingdom to Napoleon (in consequence, the queen of Etruria abdicated, Dec. 10, see above, p. 383); Lusitania was occupied by French troops. The second, Algarves, was for the prince of Peace; the third, the main part, was to remain in sequestration till the peace, in favour of France. A French army of twenty-eight thousand men, combined with eleven thousand Spaniards, marched through Spain against Portugal: a greater army was assembled at Bayonne.—It was therefore a conspiracy of a father against his own children; if, indeed, Charles IV. knew more of it than his favourite wished.

35. Fate, however, had decreed otherwise. Though the throne of Portugal fell, and although it was there declared, that "The house of Braganza had ceased to reign," a new and greater one arose on the other side of the ocean. On British advice and under British protection, the royal house emigrated to Brazil.

Lisbon was entered by Junot, Dec. 1, after the court had set sail to Brazil, with troops and treasures, Nov. 30 previous. Many Spanish fortresses had already been craftily occupied on the march through Spain.—And under pretence of occupying Etruria, the flower of the Spanish troops was sent to Italy; whence they were transferred to Denmark in 1807, after the cession of this country, in order to threaten Sweden; but they soon escaped from Fühnen, under their leader Romana, in English ships, to their oppressed country, 1808.

36. Hitherto, enemies only had been driven from their thrones; Spain was to show that friends and allies—for Napoleon had long ruled in Spain under these titles—were no more secure on theirs. Charles IV. had seen and aided in the expulsion of his brother, his daughter, and his son-in-law; it was now his own turn. Dispossessed by the rebellion of his own son, allured with him and his family into the snare of the robber of crowns, and deprived of his throne and liberty, the Spanish house was doomed to exhibit scenes to the astonished world, similar to those of the ancient regal houses, whose crimes and fall had long been the exclusive property of the tragic stage.—Thus all the Bourbons in succession had been compelled to descend from their thrones.

The plan against Spain was to take advantage of the internal discord in the royal family, kept up and managed by French agents. A rupture was occasioned by the hatred that Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, entertained towards the all-directing favourite, Don Manuel Godoy, who, wholly devoted to France, had permitted himself to be used, since his

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elevation, as Napoleon's instrument. Ferdinand was imprisoned, Oct. 30, 1807, on the charge that he had attempted the life of his father. He was released, Nov. 3, and his pretended accomplices acquitted; but from that time there was mutual animosity. The people became exasperated with the ministers, while a second French army, under Murat, approached the capital. A popular insurrection, having arisen in Aranjuez, March 16, 1808, soon spread to Madrid; the prince of Peace was arrested, and Charles IV. abdicated, March 19. The accession of Ferdinand VII. and the fall of the minister would have frustrated the plans of Napoleon, had not Charles IV. protested against his own abdication as forced. Napoleon arrived at Bayonne, April 15, whither Ferdinand was inveigled by Savary, April 20, as also his parents, April 30. By the treaty of Bayonne, May 5, Charles IV. consigned to the disposition of Napoleon the Spanish monarchy, in consideration of—the castle and park of Compiegne and a pension. The weak father, now the accuser of his own son, demanded the renunciation of his rights to the succession. After the threat of Napoleon, "death or abdication," Ferdinand renounced all his rights by the convention of May 10.—The royal family was removed to Compiegne, Ferdinand and his brother to Valençay, where they were detained as prisoners under Talleyrand's supervision.

Thick as was the veil, which it was attempted to throw over this tissue of wickedness, it was soon removed by the secretary of state, PEDRO CEVALLOS: *Exposé des moyens employés par l'empereur Napoléon pour usurper la couronne d'Espagne*, publiés à Madrit, Sept. 1. 1808.—And afterwards, *Exposé des motifs qui ont engagé en* 1808. *S. M. C. Ferdinand VII. à se rendre à Bayonne, présenté à l'Espagne et à l'Europe*, par D. JUAN ESCOIQUIZ. Paris, 1816. Both were men of the best information, as eye-witnesses.

37. The throne of Spain and the Indies, thus vacated, was conferred by a decree of the tyrant, which was ratified by a Junta convened on the frontier, upon his brother Joseph, king of Naples, who had for his successor in that kingdom Joachim Murat, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, formerly Duke of Berg. A constitution similar to the French, religious liberty excepted, was proffered to the Junta, and accepted; the Junta was immediately dissolved, and the new king sent to Madrid, to take possession of the throne, thus gained by robbery.

June 6. June 20. July 7.

The grand duke of Berg was appointed king of the two Sicilies, July 15, 1808; the vacated duchy was granted to the son (four years old) of the king of Holland, with the injunction, officially inculcated, "that his first duty was towards the emperor, his second towards France, his third towards his future subjects." Till his majority, the grand duchy, divided into four departments, remained under French administration.

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38. The Spanish usurpation, by enlarging the dominion of the family, seemed to be an additional step towards universal dominion. Experience, however, has proved that—judged by this standard—it was a political fault. It was unnecessary, since Napoleon already ruled there. It was done without a knowledge of the country and the nation; a universal insurrection having ensued, it opened the abyss, which devoured alike the French armies and the French finances; and it gave England a theatre for war. But it taught Europe, that the people are more powerful than mercenary armies; and it was moreover destined—to give freedom to another quarter of the globe.

The insurrection first broke out in Aranjuez, May 2, 1808. In the same month it had spread over almost all Spain; Juntas were erected in each province; and particularly at Seville. The first great result was the capitulation of General Dupont in Andalusia, extorted by Castanos, July 20; and the successful defence of Saragossa by Palafox, Aug. 15. On Aug. 1, Joseph had to leave Madrid.—Meanwhile the insurrection spread through Portugal; and a league was made with Spain, June 14, England having declared the war with the Spanish nation to be at an end, June 4, and having sent an auxiliary body to Portugal; where Junot, after the battle at Vimeira, Aug. 21, was compelled to make an honourable capitulation at Lisbon.—In Spain many battles were fought, great and small; but the victories of the French gave them nothing more than the ground on which they stood. But new, reinvigorated armies were sent out, composed of French troops and the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussia having been evacuated.—A central Junta was, meanwhile, established in Aranjuez, Sept. 25; the higher authority of which the provincial Juntas would not, however, acknowledge, as they regarded it only as a subordinate deputation from their own number.

39. The resolution of Napoleon to proceed to Spain in person rendered some precautions in Europe necessary, in order, as Austria had already assumed a doubtful attitude, to protect his rear, and, above all, to secure Russia. A personal meeting seemed the most judicious expedient, as it had been seen at Tilsit how much might be effected by such a measure. The congress at Erfurt had apparently no other object, since the renewed proffer of peace to England was evidently only for ostentation. It has not been authentically divulged, what other agreements were made; what may have been concerted with respect to Sweden, and even with respect to the Porte, in order that Napoleon might have his hands disencumbered in Spain; but that

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the *integrity* of the Porte, so often brought forward, was, in the mouth of the usurper, nothing more than a figure of speech, could scarcely be doubted after the expedition to Egypt.

At the congress of Erfurt, Oct., 1808, besides the two emperors, the four kings of the Confederation of the Rhine appeared in person, together with a great number of princes; others sent ambassadors. The two emperors extended an invitation to peace to England by a joint letter, Oct. 8. It was immediately declined, because it was refused to admit the Spanish nation to a share in the deliberations.—Moldavia and Walachia were given up (according to French accounts) to Russia, in consideration of its recognising the occupation of Spain; Turkish provinces were probably assigned to Austria, but not accepted.—These transactions were followed by the campaign of the emperor in Spain, Nov. and Dec. Several Spanish corps were defeated, which could not maintain their ground in a regular battle. The English army retreated under Sir John Moore to Corunna. This bold general fell in the conflict before the city, Jan. 16, 1809, soon, however, to give place to a greater. The British army embarked, but a formal alliance was concluded with the Spanish nation, Jan. 14, on condition of mutual assistance, and none other but a common peace. Ferdinand VII., or whoever should be recognised by the Spanish nation as their king, was to be recognised by England.

40. The congress of Erfurt and the negotiations begun with the ambassadors of Austria seemed indeed to restore the amicable relations between that country and France.—It was even permitted to the princes of the Confederation to withhold their preparations in behalf of their protector;—but the causes of the distrust lay too deep, and the circumstances of the times required too oppressive demands to suffer the peace to exist. After the experience already acquired at the peace of Presburg, was Austria quietly to look forward to a fate like that sustained by Prussia at the treaty of Tilsit? And could it meet with any other if Spain should be subjected? The effects of the example given in Spain were already visible; the princes felt that their strength lay in their people; and by the erection of the militia in Austria—undervalued and even ridiculed by the emperor himself—the first great impulse was given, which was at a future period to hurl him from his throne. Not in the single wrongs only, enumerated by Austria in its manifesto, but in the general situation of Europe, lay the cause of a fourth war, which it began against the usurper. Apart from its issue, Austria retains the glory of having the most persever-

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ingly persisted in the conflict for liberty on the continent; as it was eventually to decide that conflict by its accession.

As early as June, 1808, military preparations were made in Austria, and a general militia was established; which make it probable that war was already resolved on.—Napoleon made repeated demands that the people should be disarmed; for the states were to stand defenceless. Fruitless proposals of a mutual guarantee were made to Russia, March 27. The war immediately broke out, and was formally declared against France, April 15.

41. Though this was altogether an aggressive war on the part of Austria—very inconvenient just then to the emperor—it was a rightful aggressive war for breaking the chains that she endured, and avoiding others yet more severe. This was felt by the nations; and though the summons of Austria to the Germans was answered by action only in the faithful Tyrol, yet in other places were seen the convulsions of liberty, striking the oppressor with terror. The dreaded image of the *Tugendbund* had more effect than the *Tugendbund* itself could have had, had it appeared in public. And if the flames that Schill and Doernberg attempted to kindle were again extinguished, they showed what a fire was still smouldering under the ashes. April, 1809.

The Tyrolese commenced an insurrection under Hofer, Speckbacher, etc., aided by the Austrians under Chasteler, etc.—A bloody conflict was sustained with the Bavarians and French, April and May, with decided success till the departure of the Austrians, May 19, 1809. The insurrection was revived, and, having spread to Vorarlberg and Salzburg, was kept up under the most furious battles with varying success till the end of Nov. The final issue depended necessarily on the event of the contest waged on the principal theatre. But it was seen in a German country what a popular war is; and the execution of Hofer and others, after an amnesty had been proclaimed, April 5, 1810, at Mantua, gave freedom its martyrs.

Der Krieg gegen die Tyroler Landleute im Jahr 1809, von J. L. S. Bartholdy. 1814. We might believe ourselves transported to an earlier age!

42. Judicious as were the regulations of Austria, and great as was the enthusiasm of the nation and its armies, it was left to itself alone. No connexion with England, cut off as she was, was possible; (and no benefit accrued to Austria from England's partial undertakings;) Prussia lay prostrate; in Russia, its old ally, it could now behold only an enemy; its Polish provinces bordered, not without danger, on the duchy of Warsaw; and instead of the German empire, which it once managed, its most dangerous foe stood on its bound-

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aries in the Confederation of the Rhine. And it was on the assistance of this confederacy that Buonaparte calculated, having left the greater part of his own forces in Spain. Thus Germany saw—for the last time it is to be hoped—the mournful spectacle of its sons lacerating each other.

The main Austrian army entered Bavaria under the Archduke Charles, while another under the Archduke John penetrated into Italy and Tyrol, and a smaller one advanced to Warsaw under the Archduke Ferdinand, April 10, 1809. Their antagonists, besides some French corps, were principally Bavarians, Wirtembergers, Saxons, and Poles. The Germans, however, were all under French generals. After several great battles, at Landshut and Abensburg, April 19, 20, the battle of Eckmuhl was fought, April 22, upon which Archduke Charles retired to Bohemia over the Danube by way of Ratisbon, in order to confront his enemy once more at Vienna. Napoleon passed forward, therefore, through Austria by way of Linz and Ebersberg towards Vienna under several battles. Vienna was a second time taken, May 12, and the Hungarians were, but in vain, exhorted to insurrection. In consequence, the Archduke John retired from Tyrol and Italy, after the successful battle at Sacile, to Hungary, April 12; and was followed to the Raab by the viceroy, who formed a junction with the main army of Napoleon at Bruck, May 27.—The Archduke Ferdinand withdrew from Warsaw, and Gallicia was occupied in May by the Poles under Poniatowsky; who were tardily joined by the Russians.

43. The theatre of the war was thus transferred to the gates of the capital; and nothing but the Danube separated the two armies. The day at Aspern proved, for the first time, that even he who was deemed invincible might be conquered; but the victory was not improved as had been expected. Time was thus gained for new preparations, and after the second passage the battle at Wagram was fought, which resulted in the retreat of the Austrians, and shortly in a truce which led to a peace.

On the first passage of the Danube the great battle was fought at Aspern and Esslingen on the Marchfeld, May 21, 22, 1809. Repulsed and (after the destruction of the bridges) cooped up in the island of Lobau, Napoleon was allowed time to escape and recover. He crossed the river a second time, and the deadly battle of Wagram was fought for two days, July 5, 6. The Austrians retreated to Znaim, where they concluded a truce, July 12; after which the gallant Duke William of Brunswick-Oels, refusing to have any part in it, and mindful of the honour of the house of the Guelphs, accomplished with his band of volunteers his chivalrous journey from Saxony to England, by way of Oldenburg, July 25—Aug. 14.—Meanwhile England undertook an expedition, badly planned and worse executed, against the island of Walcheren, July—Sept., intending to destroy the newly-built navy at Antwerp. On

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the other hand Martinique was conquered, Feb. 25, and a fruitless attack was made on the Isle of Bourbon, Sept. 21. But no energetic diversions were made in the north of Germany, where there were no ships and colonies to conquer.

44. The truce of Znaim was not followed by such a speedy pacification as is usual; whether it was because Austria would not so easily comply with the conditions exacted, or because she expected Russia's participation, or whether, in fine, because the emperor wished first to have time to levy the immense contributions imposed on the Austrian provinces; since no such treatment as was used in the case of Prussia would be possible here after the peace. After the lapse of three months, and the removal of the deliberations from Hungary to Schoenbrun, together with a change of negotiators, the peace of Vienna was concluded, purchased by conditions less honourable, apparently, than might have been expected after such a struggle.

Conditions of the peace of Vienna or Schoenbrun, Oct. 10, 1809: *a.* Austria ceded to the disposition of Napoleon, in favour of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Salzburg with Berchtolsgaden, the Innviertel, and half of the Hausruckviertel (granted to Bavaria). *b.* Austria ceded to Napoleon the Illyrian provinces, as they were afterwards called (the circle of Villach of Carinthia, all Crain, the county of Goertz, the territory of Trieste and Montefalcone, half Croatia, with the Hungarian Littorale and Fiume). *c.* To the king of Saxony, as Duke of Warsaw, all West Gallicia; and to Russia—in recompence of its aid—a district of four hundred thousand inhabitants in East Gallicia. *d.* Amnesty for the Tyrolese and Vorarlbergians. *e.* Austria promised an unconditional accession to the continental system, and to break off all its relations with England. *f.* Austria renounced the dignity of grand master of the Teutonic Order (afterwards declared to be abolished by Napoleon). *g.* Austria acknowledged the changes that should be made in Portugal, Spain, and Italy. *h.* The allied states of France were included in the peace, and Napoleon guaranteed to Austria the rest of its possessions. The war with Russia ceased of itself.

The negotiators of the peace of Vienna were, the Duke of Champagny and Prince John Lichtenstein, for whom Prince Metternich was substituted.

45. The peace of Vienna robbed the Austrian monarchy again of more than three millions and a half of its inhabitants. Yet it found a recompence for this loss in the faithful attachment of its subjects; and what was lost like Tyrol could scarcely be called a loss. But nevertheless it appeared almost certain that after another pause another storm only would be wanting to dissolve it into several

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states. Did not the exhortation to Hungary, the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, and the aggrandizement of the duchy of Warsaw by half of Gallicia, (which made Russia itself begin to fear,) perfectly justify this view, if policy, judging by the past, might dare to throw a glance into the future? Wholly cut off from the sea, deprived of its bulwarks the Alps, and with open boundaries politically surrounded by armed states on the south, west, and north, and with distracted finances, no hope seemed left to Austria, except that policy is so often mistaken (because physical power alone can be calculated) where it believes itself to have judged most correctly; and after all, every thing in the world has its measure and limit. That a future catastrophe for the Turkish empire lay in the background of the peace of Vienna appeared hardly doubtful; but reflecting minds were more and more convinced that the path to better things lay only through great calamity.

The erection of the Illyrian provinces, to which Dalmatia, ceded in the peace of Presburg, and united with the kingdom of Italy, (see p. 393,) was added, together with Ragusa, which had been occupied, May 27, 1806, and Cattaro, and the cession of the Ionian islands by Russia to France, Aug. 9, 1807, of which England was able to conquer only the smaller and unfortified one, Corfu, made France the immediate neighbour of the Turkish empire, as well as Servia, now in a state of revolt, as of Greece.

46. The moment of the contest with Austria, to which the eyes of all were turned, appeared to the emperor to be the most favourable moment for striking a blow, from which, although it had been a long time concerted, he had hitherto been restrained by a respect for what was held sacred. There was something revolting in driving the head of the church from his throne, however much the world was accustomed to the robbery of the church. But too many lofty ideas were associated with the name of Rome, for the empire of Europe to be complete without the dominion of Rome, even if the way thither lay through crimes. Hence, after many acts of violence, the decree went forth from Vienna, commanding the yet remaining states of the church to be incorporated into the French empire.

The collisions of the temporal with the spiritual authority were inevitable in the system of Napoleon, who wished the latter to have no influence on civil affairs. These collisions had begun soon after the

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conclusion of the Concordat (see p. 386) on account of the conditions arbitrarily annexed to it. From that time incessant demands and contentions ensued, which soon became of a political nature.—The city of Rome was occupied by a military force under Gen. Miollis, Feb. 2, 1808. The demand of an alliance, offensive and defensive, (principally against England, by shutting the ports,) was firmly resisted by Pius VII., as inconsistent with the obligations of the head of the church. Ancona, Urbino, and Macerata were immediately occupied and annexed to the kingdom of Italy, April 2. During the whole of the next year, unparalleled acts of violence were perpetrated. The cardinals and papal ministers were removed and incarcerated, his troops disarmed; even the recesses of his palace no longer afforded an asylum. Finally, the decree of the annexation of the States of the Church and the city of Rome was promulgated, May 17, 1809, and executed, June 9, by virtue of his rights as successor of Charles the Great!

47. The defenceless could not prevent the rapine of the powerful. But Buonaparte did not seize his prey with entire impunity. In the full dignity of his office, without deviating a tittle from his duty, Pius VII. had withstood every encroachment on his rights as a prince and Pope. When the last blow of the usurper fell, he also had recourse to his last weapons; and Napoleon bore away his spoils, loaded with the maledictions of the church. Pius VII. was arrested, forcibly removed and imprisoned. All this, power could do; but it could not restore the harmony between church and state, and how far might this variance lead, if the church should continue united with the state? As the continental system of Napoleon was repugnant with nature, so his ecclesiastical system was at war with conscience. And was the latter easier to subdue than the former?

By the papal bull to Napoleon I. of June 11, 1809, published, notwithstanding every precaution, on the 12th, "Napoleon I. emperor of the French, and all his coadjutors in the violences perpetrated in Rome and the States of the Church, since Feb. 2, 1808, are declared excommunicated, with all who shall oppose the publicity of this bull."—From that time the Quirinal palace was watched, and finally, about midnight, July 5, the department of the Pope was entered by gens d'armes under their captain Radet; the Pope was arrested, and immediately transported, in company with Cardinal Pacca, at first over Mont Cenis to Grenoble, July 21, and from thence by way of Nice to Savona, Aug. 9, where Pius VII., refusing all compliance with the demands, and receiving only the daily prison allowance, lived three years, in part on alms; till in June, 1812, he was dragged as a prisoner to Fontainbleau. He, who bent all, was unable to bend this aged prelate; for the church also was to have its martyr; and who was more worthy of this than its head.

A collection of the most important documents from the papal court,

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(perhaps the most moving of those eventful times,) from Feb., 1808, to June, 1809, with the bull of excommunication and its publication, may be found in SCHOELL, *Recueil, etc.*, vol. i. p. 123—255.

Storia di Pontificato di Pio Papa VII. fino al faustissimo di lui ritorno alla S. Sede, seguito in giorno 24. Maggio, 1814. Roma, 1815, 2 vols. Drawn and compiled from public papers and documents. The two vols. however only go to Sept., 1806.

48. But in the north of Europe, great revolutions were produced by the peace of Tilsit, and the political convulsion was to extend even to the furthest boundaries of Lapland. It was occasioned by the obstinate firmness of Gustavus IV. He had remained in a state of war with France, (see p. 403,) and his close connexion with England, occasioned not only a war with Russia and Denmark, but was to cost him and his house the throne, and deprive his kingdom of Finland; for Russia believed herself bound not to let such an opportunity pass unimproved. Strange! The only one that was able, and ought to have maintained a dignified neutrality—would not.

A subsidiary treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, Feb. 8, 1808; on the other hand, Russia demanded the fulfilment of the conditions of the armed neutrality (which had long ago ceased).—Russia issued a declaration, Feb. 22, and at the same time commenced hostilities; the imperial ambassador was unwisely arrested in Stockholm.—The Russians invaded Finland, with the declaration that it was incorporated with Russia, and the commander promulgated an address calling on "their good neighbours and the brave Fins to be quiet, and (for they had not gone to school to France in vain) to desert the cause of their king."—At this time, Denmark declared war against Sweden, in consequence of the alliance of the first-mentioned power with France, (see p. 404,) while a French-Spanish corps-d'armée under Bernadotte (from whom however the Spanish escaped to Spain under Romana, see p. 407) advanced to Denmark, without however crossing to Sweden, though Swedish troops attacked Norway, but ineffectually, 1808, the cession of which country was even then in agitation. The British auxiliary corps under General Moore had to return to Gottenburg without disembarking, (July,) because the two parties could come to no agreement respecting the use to be made of them.—Thus Gustavus IV. remained wholly abandoned.—Meanwhile the Russians advanced into Swedish Finland in the summer of 1808, having fought many single engagements on land and sea, with various success; but having penetrated in the autumn into Northern Finland, a truce was made, Nov. 19, by which the province of Uleaburg was relinquished to the Russians.—But after the expiration of the truce, the Russian army crossed the frozen Bothnian gulf, from Wasa to Umea, under General Barclay de Tolly (an unheard-of feat)! and Torneo was at the same time occupied, March 1809, and the isle of Aland taken. Thus threatened on

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all sides as far as the capital, and on the brink of destruction, a part of the army broke out into insurrection; after the revolution of March 13, 1809, the king was arrested by Klingspor and Adlercreutz; he abdicated at Gripsholm, March 29; and the deposed monarch with his family was expelled from the kingdom. Necessity indeed enjoins, that the pilot, who is steering directly on the rocks, should be removed from the helm; but was there no hereditary right in Sweden? The government was taken possession of by the king's uncle, Charles XIII., Christian Augustus, Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg, being adopted and appointed his eventual successor. Negotiations were opened with Russia, and, by the peace at Fredericksham, Sept. 17, 1809: *a.* Sweden ceded to Russia all the principality of Finland to the river Torneo, together with the isle of Aland. *b.* It promised to adhere to the continental system. *c.* It retained, however, certain privileges with respect to the trade with Finland; especially the free export of grain from thence to the amount of fifty-thousand *Tschetwert.* *d.* Russia promised its mediation towards obtaining peace with France and Denmark. Sweden thus lost more than a third of its territory and population, while Russia was rendered impregnable in the north.—In consequence of the mediation, peace was concluded with Denmark at Jonköpping, Dec. 10, without any conditions of importance, and with France at Paris, Jan. 6, 1810. *a.* Sweden was to join the continental system. *b.* Swedish Pomerania with the island Rugen was to be restored; but Sweden acquiesced in the endowments made there.

The negotiators of the peace at Fredericksham were, Count Romanzoff and Alopeus on the side of Russia; Stedingk and Skoeldebrand on the part of Sweden.—Of that at Paris, De Champagny and D'Essen.

Memorial du Colonel Gustafson (the deposed king). à Leipsic, 1809, 8vo.

49. At the close of the year the continent was again in a state of tranquillity, with the exception of the peninsula of the Pyrenees. But what a fallacious tranquillity! The continental system, now embracing a quarter of the globe extending from the Pyrenees to the Wolga, rendered it one immense prison, in which the "great European family" was confined with the utmost rigour, and surrounded by an army of spies. And even within this spacious prison, there was any thing but freedom of traffic. The boundaries of each state, and especially of the leading state, were guarded with threefold exactness; the system of passports (for all strangers were suspected) recalled tyranny to remembrance at every step; every person coveted the good fortune to be maimed, in order perhaps to escape conscription; and no attack on productive industry was too outrageous, so that it promised to augment the ready money in France, and consequently in the public treasury; for to this single funda-

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mental position the whole national economy was reduced, formed as it was upon the strictest maxims of the mercantile system. Several gigantic undertakings were indeed executed in consequence of this despotism, though at the cost of the people, canals excavated through highlands, and roads constructed over the Alps; but what are these without trade? And if millions were annually expended on the embellishment of the capital, (while the exchequer appropriated to itself the income of the towns,) yet the union of all kind of resources was unable to rear a monument, which, like those of the Pharaohs and Cæsars, nay, like those of Louis XIV., might proclaim to future generations the power and taste of the monarch.

50. By wars and pacifications, by the subversion and erection of thrones, was the system of universal sovereignty thus founded; but means of another kind were necessary to confirm it. Not all the ancient dynasties could be, or indeed were to be overthrown, for the new dynasty had not princes enough to fill all the vacant thrones. It seemed possible to supply the deficiencies by family alliances, contracted by intermarriages with the ancient houses; and a brother, a step-son, and an adopted daughter were married into the princely houses of Germany. The union of the emperor himself—after the divorce of his first wife—with the daughter of a German emperor, soon blessed by the birth of a son, satisfied his boldest wishes alike for the present and for the future. Many hoped that ambition would be repressed by softer feelings, the interest of the husband and father; others feared that his empire was now consolidated by such connexions beyond the possibility of being shaken, both ignorant that Germany had an emperor, who —if reduced to the choice—would not scruple to postpone the consideration of his daughter to that of his country.

Napoleon was divorced from his first wife, Josephine, by birth la Pagerie, the widow of Beauharnois, Dec. 15, 1809. He married Maria Louisa, archduchess of Austria, April 2, 1810. A son was born March 20, 1811; who was immediately appointed king of Rome.

51. Experience soon proved how vain were those hopes. The cause, however, is not to be sought altogether in the personal character of the emperor; it lay no less in the nature of the dominion of which he was the founder. His

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efforts to change his indirect sway into immediate dominion —of which the old Roman provincial system affords an evidence—were apparently inseparable from it; because partial thraldom is more insupportable than total servitude. The maxim of uniting the dependent countries to the leading state became more and more general. It was applied to parts of Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and, destroying his own work, to the kingdom of Holland, where his brother himself, no longer able to endure his tyranny, abdicated the throne. A mere decree, expedited by the ever ready conservative senate, was sufficient to determine the doom of those countries; and what limits could be looked for, if not even his own brother was spared?

The estates of the church were incorporated with France, Feb. 17, 1810; Tuscany, March 5 (nominally under the administration of Napoleon's sister Eliza); Valais, separated from Switzerland, Dec. 10, on account of the military road over the Simplon. The Italian Tyrol, taken from Bavaria, was annexed to the kingdom of Italy, May 28, 1810; which, being joined to the Illyrian provinces, extended the immediate empire of the ruler to the boundaries of Hungary and Turkey. And what was necessary but a decree of the senate to attach the whole of these countries to France?—The incorporation of Holland had its origin in the continental system, the enforcement of which bore on no country harder than on Holland, and was no where more difficult, on account of its geographical and mercantile relations. The contest began and the threat of incorporation held out, Jan., 1810. It was then averted by the cession and immediate incorporation of Dutch Brabant, and part of Zealand, April 26.—Holland was nevertheless occupied by French troops and officers of the customs, who committed various abuses, June. Louis abdicated and fled, July 1, carrying with him the affection of his people. (About this time, Lucian, the other brother, fled to England, Aug. 10; for, though refusing every crown, he had found no refuge from the tyranny of his brother in his peaceful habitation at Tusculum.) Holland, with East Friesland, which had been previously joined with it, was incorporated with France, as "the alluvia of French rivers," by a decree of the senate, Dec. 13, 1810. The same blow reached Northern Germany. The decree of Dec. 13 united, according to a line arbitrarily drawn, half the kingdom of Westphalia, part of the grand duchy of Berg, all Oldenburg, and the three Hanseatic cities to France, which now bordered on the Baltic. His brother was deprived, unasked, of half of his kingdom; a prince of the Confederation of the Rhine, a relation of Alexander, was deprived of his whole territory. The Hanseatic cities met with the heaviest oppression. Where freedom was the greatest, its loss was the most painful.

Documens historiques sur le gouvernement de la Hollande, par LOUIS BUONAPARTE, ex-roi de Hollande. 3 vols. 1819. The most lively sketch of the public as well as private tyranny of his own brother.

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52. This dominion of the whole line of coast, from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Elbe, maintained by a reinforced army of revenue officers, might aggravate the difficulties of the interdicted trade, but could not entirely annihilate it. The great problem, whether a sole dominion were possible without the dominion of the ocean, became more and more improbable to the despot; "but this was to be obtained by a fleet of a hundred ships of the line," and the gigantic works at Antwerp seemed to render this no empty threat, if seamen could only be manufactured like ships, or drilled like soldiers. Meanwhile, not a French ship of war could show itself out of harbour with impunity; the remaining island-colonies fell into the hands of the British; and all the preparations of the new sovereign of Naples did not make it practicable to cross even Sept., 1810. the narrow Straits of Messina, and enforce his title as king of the Two Sicilies.

Cayenne was conquered, Jan. 4, 1809; the important Martinique, Feb. 25; Senegal, June 10; the city of St. Domingo, which the French had occupied, July 6; Gaudaloupe, Feb. 3, 1810; St. Eustace and St. Martin, Feb. 21. In the East Indies, the Isle of Bourbon was conquered, July 7, and the important Isle of France, Dec. 2. The taking of Amboyna and its dependencies in the Moluccas, Feb. 17, was only the prelude to the conquest of the hitherto unsubdued Batavia, and the island of Java with its dependencies, Sept. 18, 1810. The Danish islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix, were taken, Dec. 21—25, 1807. And even in the remotest north, Iceland was occupied, July, 1809.

53. But the participation of the British was no longer limited to the ocean, after the peninsula of the Pyrenees presented an arena for war by land; on which the Marlborough of the nineteenth century was finally to appear. Though the contest had never been remitted in this country, it did not acquire its full extent, embracing the whole peninsula, till after the peace of Vienna, when all the forces of France stood at the disposal of the emperor. The annexing of the Spanish and Portuguese to the British army gave them mutual strength, though Spanish jealousy and want of internal concord threw obstacles in the way, from vanquishing which, scarcely less glory accrued to the British hero than from vanquishing the enemy.

The supreme command of the British army in Portugal (of which the German legion, as it was called, consisting of Hanoverians, constituted

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a large part) was accepted by the Duke of Wellington, (then Sir Arthur Wellesley, third son of Colley, Lord Wellesley, Viscount Mornington,) April 22, 1809. A Portuguese army was formed under General Beresford, likewise subordinate to Wellington, and several Spanish corps under Guesta, etc. To these were opposed the French generals, Soult, Ney, Victor, Mortier, Gouvion St. Cyr, Augereau, etc.; and afterwards Suchet, Massena, Marmont, Macdonald, Jourdan, etc. Among the numerous battles of the year 1809, that of Talavera, July 27, 28, stands pre-eminent; Saragossa was besieged and heroically defended, Nov., 1808—Feb., 1809, (renewing the stories of Numantia and Saguntum,) as well as Girona, June—Dec. In the year 1810, Napoleon exerted himself to the utmost; the troops of France, Italy, Poland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, inundated the peninsula. Andalusia was subdued by Victor, Mortier, etc., then followed the siege of Cadiz, (whither the central Junta had fled, being driven from the mainland,) conducted with incredible but useless efforts.—A regency was erected, consisting of five members, in lieu of the central Junta; the Cortes extraordinary were convened, and soon opened their deliberations at Cadiz, claiming the supreme power, Sept. 24, 1810. But at the same time, Wellington made a remarkable campaign in Portugal, where Massena, being conquered without coming to an engagement, March, 1811, forfeited all his military reputation. Tarragona was besieged and heroically defended in 1811, and Valencia in 1812, against Suchet.—Wellington pressed forward again into Spain, 1812. Ciudad Rodrigo was conquered, Jan. 9; Badajoz, April 6. He gained the battle of Salamanca, July 22, and took the city. In consequence, the siege of Cadiz was raised, the south of Spain evacuated, and Joseph fled from the capital, which Wellington entered Aug. 12. In the mean while, Wellington was appointed by the Cortes commander-in-chief of all the Spanish armies, Sept. 25. Though Madrid was again evacuated and occupied by the French (Nov.) in the same year, after raising the siege of Burgos and the retreat over the Douro, (Oct.,) yet the capture of the principal town was not much more decisive than the capture of a village. For nothing more was gained than the mere ground on which they stood.

54. While the war on the peninsula employed the best forces of the French empire, the dark spirit of its monarch was meditating a new, greater, and more formidable war. "Two suns cannot exist in the firmament," was the reply of the ancient conqueror of the world, when a division of dominion and empire was proposed to him. Would Napoleon have given a different answer, had he been equally frank? Sole dominion cannot be divided between two. The project of a war with Russia proceeded, therefore, from the project of a universal monarchy; beyond this empire there was nothing more to fear and conquer; and, in his estimation, who rated men as nothing, in the worst case there was but little to lose. It is only strange, therefore, that he was

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so blinded, as to select this moment, while the contest in Spain was still undecided, were not precipitation the characteristic of the period. That the Porte, Asia, and perhaps India itself, stood in the background, is rendered extremely probable by the character of the man and his various preliminary measures tending thereto, whatever objections a considerate policy may make. But the execution was accelerated by the continental system, which necessarily put him at variance with Russia, feeling as she did its consequences most severely in her financial concerns, as all her exports were interrupted. By her withdrawing from the system, a coldness arose, which soon openly showed itself in words and actions; and where friendship demands submission, coldness leads to open feuds.

The new tariff, established by the Ukase of Dec. 31, 1810, prohibiting or clogging the importation of French products, and permitting that of colonial products under neutral flags, contained the tacit avowal that Russia renounced the continental system.—The seizure of Oldenburg about this time (see p. 419) manifested that Napoleon did not fear to affront Russia; while the extension of the grand duchy of Warsaw, and the continued occupation of Dantzic, were equally striking proofs that he was not afraid to disquiet her. Negotiations, of which little was known, were carried on in the course of the year 1811, till the elusive answers returned to the proposals of Prince Kurakin, (April, 1812,) compelled him to leave Paris. From this time war could not seem doubtful, though the mask was not yet wholly thrown off.

55. It was apparently certain that the approaching conflict must decide the destiny of Europe, comprehending as it did this whole quarter of the globe, and not, as in Spain, only the peninsula of the Pyrenees. What was the general situation of Europe at its commencement; what the relations of the single states? What were the relations of the Germans, the northern powers, and of the Porte? The common resource of the weak, neutrality, could be of no benefit here, where the weak were obliged to feel that in such a conflict of the powerful, neutrality was certain ruin.

56. Previous policy had certainly prepared much for an attack on Russia. The road to its frontiers lay open; the chain of alliances and of garrisoned fortresses reached to them; useful allies were found on the boundaries of Russia in the Poles; and Russia itself, by renewing the contest with the Porte, had become involved in a war which would have taken off a considerable proportion of its forces, had it

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not been able to liberate itself in the right time, and yet with aggrandizement; while France was thus deprived of co-operation from a quarter where it might have been highly injurious to Russia at such a moment.

The renewal of the war with the Porte soon after the congress of Erfurt, took place in consequence of the agreements made there with respect to Moldavia and Walachia (see p. 410). Hostilities were commenced after the short deliberations at Jassy had been dissolved, April, 1809, and those provinces were occupied. The Russians passed the Danube in August. But the chain of Hæmus presented a stronger line of defence than the river with its fortresses. The grand vizier was strongly encamped at Chiumla in Bulgaria: the campaign of 1810 was a bloody one; while the Servians, as the allies of the Russians, rekindled their insurrection in June. Silistria was conquered, June 23. The grand vizier was attacked without avail, July 5, 6. An attack was made on the fortified place of Routschouk with one half of the army, while the grand vizier routed the other half, Aug. 4. But he was conquered by the Russians when hastening to the relief of Routschouk, Sept. 19.—In the following year, 1811, the Russians retreated across the Danube under Kutusoff, pursued by the Turks, but to their destruction. After one half of their army had passed the left bank of the Danube, Sept. 20, the remainder was surprised and annihilated by the Russians, Oct. 26, the grand vizier himself escaping with difficulty. Negotiations were soon commenced at Bucharest, and the demands of Russia being moderate, peace was concluded, May 28, 1812, France being unable to prevent it. Conditions: *a.* The Pruth to its confluence with the Danube, and this latter river to its mouth, should constitute the boundary of the two empires. Russia remained therefore in possession of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia (the other and greater portion, together with Walachia, was restored to the Porte). *b.* A full amnesty was granted to the insurgent Servians; the sovereignty of the Porte over them was acknowledged, under the assurance of its generosity.

The plenipotentiaries at Bucharest were, Italinsky and Gatib Effendi, etc.

57. The situation of Austria in the impending contest was less dangerous, because it lay beyond the sphere of its influence, and could determine for itself what auxiliary force it would furnish, because at such an important juncture it must necessarily be spared. So much the more desperate was the situation of Prussia. The grand route of the war lay through the midst of its provinces. Its utter ruin seemed inevitable; and at no time could the existence of the monarchy (for it was dangerous to leave an uncertain friend in the rear) be considered more doubtful. Neutrality and resistance were certain ruin; what means of salva-

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tion were left but an alliance? And even the permission to contract an alliance was not obtained without difficulty. The moments of the deepest debasement must precede those of the proudest exaltation! The obligations of all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine towards their protector admitted of no doubt; they had no option. Switzerland herself had to supply her mediator with auxiliaries; and the assistance of the states of Italy (where only the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, with Lucca, still remained) and of the Illyrian provinces was expected of course. It was hazardous for any one to remain behind with his contingents!

The alliance with Austria was concluded at Paris, March 14, 1812. *a.* The alliance was defensive, viz. against Russia. *b.* The force Austria was to furnish amounted to thirty thousand men. *c.* France guaranteed to Austria, at all events, the possession of Gallicia, possibly in consideration of the exchange of the Illyrian provinces.—Conditions of the alliance with Prussia, Feb. 24, 1812. *a.* It was an alliance offensive and defensive against Russia (clearly so expressed in the secret articles). *b.* Prussia was to furnish an auxiliary force of twenty thousand men. And in another compact, the immense supplies for the French army were fixed. How much nations and countries can endure before they entirely sink!

58. The political relations of the two northern powers were very different. Denmark, after peace had been restored with Sweden, (p. 417,) though allied with France, (p. 404,) and in constant war with England, was enabled, by its geographical situation, to maintain a neutrality in the contest with Russia. Sweden, on the contrary, (where, after the sudden death of the heir to the throne, a French prince, distinguished both as a general and a man—previously hated by the emperor, but now doubly so because it was done independently of him—was appointed successor by the states, and was adopted by the king,) took advantage of this crisis with great adroitness, not only to emancipate itself from French dependence, but also—without engaging at present actively in the war—to open a prospect to Norway as a compensation for the loss of Finland.

Marshal Bernadotte, (Charles John,) Prince of Ponte Corvo, was chosen successor to the throne of Sweden by the states, Aug. 21, 1810. He arrived there Oct. 20. At that time, after many censures for the non-enforcement of the continental system, war was declared against England, Nov. 17, on the peremptory demand of Napoleon. England,

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however, took no notice of it. But after repeated new demands and proposals had been declined, 1811, Swedish Pomerania and Rugen were occupied, Jan., 1812, and Sweden treated in reality like an enemy. Sweden immediately made advances to Russia, and concluded a treaty at Petersburg, April 8. *a.* Russia promised to Sweden the union of Norway, in consideration of a compensation to Denmark, whether by negotiations or an auxiliary force of thirty-five thousand men, and guaranteed the ratification of this promise at the peace. *b.* Sweden promised in that case a diversion in the north of Germany, in connexion with a Russian detachment. This treaty was confirmed by the meeting of the prince royal with the emperor Alexander at Abo, (Aug.) Peace was restored between Sweden and England by the treaty at Oerebro, July 12, according to the ancient relations; and Swedish ports were again opened to British vessels.

The plenipotentiaries at Oerebro were: from England, Edw. Thornton; from Sweden, Engstroem and Wetterstedt.

Memorials of Charles John, king of Sweden and Norway; illustrative of his character, of his relations with the emperor Napoleon, and the present state of his kingdom, by W. GEORGE MEREDITH. London, 1829, 8vo.

59. But notwithstanding all these circumstances, Russia stood alone in opposition to its foes.—Though the peace with England was restored, and even an alliance concluded with Spain, no other aid could be expected from these quarters but an energetic diversion on the peninsula. But in this very circumstance consists the glorious triumph of Russia; having sustained the great conflict alone—even without a subsidy from England!

Peace was concluded with England at Oerebro, July 18, 1812. The plenipotentiaries were, Suchtelen and Edw. Thornton. The plenipotentiaries of the treaty with Spain, (the Spanish regency at Cadiz in the name of Ferdinand VII.,) at Weliky Luky, July 20, 1812, were Bermudez and Romanzoff. In both, mutual amity and assistance, though not exactly defined, were stipulated, including an acknowledgment of the authority of the Cortes.

60. In this way a storm of nations arose (about twenty were united under the standard of the conqueror) unparalleled in history since the expeditions of Xerxes and Attila. What—asks reflecting policy—could have been its ultimate object? The destruction of the Russian monarchy could hardly have been anticipated by the most sanguine; "to exclude it from Europe and send it back to Asia" had been ever since the time of Peter I. a chimerical idea. And had a speedy peace, perfecting the work of Tilsit, produced the entire restoration of Poland,—could it have been

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more than a truce? But in Poland itself, on which the plan for the future in reality depended, half measures, only, were most inconsistently adopted, out of forbearance to Austria. The Poles could never effect a public proclamation of the complete restoration of their kingdom.

More than half a million of soldiers, according to the most credible accounts, constituting the flower of the nations of Europe; French, Italians, Neapolitans, Swiss, Dutch, Austrians, Hungarians, Bavarians, the inhabitants of Wirtemberg, of Baden, Saxons, Westphalians, besides the contingents of the smaller princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, Prussians, Poles, Illyrians, and even the remains of the Portuguese and Mameluke corps, were torn from their homes, and driven into the face of death. But the Austrians and Prussians formed separate armies, the former on the extreme right wing in Volhynia, the latter on the left wing in Courland. Nothing but a Demaratus was wanting, though the new Xerxes would neither have requested, nor indeed have listened to his counsels. Not a less number of nations might have been mustered in opposition by Russia herself, if she had only had time to summon them from the mountains and deserts of Asia. All her troops, divided into three armies, by no means equalled in number those of the enemy.

61. The campaign was opened by the passage of the Niemen; and by mutual declarations of war. The war was to have been speedily terminated by penetrating into the heart of Russia as far as the ancient capital of the empire; but the constant retreat of the Russians, without risking a great battle, and the declaration of Alexander in his manifesto, "that he would never make peace, as long as the enemy remained within his empire," must have very much weakened this expectation. Fire and rapine, by friends and foes, marked the course of the invading army, and seemed to render return impossible. The march to Smolensk, where both wings and magazines were still protected by the flanks, was performed agreeably to the rules of tactics; but the rapid advance from Smolensk to the capital with uncovered wings, has been blamed by tacticians, independently of the final issue, as an excess of temerity.

On the same day that the French crossed the Niemen, the Russian manifesto was issued. Wilna was occupied June 28. The French advanced with many skirmishes by way of Witepsk to Smolensk, where the two Russian armies formed a junction, Aug. 6, while the Prussian auxiliaries besieged Riga, and the Austrian were manœuvring in Volhynia.—Smolensk was stormed and destroyed, Aug. 18, after which Kutusoff was vested with the chief command. The Russians retreated to Borodino on the Moskwa. A great battle was fought at Borodino

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and Mosaisk, Sept. 7. The Russians retreated, but not in flight, through Moscow, to which the road now stood open. The solitary capital was entered, Sept. 14, 15. In the Kremlin, the ancient residence of the czars, the conqueror took up his head-quarters, the limit of his expedition and the tomb of his greatness.

62. Here the fatigued and debilitated army hoped to find repose and refreshment; when suddenly the flames burst out in a hundred places, and the vast capital resembled an ocean of fire. It fell a victim to the empire—for such a drama demanded such a catastrophe; but in its pillars of fire, the first dawn of freedom shone over shackled Europe in the furthest east. Instead of a Capua, the army suddenly stood in a waste. "The campaign may now end," was the proposal of Napoleon; "The campaign is now beginning," was the reply of Kutusoff. A speedy retreat, before the beginning of the winter's cold, might perhaps have saved the army, but the pride of the conqueror disdained this measure, till it was too late.

The grand conflagration of Moscow (four-fifths of the city) raged Sept. 16—19, having been prepared by Rostopschin the governor, at Kutusoff's order, who was possessed of unlimited authority. The general pillage proceeded among heaps of ashes and ruin. Napoleon proposed a truce, and offered to retreat to Wiasma, Oct. 5. The answer of the Russians was purposely delayed, but it was a refusal—they had begun to know themselves after the peace of Tilsit.

63. No alternative but a retreat remained! A retreat over upwards of seven hundred miles, with an army already enfeebled, encompassed, defeated again and again by enemies increasing every day, through deserts of his own creation, and through smoking ruins, without shelter and without magazines, and soon overtaken by avenging destiny; when the cold, which could be endured neither by man nor beast, killed both by thousands. History refuses to delineate scenes, which imagination herself can scarcely conceive. Suffice it to say, that of the hundreds of thousands, who had crossed the Niemen with him, scarcely as many thousands returned, and of these, how few were capable of bearing arms! The army of the tyrant, half dead, half captive, existed no longer; he himself, in a miserable sledge, and unknown, escaped death, if not shame, to carry the first news of his defeat to his capital. "That there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous," was his only consolation.

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The French left the ruins of Moscow, (the Kremlin having been blown up,) Oct. 19, 1812, after the cavalry had been surprised the day before by Bennigsen at Tarutina. They retreated, after a short circuit, by the road to Smolensk, pursued by the main army of Kutusoff and numberless swarms of Cossacks; while on the north, Wittgenstein was hastening from the Dwina, and on the south, Tchitchagoff from Moldavia, the peace with the Porte (p. 423) not having been concluded in vain. Single corps d'armée were routed at Yaroslavez, Oct. 24, and at Wiasma, Nov. 3. The tremendous cold weather commenced Nov. 6. As there was no place of rest at Smolensk, they were defeated at Krasnoy, Nov. 17, 18. They were soon after reinforced by fresh forces under Victor and Oudinot; but after the battle at Borizoff, Nov. 25, and the passage over the Beresina at Studzianka, (the most horrible of the scenes of horror,) Nov. 26—28, these too were overtaken by a similar fate. From thence to Wilna, Dec. 9, the remainder of the army was wasted away in its flight, and on Dec. 4, the emperor himself, sending before him his twenty-ninth bulletin, fled from Smorghoni in his sledge to Paris, by way of Warsaw and Dresden, which had been five months before the scene of his splendour, and where he had received the homage of kings and princes.—Before the close of the year 1812, Russia was cleared of the enemy. Not a thousand men, capable of bearing arms, could the viceroy at first collect behind the Vistula; only a few reserves, the garrisons of the fortresses, and the separate armies of Prussia and Austria, the last, however, no longer belonging to Napoleon, were remaining; 240,000 bodies were buried in Russia.

Relation circonstanciée de la campagne de Russie, par EUGÉNE LABAUME, Capitaine, etc. Paris, 1814. This delineation by an eye-witness and a Frenchman, precludes every suspicion of exaggeration in the Russian accounts. The fourth corps d'armée of 48,000 men, to which the author belonged, were at last able to take up its quarters—in one chamber!

64. The diffusion of these accounts over Europe excited at first a vague astonishment, rather than a loud expression of joy; it was saddened, however, by the lamentations of parents, wives, and widows, for hardly a village was free from losses. That great revolutions of things were impending did not pass unobserved even by the careless. A sudden eruption was prevented by the fortresses and countries which were occupied, by the relations of the rulers, and the certainty that Napoleon himself had escaped. Some powerful impulse was first needed. This was afforded by Russia; when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave the signal for the emancipation of Europe. From this time, the storm of nations, which had gathered in the west against the east, was to be turned back in an opposite direction.

The emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, Dec. 17. The Russian

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army passed the frontier in five bands, under the chief command of Kutusoff, accompanied by the emperor as far as Kalisch. It entered Prussia, and exhorted the nation to war. Dantzic was besieged, Jan., 1813. The Vistula was crossed, and soon after the Oder, in February. On March 4, the first Cossacks appeared in Berlin, which was occupied by Wittgenstein, March 11, the viceroy retreating with all his forces beyond the Elbe and Saale.

65. Thus opened that momentous, bloody year, in which the dominion of the one was to fall, and nations and princes were to regain their freedom. In Russia the war had become a popular war; whether it was to be such in Germany was yet to be decided. Prussia made it so. Tearing off his ignominious chains, the king summoned the nation to arms; and it obeyed his call. Mecklenburg and Hamburg followed the example; active assistance was promised by Sweden; and if the insurrection did not become general this side the Elbe, it was only force that restrained it. On the other hand, Denmark, still in war with England and inclining to France, collected its troops in Holstein. 1813.

The king left Berlin for Breslau, accompanied by Hardenberg, the chancellor of state, and others, Jan. 22, 1813. From this place was issued the edict of Feb. 3, for the formation of volunteer corps of Yagers; on which all the youth hastened to arms. The whole nation was then summoned, March 17, and the war was made completely national, by the regulations for the erection of the militia for defence, and for attack; the army was also addressed, of which the corps of French auxiliaries under Gen. York, refusing obedience to the Marshal Macdonald, Dec. 30, had joined the Russians. A well-trained army of more than 100,000 men—thanks to the quiet preparations of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau—suddenly stood in being; and was afterwards reinforced by a still stronger militia. The insurrection broke out in Hamburg, where the utmost enthusiasm was displayed, upon Tettenborn's arrival, March 24, and the free constitution was restored; the same spirit prevailed in Mecklenburg, whose princes were the first to renounce allegiance to the Confederation of the Rhine, as well as in Luneburg. These movements extended as far as the Rhine.

66. New leagues were the natural consequences of this incipient revolution of things. The one between Prussia and Russia was the first; it was followed by the alliance between Sweden and England; and somewhat later, by the one between Prussia and England, as well as between Russia and England.

The conditions of the treaty between Russia and Prussia at Kalish, Feb. 28, 1813, were: *a*. An alliance defensive and offensive. with an

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agreement as to the auxiliary armies of both parties. *b.* Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to its ancient statistical relations. *c.* Invitations were proffered to Austria and England to join the league. The negotiators were Kutusoff and Hardenberg.—Conditions of the convention between England and Sweden, March 3: *a.* Sweden promised thirty thousand auxiliaries on the continent, under the command of the crown prince. *b.* England promised a million of subsidies annually. *c.* England promised at least not to oppose the union of Norway, but even to further it to the utmost, in case Denmark should refuse to join the Russian alliance. *d.* A promise was given that Guadaloupe should be ceded (this was never performed). *e.* Commercial concessions in favour of England, in Gothenburg and Stralsund. The negotiators were, Edw. Thornton and V. Wetterstedt.—The conditions of the alliance of England with Prussia at Reichenbach, June 15: *a.* Restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to the old relations. (By a separate compact, howevèr, Hildesheim remained to Hanover.) *b.* Regulations respecting subsidies.—The same conditions were contained in the contemporary treaty with Russia.

67. But a harder struggle was impending. What was the destruction of an army to him, who cared not for the loss of men, so long as there was a magazine to supply him with a new one? The first measures of the defeated emperor after his return, evinced that he would not, willingly, remit any part of his claims; and not one free dissentient voice was raised either in the senate or in the legislative body. The readiness with which the desired aid was given by the nation, has been called by the appellation of magnanimity. Not without justice, had the object been the defence of its own soil; but how can the enforcement of unjust pretensions merit this name? The perversion of moral sentiment is inseparable from times of tyranny; it will not be superfluous therefore to guard against such a misapplication of the term in question.

By a decree of the conservative senate, Jan. 10, 1813, two hundred and fifty thousand conscripts, more than Napoleon had demanded, were placed at the disposal of the emperor.—Wonderful dispensation of retributive justice! In the *Moniteur* of March 30, 1813, he himself declared, that "Even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire." On March 30, 1814, Montmartre was taken by assault, and—the empire itself was given up!

68. The first months of the year were, therefore, the period of the most earnest preparations on both sides. Germany was again destined for the field of battle; the Elbe, from its mouth to the boundaries of Bohemia, constituted the line of division between the forces of the two belli-

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gerents; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, besides Dantzic, were in the hands of the French. While Russia and Prussia combined their armies, which the monarchs themselves from this time always attended in person, Sweden was impelled to active participation by British subsidies and the promise of Norway. Napoleon, however, not only demanded from the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine their contingents, but found an ally in Denmark, with whom the negotiations respecting Norway had been broken off.—Painful as was the situation of the towns and places that lay between the armies; a still more cruel fate befell Hamburg, which, abandoned to the revenge of Napoleon, had to drain the cup of misery to the dregs. Saxony, however, was the principal theatre of the war; whose king could not separate his cause from that of Napoleon.

Dresden was occupied, after the retreat of Marshal Davoust, by Russians and Prussians under Wittgenstein and Blucher, March 27, 1813; they then pressed on to Leipzic, while the French army assembled in Franconia, Thuringia, and on the Elbe. The war of liberation was begun in Germany by the battle of Gross Goerschen or Lutzen, May 2. The allies made a regular retreat, not a disorderly flight, over the Elbe. With a weaker force, they had withstood the stronger, in order to confront him again in Lusatia. The battle of Bautzen, May 21, under Barclay de Tolly (commander-in-chief after the death of Kutusoff, April 28) and Blucher, was attended with equal success, and followed by a similar and even glorious retreat to Silesia. An armistice was mutually offered (both parties being exhausted and expecting reinforcements) and was signed at Poischwitz, June 4 to July 26; soon afterwards prolonged till Aug. 10.—In the mean while negotiations were renewed with Sweden, and, conformably to its convention with England, March 3, (see p. 430,) the crown prince landed with Swedish troops in Pomerania, May 18; at the same time a German auxiliary corps was formed under Walmoden, afterwards in British pay; but Lubeck and Hamburg were lost, being occupied by Davoust after the retreat of the Russians, May 30. It was violently transformed into a fortress; devastations, a reign of terror, and methodical pillaging ensued; and when nothing more was to be taken, the bank was at last attacked.—Fruitless negotiations were begun by England and Sweden with Denmark (April); Denmark made advances to France; and concluded an alliance at Dresden, July 10. Denmark promised to declare war immediately against Russia, Prussia, and Sweden.

Darstellung des Feldzugs der Verbündeten gegen Napoleon in Jahr 1813 *und* 1814, in zwei Theilen, 1817.

Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren 1813 *und* 1814, von V. PLOTHO. Berlin, 1817, 3 Theile.—Both authentic histories of the war.

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69. Never was a period of two months' armistice of such importance! and at the same time such a period of active negotiations and preparations. Not without reason was peace feared. What other situation could it have produced, but that unhappy intermediate state, which, after repeated experience, was dreaded more than war itself? The restriction of France to its ancient boundaries was not to be expected; a restoration of the ancient dynasty could not have been even mentioned. Very different occurrences were required, before the restoration of the political system of Europe could be thought of. But one great hope arose during the truce, and it was not deceptive; the accession of Austria. It was reserved for Austria to give the decision, when the decisive moment arrived.

During the truce Austria (suspending its former treaty of alliance with France, see p. 424) undertook the part of mediator, which it had previously attempted, though in vain, with the single nations. A congress was agreed on to be held at Prague (the emperor Francis going to Bohemia) on July 5; but in consequence of the delay of the French plenipotentiaries it was not opened till July 28. The sentiments of Napoleon were made manifest by the retardation of the French answer till Aug. 6; and still more by the affronting tenor of the answer itself. It could not escape him, that even the allies, already secure of Austria, thought no more of peace. After a useless exchange of notes, the congress was declared to be dissolved by the allies, Aug. 11, and on the following day, Aug. 12, Austria declared war against France.

The plenipotentiaries at Prague, were: Prince Metternich as mediator; Von Amstett and V. Humboldt on the part of the allies; De Caulincourt and De Narbonne on the part of France.

70. The issue of the negotiations led again to new alliances. The ties with Austria, as well as with Sweden and England, had to be drawn in the closest manner. A conflict was impending, where national existence was at stake; and the day of decision could not be far distant. But those ties were not only to be contracted by policy, they were consolidated by the personal friendship of the monarchs. From henceforth, alike inseparable from one another, and their armies, they shared every toil and every danger, every care and every hope, as they afterwards shared the gratitude of the nations and the glory of the victory. The armies too were amalgamated with each other; there was no longer any Russian, Prussian, or Austrian army; all were united as one; and officers from all commanded all; the honour of

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the supreme command being conferred on Austria. When the highest interests were at stake, all petty passions were hushed; and if, in addition to the names of the monarchs, history consecrates also those of a Schwarzenberg, a Blucher, Barclay de Tolly, and others, it should not forget to add, that their concord made them no less formidable to the enemy than their arms. It can exhibit no similar example!

During the armistice, Austria had already concerted, July 27, a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia, (so much the more likely to be permanent, as it was the less formal,) which came into operation of itself with the declaration of war, and was afterwards concluded in a threefold form at Toplitz, on Sept. 9, 1813. *a.* Firm union, and a guarantee of their states. *b.* Mutual aid with at least sixty thousand men, and in case of necessity with more, for restoring and maintaining peace in Europe. *c.* None other but common peace or armistice. In the secret articles, as far as they have been divulged, the re-establishment of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies, as much as possible on the footing of 1805, was confirmed. The negotiators at Toplitz were, the Counts Metternich, Nesselrode, and Von Hardenberg.—England concluded treaties for subsidies at Reichenbach with Russia and Prussia, June 14 and 15 (see p. 430). In addition to subsidies it gave its guarantee for paper money to the amount of five millions of pounds sterling (under the name of federative money); England also signed at Toplitz a treaty of alliance with Austria, Oct. 3, stipulating mutual aid with all its forces. The negotiators were, Count Metternich and Lord Aberdeen. For the compact with Sweden, see p. 430.

71. Thus the greater part of the east and west of Europe stood in opposition to each other; Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Great Britain, on the one side—France, Italy, the Confederation of the Rhine, (mostly forced,) and Denmark on the other; while the contest was still waged in Spain. The war became more and more a popular war; and the great exertions of both parties called forth masses of soldiers, such as Europe had never before seen in the times of standing armies.

The forces of the allies were divided into the grand (Bohemian) army, under the commander-in-chief, P. Schwarzenberg; the Silesian, under Blucher; the northern, under the crown prince of Sweden (who had recalled from America his banished friend Moreau); the Austrian corps in Italy, under Hiller, as well as those on the boundaries of Bavaria; the Russian and Austrian reserves in Poland and Austria, besides the corps employed in the siege of Dantzic, and of the fortresses of the Oder. The whole was estimated at 7—800,000 men; but with the Spanish, Portuguese, and British armies on the peninsula, could not have amounted to much less than a million. Though the forces of

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Napoleon in Germany, divided into fifteen corps, and a corps d'armée in Italy, were perhaps only half as numerous, (to the 250,000 men already granted, by the decree of the senate of April 3, 180,000 men were added, after Prussia had declared war, besides 10,000 guards of honour, the flower of the more opulent families,) it was, on the other hand, more concentrated; and all the fortresses as far as the Oder, and Dantzic, were his; but Dresden was his principal head-quarters.

72. The same country which had so often possessed the dearly purchased fame of being Germany's classic ground and soil, was to be so in this instance. From the plains of Saxony (its inhabitants were German though under French arms) the decision was to come forth; but how much had to precede that moment! Of such a series of battles, preliminary to the great decisive battle, and in so brief a period of time, history can furnish no parallel. And from the failure of the attempt to surprise Dresden, it was ordained by Providence that success should ultimately spring.

Dresden was suddenly attacked (in accordance with Moreau's plan?) with the grand army, while Napoleon was allured into Lusatia; but the attack failed on account of the delays, and his speedy return, Aug. 26, 27, 1813. It cost Moreau his life! But on the retreat to Bohemia, Vandamme, who had wished to cut him off, was defeated and taken prisoner with his corps, by Kleist, in the battle at Culm and the village of Nollen, Aug. 29, 30. And in Silesia the hero of the Germans, the old man with the spirit of a youth, had begun his career of victory, in which he proceeded onwards, always rapidly and yet deliberately, from Katzbach to the Seine. Blucher defeated Macdonald on the Katzbach, Aug. 26, with the almost total annihilation of his army. And in the north also, where the conquest of Berlin was to afford the most delightful revenge, fortune was no less favourable. Oudinot was defeated at Gross-Beeren by the crown prince, Aug. 23, and when the favourite plan was on the point of being executed, Ney was routed and his army dispersed in the battle at Dennewitz, Sept. 6, by Bulow and the crown prince. On the Lower Elbe also, Walmoden was victorious over Pecheux in the skirmish at the Gohrde, Sept. 16. None but an extensive history of the war can mention the numberless small battles that occurred every day, as the ever-increasing masses of troops pressed upon each other.

73. The allies thus drew a semicircle closer and closer round the emperor. It was vainly attempted to penetrate to Berlin; to no purpose did he himself attempt to reach Bohemia. Whenever he was desirous of giving battle, the foe avoided him; whenever he wished not to fight, he found the enemy. Even in his rear the leaders of the light troops swarmed around him; the boldest and most alert of them,

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with his band of Cossacks, chased the king of Westphalia from his throne, and declared his kingdom to be dissolved. It was at last impossible for the French to remain in Dresden, unless they wished to perish by starvation. Napoleon therefore evacuated it to meet his fate at Leipzic.

Cassel was taken, Sept. 30, 1813, by Czernischeff, and the kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved by proclamation, Oct. 1. Even after the short return of the king, the tottering throne could no longer stand, and it was soon wholly overthrown by the battle of Leipzic.—Napoleon started from Dresden, followed by the king of Saxony, for the country before Leipzic, where he arrived Oct. 7, and whither, after a fruitless search of the enemy, who had eluded him in detached bodies, he drew the still remaining reinforcements, Oct. 14, 15, consisting of nine corps d'armée, besides the cavalry, the whole, according to exact lists, amounting to rather more than 170,000 men. His subordinate commanders were the king of Naples, Marshals Berthier, Ney, Mortier, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Angereau, Poniatowsky, and Generals Bertrand, Lauriston, Reignier, and Souham, as well as the officers of the cavalry, Latour-Mauburg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, Kellerman, and Milhaud. Dresden remained occupied by the Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr.

74. The decisive battle of three days' duration on the plains of Leipzic unrivetted the fetters of Germany, and dashed to the ground the already rocking edifice of Buonaparte's universal dominion; its ruins only remained in the occupied fortresses of Hamburg, Magdeburg, etc. If the mass of combatants engaged in the field (amounting to almost half a million) makes it the first battle of modern history, it was no less so for its important consequences. A fraction only of the army reached the Rhine, after a flight similar to that from Moscow, and most of those were infected with a contagion, which swept them away by thousands.

The battle of Leipzic occupied the 16th, 18th, and 19th of Oct., 1813. On the 16th an indecisive battle of the grand army and the cavalry was fought at Wachau; but Blucher was victorious at Moeckern. The 17th was a truce, but about evening the four armies of the allies formed a junction; the grand army having been joined by the northern army, to which the Silesian was united, after Blucher's memorable march; and the army of Russian reserves hastening up from Dresden under Bennigsen. These were disposed in a wide semicircle, 300,000 men strong. The history of wars has no second example of such a meeting. On the 18th, there was a general attack, and after nine hours of fighting the battle was decided. In the night the French retreated to the gates of Leipzic, and the Saxon corps passed through. On the 19th, Leipzic was taken by assault, the king of Saxony made prisoner, and the emperor fled with his routed army by way of Erfurt and Fulda to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher; he was attacked on the way at Hanau

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by the Bavarian-Austrian army under Wrede, Oct. 30. On Nov. 2, he brought back to Mayence some 70,000 men to fill the hospitals.

75. The victory at Leipzic made the German war in the fullest sense a popular war. The princes, and with them the nations, (according to German usage,) arose and threw off the chains of the Confederation of the Rhine. Even before the victory Bavaria gave the signal; Wirtemberg, Baden, and the rest followed. Every one that could bear arms seized them; the plough and workshops were abandoned; the lecture-rooms and counting-houses were deserted; even young females, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants; while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded. Hermann's spirit seemed awakened, and the day of suffering for Germany was the day of its renown. Long will their memory live in the history of Germany, as an example to future generations.

Bavaria seceded from the Confederation of the Rhine, and signed an alliance with Austria, at Ried, Oct. 8. It first declared war against France, Oct. 14, and united its army to the Austrian under Wrede. The army made a rapid march on the Maine, to meet the fugitive French army; and the battle of Hanau was fought, Oct. 30, 31.—Wirtemberg and Hesse Darmstadt joined the great alliance, Nov. 2, and Baden, Nov. 5. The other German princes, in the course of the same month; partly on conditions relating to the future regulations of Germany. In the electorate of Hesse, in Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick, the legitimate governments were reinstated after the flight of the king of Westphalia. Bremen was liberated, Oct. 14, and Frankfort, Nov. 1. Dresden, Nov. 11, Stettin, Nov. 21, Zamosk, Nov. 22, Modlin, Nov. 25, Dantzic, Nov. 30, Lubeck, Dec. 5, Torgau, Dec. 26, fell in the same year, and the half-destroyed Wittenberg, Jan. 23. Custrin did not yield till March 7, and Glogall, April 10, 1814. But Hamburg's heaviest sufferings now began, Davoust having retreated thither from Lanenburg; and Magdeburg, with the citadels of Wurzburg and Erfurt, was still occupied.

76. The insurrection spread also over Holland. Scarcely did the armies of the allies approach, before it broke out in Amsterdam; and the voice of the nation, mindful of its ancient glory, recalled also its ancient dynasty of princes. Instead of the former defective constitution, the foundation of a constitutional monarchy was laid. Under the name of a sovereign prince of the Netherlands, William of Orange was recognised as monarch.—Thus fell one part of the edi-

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fice of universal monarchy, because it was not built on the will of the people.

The insurrection broke out in Amsterdam, Nov. 15, 1813, and after the flight of the French authorities a board of government was erected, at whose invitation the Prince of Orange returned from England, Dec. 1. In the mean while a part of the northern army advanced under Bulow, in Dec. The fortresses Breda, Hergozenbusch, etc. were taken. Before the end of the year Holland was emancipated, with the exception of some forts, and the road to Belgium laid open.

H. Bosscha, *Geschiedenis der Staaten-Omventeling in Nederland in* 1813. Amsterdam, 1814.

77. No less speedily did the fruits of the victory ripen with respect to Sweden. The declaration of war by Denmark (see p. 431) facilitated the execution of the plan for the conquest of Norway, which had been long prepared by treaties, (p. 425 seq.) It was not effected in Norway itself, but in Holstein, which the crown prince, separating from the other allies, invaded with the greater part of the northern army. A short campaign was sufficient to procure its cession, in consideration of Swedish Pomerania, from Denmark, now almost unarmed and deserted by its ally.

The crown prince, supported by Russians, etc., invaded Holstein, while Davoust was blocked up in Hamburg. After the battle at Sehestedt, against Walmoden, Dec. 10, 1813, the Danes retreated to Rensburg.—A truce was agreed upon, Dec. 15, and after some negotiations, peace was concluded at Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814. *a.* Denmark renounced the possession of all Norway to the Russian boundary. *b.* Sweden assured to Norway the possession of all its immunities and rights. *c.* Sweden ceded to Denmark Pomerania with the island of Rugen, and promised its interference for further indemnification. But the renunciation of Denmark did not imply the consent of Norway, which needed further exertions (see below).—Denmark made peace at the same time with England. *a.* The return of all conquests with the exception of the island of Heligoland. *b.* England also promised its interference.—Peace was concluded with Russia at Hanover, Feb. 8, 1814, and with Prussia at Paris, June 2. The old relations were restored, and interference promised for the same purpose.

78. The course of things was quite different in Italy and Illyria. The Illyrian provinces were wholly emancipated after the retreat of the viceroy Prince Eugene, and half of Lombardy and Italian Tyrol were occupied. But though Eugene, as his relations demanded, continued faithful to his adopted father, Napoleon's brother-in-law, on the contrary, Murat of Naples, by acceding or attempting to accede to

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the allies, experienced, that in such revolutions an ambiguous conduct most certainly leads to ruin.

In the Illyrian provinces, the conflict was waged between Prince Eugene and Hiller (in whose place Bellegarde was afterwards substituted) with various success, in August and September of 1813. But after the secession of Bavaria, the first mentioned retreated across the Adige to the Mincio, Nov., and Dec., and several successful skirmishes occurred Feb. and March, 1814. Under the most perplexing relations, till the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, April 16, 1814, and his resignation of the command, April 17, Prince Eugene suffered neither in honour nor in military reputation. He carried away with him the testimony of the respect of Italy.—Murat opened negotiations with Austria, and an alliance was signed at Naples, Jan. 11, (with England he was only able to make a truce, Feb. 3,) after which, without declaring his sentiments, he occupied Rome and Florence. While it was seen, that his sole wish was to gain time, he lost the confidence of all.

79. But in the Spanish peninsula also, the power of the French, scarcely founded and always tottering, was entirely annihilated the same year. Every step of the Duke of Wellington was one of constant victory. While Germany was preparing itself during the armistice for the decisive contest, in Spain, on the other hand, the battle of Vittoria decided the whole question at once; and before the end of the year, the victorious army was standing on the soil of France. Napoleon himself, relinquishing all hope, concluded a treaty with Ferdinand, by which he acknowledged him as king of Spain.

The war in Spain became more and more a popular war, and was carried on not merely with regular troops, but also by bands of *guerillas*, formidable because they were omnipresent.—The French power was weakened by the recall of Soult to Germany, with many troops, Feb., 1813, who was followed by Jourdan under King Joseph, while Suchet still maintained himself in Valencia.—Wellington left Portugal with an army composed of British, Spanish, and Portuguese, and marched against Jourdan on the Ebro. In the battle at Vittoria, June 21, the French army was totally defeated and cut off with the loss of all its artillery.—The army fled to Pampeluna, and King Joseph to France.—Pampeluna was besieged by the Spanish, and surrendered Oct. 31. Meanwhile Soult was sent back with reinforcements, July 23, but was defeated on the Pyrenees, July 28, 29, while attempting to raise the siege of Pampeluna. He retreated to France behind the Bidassoa; while Saragossa was lost, July 30, and St. Sebastian, Aug. 30. —Suchet retreated from Valencia to Barcelona in July, after the investment and destruction of Tortona, Aug. 19. After the surrender of Pampeluna, Wellington advanced, and passed the boundary river Bi-

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dassoa, while Soult, vanquished again, Nov. 10, retired before Bayonne. In the whole peninsula, at the end of 1813, the French were masters of Barcelona alone, with the forts of Figueras and Rosas. Meanwhile a treaty with Ferdinand was signed at Valencay, Dec. 8, and himself and brothers were released from their imprisonment. The Cortes refused to give the required ratification to the treaty, "because Ferdinand had not been free, and no peace could be concluded without England."

80. While the universal sovereignty in Europe was thus overthrown in the east and west, France itself alone remained. The victorious armies followed as far as the Rhine, attended by the monarchs, and spread along the principal river of Germany from the boundaries of Switzerland to its outlet. If they needed repose, the cabinets also needed deliberation. Rarely have such victories been succeeded by such moderation. Happily for Europe, the lesson was lost on Napoleon. The phantom of universal sovereignty had been too nearly realized for him to acknowledge it to have been a mere phantom.

The allies declared at Frankfort, Dec. 1, 1813, that "They contended, not against France, but against the preponderance which Napoleon exercised without the boundaries of his empire. They offered the emperor peace, under the condition of the independence of the French empire, as well as of the other states of Europe. They wished to see France great, strong, and happy; because its power was one of the corner-stones of the social system. They allowed France a territory, greater than she had ever possessed under the kings. But they too wished to be happy and quiet. They desired a state of peace, which, by a just balance and distribution of power, should protect the nations from the misery they had experienced for twenty years. They declared that they would not lay aside their arms, till this object was attained." —Could any thing be more noble and liberal?—The Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees were offered for boundaries, as the basis of the peace, in the negotiations commenced by the French plenipotentiary St. Aignan.—His delay fortunately showed, that this was not enough for him; and the negotiations were broken off.

81. It was therefore determined by the allies, that the issue should be decided in France itself. It appeared indeed rashness to penetrate into an unconquered country in the midst of winter, with more than thirty hostile fortresses in the rear. But the enemy was almost unprepared; the allies were strong enough to blockade all the fortresses; and while the allied armies, crossing the Rhine, pressed forward at the same time from Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, Wellington stood on the Garonne. But in vain was it attempted to move Switzerland to share in the struggle

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for freedom, though by its very situation necessarily an ally. When all were arming for liberty, the sons of Tell alone resolved on neutrality, and at last only permitted that which they could not prevent. It was not one of the most glorious moments of their history. The conduct of the allies, however, to them, gave the first proof that freedom was returning to the states of Europe.

The allied armies, amounting to nearly 400,000 strong, crossed the Rhine, the grand army under Schwartzenberg, Wrede, etc., across the Upper Rhine, and through Switzerland, (which withdrew its corps of observation,) Dec. 21—25; the Silesian army under Blucher over the Middle Rhine, Jan. 1, 1814, and the army of the Netherlands under Bulow. These were soon followed by other battalions.—Buonaparte, though 300,000 men were granted him by the senate, Nov. 15, (the legislative body, in which the bold voices of a Lainé and Rainouard, which well merit to be named by the side of the generals, were at last heard, was immediately prorogued,) could only oppose to them single corps. The allied armies formed a junction in Champagne, Jan. 25. After the victory of Blucher at Brienne, (La Rothiere,) Feb. 1, the Silesian army following the course of the Marne, and the grand army that of the Seine, (extending at the same time as far as Lyons, where Marshal Angereau was endeavouring to collect forces,) advanced towards Paris.

82. But the dangers of battle were not the greatest to which the allies were exposed; these were the negotiations, when, in doubt whether their aim could be attained by arms, the allies opened a congress at Chatillon. What a glorious peace would it have accomplished had it not been frustrated by the pride and duplicity of the emperor! As it was, there proceeded from it, instead of peace indeed, a stronger union of the allies, confirmed by their close quadruple alliance at Chaumont. The hope, that the royal throne would again be established by the nation, was revived; a Bourbon showed himself in the allied armies and in that of Wellington; and after the dissolution of the congress, but not till then, the conviction became more firmly rooted, that only on such an event was the restoration of Europe possible.

A congress was held at Chatillon, Feb. 3—March 15, 1814, without, however, granting a truce. It still remained in Napoleon's power to preserve the throne and empire, had he been satisfied with ancient France. But he required that the Rhine and Alps with all the points of attack should constitute the boundaries of France; that Italy should belong to his step-son, and his brothers be indemnified. How fortunate was it that he demanded so much; and nevertheless, an intercepted

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letter of his minister Maret, afterwards showed that even this was only a deception.—During the congress a quadruple alliance for twenty years was signed at Chaumont, March 1, 1814, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. *a.* Every power furnished for continuing the war 150,000 men. *b.* England promised five million pounds sterling of subsidies. *c.* No separate negotiations were to be held.—Provision was thus made not for the present only but also for the future!

The plenipotentiaries at Chatillon were: Caulincourt: on the side of the allies, Lord Cathcart, Count Rasumovsky, Count Stadion, Von Humboldt.—At Chaumont: Lord Castlereagh, (for the first time, a British secretary of state for foreign affairs appeared in person on the continent,) Prince Metternich, Von Hardenberg, and Von Nesselrode.

83. The war was meanwhile prosecuted in France with various success. So far from decreasing, the forces of Napoleon actually increased; and it was easy for him to concentrate them in single points and to acquire the advantage. The retreat of the grand army was already commenced, when Blucher's good sword decided at Laon for the better. From this time the capital of France was the aim, and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated the march. But a battle under its walls was necessary; and for the first time its inhabitants heard the thunder of hostile artillery. It fell, and with the victorious armies received into its bosom the victorious monarchs, and soon afterwards its legitimate king.

Upon the separation of the two armies after the battle at Brienne, (p. 440,) several skirmishes occurred along the Marne; and Blucher achieved his memorable retreat from Beauchamp and Montmirail, Feb. 14, 1814, with his army already surrounded. The grand army advanced along the Seine to Fontainebleau, but upon the crown prince of Wirtemberg being overpowered after an heroic resistance at Montereau, Feb. 18, it retreated towards Troyes, as far as Bar-sur-Aube, Feb. 25, and even commenced fruitless negotiations for an armistice. The fate of Europe was again at stake. Blucher, meanwhile, after his retreat to Laon, was joined by the corps of the northern army, and fought the glorious battle of Laon, March 9 and 10. Upon this, he pressed forward again and joined the grand army, March 18. After the battle at Arcis-sur-Aube, March 20, Napoleon resolved to manœuvre in their rear; and by doing so left the road open to the capital. After the defeat of Marmont and Mortier, at la Fere Champenoise, March 25, they proceeded to Paris. A battle was fought before Paris; Montmartre was stormed, and the city capitulated, March 30; the allies entered March 31, while the shouts of victory resounded throughout Europe. Paris was taken one year five months and eleven days after the march from Moscow, and seven months and five days after the march from Katzbach.—Meanwhile Wellington advanced, equally victorious, against Soult, on the Garonne; Bourdeaux was occupied,

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March 12, where the royal standard was first planted, and Toulouse, April 10, after an unfortunate and unnecessary waste of blood (the couriers from Paris having been detained on their route). As Lyons had been previously occupied by the allies, March 19, the armies were possessed of a line of communication from the Moskwa to the Tagus.

84. With the capital France was conquered, because in France the capital is every thing; the wise moderation of the victors, flattering to the feelings and vanity of the nation, accomplished the rest. The proclamation of the allies, "That they would treat no longer with Napoleon or any one of his family," (he had appointed his wife regent,) was decisive, and without openly dictating, sufficiently showed the nation what was to be done. The senate, so late his obsequious slave, actually proposed the deposition of Buonaparte, and appointed a provisory government; the council of the department demanded the restoration of the royal throne in favour of Louis XVIII.

Alexander and the allies issued a declaration, March 31, 1814. Napoleon was declared deposed by the senate, April 1. It was of great importance, that this should be performed by the authorities of the empire. A provisionary government of five members was named, at the head of which was Talleyrand.—The council for the department of the Seine first demanded the restoration of the Bourbons, April 2.

85. It was of much consequence to obtain the abdication from the emperor himself. Convinced of the impossibility of reconquering the capital, to the succour of which he had come too late, and deserted every day by his army and his marshals, he resolved to do so for himself and family, after many useless attempts in favour of his son. He descended from the falling throne; after a compact with the allies, in which magnanimity, triumphing over policy, prescribed the conditions.

Napoleon rapidly marched back towards Paris, by way of Troyes, as far as Fontainebleau, March 30, 1814. After information of his deposition was received, Marmont, with his corps, deserted him, April 3. Negotiations were commenced through Ney and Macdonald, and an unconditional abdication was executed on the part of Napoleon and his heirs, April 1. This was followed by a treaty with the allies. *a.* A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs for ever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. *b.* He received the island of Elba with full sovereignty, and a pension of two millions and a half from the revenues of France. *c.* He was allowed to maintain a body guard of four hundred men. *d.* His wife obtained, with full sovereignty and in perpetuity for her descend-

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ants, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, both retaining the imperial title. *e.* In addition, an income was granted to the Buonaparte family, and Prince Eugene.—Buonaparte was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there, May 4.

86. The throne of the Bourbons was immediately erected again on the ground thus levelled.—It was not the difference of the royal from the imperial constitution, but the difference of the rulers who were at its head, their relations, and above all, their characters and sentiments, that gave Europe a pledge for the future. Even if the territory of the kingdom had been equally restricted, what would a peace with Napoleon have been but a truce, in which the nations would never have dared to lay aside their arms?

The Comte d'Artois returned, April 12, 1814, and was appointed *lieutenant du royaume* by the king; and a convention was immediately made with the allies respecting the cessation of hostilities and the evacuation of the fortresses without the territory of ancient France (fulfilled at Mayence, May 4; Wesel, May 8; Magdeburg, May 14; Hamburg, May 25, etc.; all in the same month).—Louis XVIII. landed at Calais, April 25, after an absence of twenty-three years from his kingdom (spent in Italy, Germany, Russia, and latterly in England); and made his entrance into Paris, May 4, after rejecting the constitution framed by the senate, but with the assurance of a free constitution.

87. To bestow peace on France and Europe was the first beneficent occupation of the king, now reinstated in his rights. It must have been easy to negotiate with a monarch, in whom the other monarchs saw an equal; particularly too as the transactions were hastened by their presence. If on the one hand, the phantom of universal monarchy was abandoned, on the other, the promise was most exactly fulfilled, that France should be left still great and powerful. The return of France to its ancient boundaries was the basis of the treaty.

By the first peace of Paris, May 30, 1814: *a.* France preserved its integrity according to the boundaries as they existed Jan. 1, 1792, with some additions on the eastern frontier and in Savoy, as well as by the confirmed possession of Avignon. *b.* France recognised the independence of the state of the Netherlands, with its future aggrandizement of all the German states, which were to be united by a federal league of Switzerland, and the Italian states. *c.* France recovered its colonies from England, including even Guadaloupe, to which Sweden (p. 430) laid claims, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France with its dependencies. It engaged not to fortify its places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops, but what were neces-

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sary for the police. *d.* Malta was retained by England. *e.* French Guiana was restored by Portugal, according to an adjustment of boundaries. *f.* In the harbours evacuated by France, the vessels of war and naval stores were divided in such a manner that two-thirds were assigned to France. *g.* The allies magnanimously renounced all the sums, to which their governments might have claims from France for contracts, supplies, and loans of money. *h.* France engaged to pay the similar demands of private persons. *i.* And promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years.

Negotiators: Talleyrand: on the part of the allies, Lord Castlereagh, Rasumovsky, Metternich, and Von Hardenberg.

88. The same month that restored to France her king, beheld three other princes, who had been driven from their thrones, ascend them again.—Pius VII. returned to Rome, Ferdinand VII. to Madrid, and Victor Emanuel to Turin. In vain had Napoleon tried to terrify Pius VII. by threats, causing him to be dragged as a prisoner to Fontainebleau; in vain had he tried to deceive the world by a fictitious concordat. The return of the Pope restored quiet to his state. It was otherwise in Spain, where, after the rejection of an almost republican constitution, drawn up by the Cortes, an outrageous contest of absolute power against freedom commenced, the results of which hardly left any hope of a favourable issue.

The imprisoned Pope resided at Fontainebleau, June 19, 1812—Jan., 1813. A concordat, the principal provisions of which Pius VII. had, only as a preliminary measure and conditionally, accepted, was promulgated as already concluded, Jan. 23, 1813, (after Buonaparte's return from Moscow,) against which Pius immediately protested. He was carried back to Savona, Jan. 24, and afterwards given up to the Austrians, March 31.—He returned to Rome and made a solemn entrance, May 24, 1814.—Ferdinand VII. entered Madrid, May 14; and Victor Emanuel, Turin, about the same time.

89. While the foundation of the subverted political system of Europe was thus every where laid afresh, it could escape no one how much was wanting to complete its entire restoration. The monarchs, united in peace as in war, resolved to do this in common at a congress in the imperial city of Germany, while they contracted, during the preparations, the bands of personal amity with the British royal family and the prince regent of England. After the storms of the times had subsided, policy united itself more closely with humanity.

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The emperor Alexander and king Frederic William, accompanied by their victorious generals, Blucher, Platoff, etc., visited London, June 7—22, 1814, and were enthusiastically received by the nation.

90. Congress at Vienna. The history of the political system of Europe can present no congress—not excepting even the congress of Westphalia—where so many and so great interests, comprehending those of all Europe, were to be adjusted; for, though several times shaken, they were never so utterly overthrown as at present. What result, or at any rate what continuance of the congress could have been expected? Happily there were two beneficial circumstances. First: there already existed a general coincidence of opinion on most of the principal points. No one doubted the necessity of maintaining the French monarchy in its existing integrity, and of restoring the Austrian and Russian monarchies according to the former statistical relations (which were already decided beforehand by means of treaties, see p. 433). The second was the presence, the characters, and the mutual friendship of the monarchs. The former accelerated, the latter facilitated every transaction. But nevertheless there could be no want of stumbling-blocks. The greatest consisted in the arrangements respecting Poland and Saxony, and also in the political and territorial relations of Germany. Not without cause were fears repeatedly entertained that the deliberations would be interrupted. But yet they came to their regular close. This was furthered by an extraordinary, and an unexpected occurrence, which hushed the voice of individual interest. The man of destiny was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he wished to destroy.

The congress of Vienna was formally opened, Nov. 1, 1814, after preliminary negotiations. It sat till May 25, 1815. (For the results see below in the last section.)

There were present in person, the emperors of Austria and Russia; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimer, of Brunswick, of Nassau, of Cobourg, and several other princes.—The principal ambassadors and ministers were: from the Pope, Cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, Prince Metternich; from Russia, Prince Rasumovsky, Counts Stakelberg and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington; from Prussia, Prince Hardenberg and Von Humboldt; from France, Talleyrand and Dalberg; from Spain, Don Labrador; from Portugal, Count Palmella and

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Count Lobo da Silveyra; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark, Count Bernstorf; from Sweden, Count Löwenhielm; from Sardinia, the Marquis of St. Marsan; from Bavaria, Baron Wrede, Count Rechberg; from Wirtemberg, Count Winzingerode; from Hanover, Count Münster, Count Hardenberg; from Saxony, Count Schulenberg, and others.

91. The return of Napoleon from Elba to France was followed by a momentary overthrow of the yet unstable royal throne. How could it stand firm, when the nation as yet hardly knew its king; when the army, newly organized, swore fidelity with the mouth and not with the heart; and the eyes of both were still dazzled with the lustre of glory. But it was soon perceived that the re-erected imperial throne was no less weak, and found its support not in the nation, which merely suffered it, but in the army. What a prospect, however, if things should come to such a pass, that a rebellious army could prescribe laws to the empire and to Europe itself!

Napoleon landed at Cannes, March 1, 1815, with about one thousand five hundred men, and marched with celerity to Paris, without any great achievements, because he met with no resistance. The previous conspiracy does not seem to have been very extensive, because Napoleon could, and of course did, count on the assistance of the troops and their leaders on his appearance. He entered Paris, March 30; the king having withdrawn to Lille, and afterwards to Ghent. But his old power was not revived with his old title; instead of ruling the parties as formerly, he seems to have been swayed by them; and the comedy of the Champ de Mai (June 1) exhibited only the caricature of Charles the Great. So much the more energetic were his warlike preparations; for he was well aware that all his proffers would not give him peace.

92. The news of Napoleon's return fortunately reached the congress while still sitting. This rendered the most speedy and decisive measures possible, and they were accordingly adopted. By a special act the usurper was declared the enemy of nations, and to have forfeited the protection of the laws; and all the powers, both great and small, immediately entered into a firm combination against him. The fortune of war might waver, but his final overthrow seemed inevitable; for the princes could now depend on the hearty concurrence of their respective nations.

A declaration against Napoleon was signed, March 13, 1815, by Austria, Prussia, England, and Russia, as well as by France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. And soon after, an alliance was concluded be-

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tween the four leading powers at Vienna, March 25. *a.* Repetition of the alliance at Chaumont, (see p. 440,) for the maintenance of the tranquillity and independence of Europe against Napoleon Buonaparte and his followers. *b.* The contingent of each power was fixed at 180,000 men. *c.* All the powers of Europe were invited to join the alliance.—All of them with the exception of Sweden, (which was still occupied with Norway,) and all the states of Germany, including Switzerland, acceded in order; Spain conditionally; and a subsidiary treaty was concluded with Great Britain. The sum of all the contingents to be furnished amounted to 1,057,400 men.

93. Again, therefore, all Europe was plunged in commotion by a single man; for the danger was great though it was not deemed such; and it was easy to prophesy that the usurper would not wait for the union of the hostile forces. An army, composed of British, German, and Prussian forces was assembled with the utmost speed under Wellington and Blucher. Napoleon also made his preparations with equal activity; but the great day at Waterloo hurled him at once to the ground and saved Europe.

Napoleon pressed forward across the boundaries with 170,000 men, June 15, 1815. A battle was fought at Ligny against Blucher, June 16; who after a bold resistance (the grey hero himself was wounded by the kick of a horse) was forced back to Wavre. On the same day Ney risked an action with the Duke of Brunswick at Quatre Bras, who fell the victim of his inherited valour. Meanwhile the army of Wellington, consisting of British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and the soldiers of Brunswick and Nassau, was drawn up at Waterloo and La Belle Alliance. Napoleon commenced the attack at noon of June 18, with a great superiority. After a formidable conflict the victory fluctuated till the evening, when Blucher appeared with his auxiliaries at the right crisis. This was decisive. The French army was routed, put to flight, pursued by Gneisenau, and totally dispersed. Napoleon, abandoning every thing, escaped with difficulty to Paris, to bring the news of his own defeat. His star had set for ever!

94. The second taking of Paris without bloodshed was the consequence of that victory, but whether it would result in the submission of France might seem uncertain. The remains of the defeated army retreated, conformably to the convention, beyond the Loire; the commanders of most of the fortresses refused obedience; but without a dissolution of the army no security was to be expected. The first and most important step was to impel its chief after his return to the capital to execute a new abdication. In order not to be deposed he abdicated at the request of the cham-

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bers convened by him; and the disbanding of the army by its generals was happily accomplished. Meanwhile he retreated to Rochefort in order to escape to America; and finding that impossible, he surrendered to the English.

Napoleon's abdication in favour of his son, June 22, was accepted by the chambers, so called, on the 23rd. How much single advisers, especially a Fouché, (the head of the provisory board of government) may have contributed towards it, (the former minister of police and his former master were unquestionably the best acquainted with each other,) is reserved for the future to divulge. He set out for Rochefort June 28; and after useless attempts to escape, surrendered to Admiral Hotham, and the British ship of the line Bellerophon, July 15, in which he was transported to England, and from thence being transferred to the Northumberland without landing, according to the resolution adopted in common by the allied powers, July 31, he was conveyed to the island of St. Helena, Aug. 8, where he landed, Oct. 16, and was detained as a prisoner of war till his death, every attempt to liberate him having been declared a capital crime by parliament, April 11, 1816. Quem cursum dederat Fortuna peregit!

July 9, 1815.

95. The king returned to his capital after an absence of one hundred days. But what exertions and what experience had not the allies made in these hundred days! Should they, at their own expense, reestablish the royal throne of France, to see it perhaps again overthrown? A remuneration for what had been spent, and security for the future, they owed not only to themselves, but also to their subjects, who had suffered already for their former magnanimity. New negotiations had therefore to be opened with the restored regal government; and it was agreed that remuneration should be obtained by a sum of money, and security by an adjustment of boundaries, with the cession of four fortified places, and a temporary occupation of the frontiers at the cost of France.

By the second treaty of Paris, concluded after long conferences, Nov. 20, 1815: *a.* An adjustment of the boundaries was made with the cession of the four fortresses Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs as far as the Lauter; and in Italy, of the part of Savoy that had remained to France (see p. 443). *b.* The fortress Huningen was demolished. *c.* The northern and eastern frontier of France with eighteen fortresses was to be occupied at the cost of France, for at least three years, by an army of the allies of 150,000 men; after the expiration of that time, it was to be seen whether circumstances would admit of their removal. *d.* As a remuneration, France agreed to pay at fixed times, the sum of seven hundred millions of francs (not including the claims of private individuals). Both this and the rest of

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the above conditions were fixed by separate conventions.—The ill-gotten monuments of art with which Paris was embellished, the sacred property of the nations, were with strict justice taken back without any particular convention. Not without murmurs had they been permitted to remain at the first taking of Paris.

The plenipotentiaries at this treaty were: from France, Richelieu; from Austria, Metternich and Wessenberg; from England, Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington; from Russia, Prince Rasumovsky and Count Capo d' Istria; from Prussia, Prince Hardenberg and Von Humboldt.

96. In Napoleon's fall his brother-in-law Murat of Naples, reaping the reward of his ambiguity, was involved. At the apparent progress of Buonaparte, Murat also declared for him; but Austria gave him no time to furnish assistance. After a campaign of less than two months he lost his kingdom, and wandering about like a fugitive, soon after lost his life as a criminal.

Since their restoration the Bourbon courts had declared against Murat, Dec., 1814. England also refused all connexion with him, Jan. 25, 1815. He was engaged in making preparations before Napoleon's landing, and immediately after manifested his warlike intentions by exhorting the nations of Italy to vindicate their liberty, March 30. Austria declared war against him, April 10, and signed an alliance with Ferdinand of Sicily, April 29. Actions took place on the Po with Bianchi and Nugent, but Murat was soon forced to retreat. After the battle at Tolentino, May 2, 3, and on the Garigliano, May 16, General Carascosa capitulated on the 20th. Naples was conquered and Ferdinand restored. Murat escaped to France by way of Ischia. After Napoleon's defeat he fled to Corsica: and having afterwards made a descent upon Pizzo in Calabria, he was taken prisoner and shot as a rebel, Oct. 13.

97. The fate of the Scandinavian kingdoms was already fully developed. Though after the peace of Kiel (see p. 437) Norway would not acquiesce in the cession made by Denmark to Sweden, but on the contrary proclaimed its governor king, it required only a short and almost bloodless campaign of the prince royal of Sweden to make the peace effectual. The assurance given to Norway of freedom and political independence operated far more than arms; and Sweden and Norway were thus united like two kingdoms under the sceptre of the same monarch.

After the promulgation of the peace of Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814, great commotions arose in Norway. It was proclaimed independent by the governor, Prince Christian Frederic of Denmark, Feb. 19. A diet *(Storthing)* was convoked at Eidswold, April 10, by which he was

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declared constitutional king, May 17. Useless attempts at a compromise were made by a commission of the allies, (July,) who insisted on submission; and it was blockaded by British ships. Hostilities commenced, Aug. 4; but after some unimportant skirmishes, and the surrender of the border fortresses, by which the road to Christiana was left open, a truce was agreed upon at Moss, Aug. 14. Prince Christian Frederic resigned, Aug. 16. The Storthing at Christiana declared, on Oct. 20, Norway to be united, as an independent kingdom, with the crown of Sweden; and Charles XIII. was proclaimed king of Norway, Nov. 4, 1814.

98. On an island rock, in the midst of the ocean, died, almost unnoticed, the man, whose name but a short space before had filled the world. His plans were wrecked; and from the thraldom which he was preparing for the nations, there sprang up liberty in more than one quarter of the globe. Unknown to himself, he was but the instrument of a higher power; for his objects were not its objects. Whatever judgment posterity may pass on him, universal history can view him only from this point.

Napoleon Buonaparte died on the island of St. Helena, May 5, 1821.

The works published by the companions of his exile at St. Helena, such as, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, ou journal oú se trouvè consigné jour par jour ce que dit et fait Napoléon durant dixhuit mois*, par le Comte DE LAS CASAS. à Paris, 1823, 8 vols. 8vo. And,

Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à St. Hélène sous sa dictée, par les généraux qui ont partage sa captivité, et publiés sur les manuscrits entièrement corrigés de la main de Napoléon. Mémoires, tom. i. ii. écrits par le Général GOURGAUD; tom. iii. par le Général MONTHOLON,—contain only so much as Napoleon himself chose to let the world know of his conduct. No one therefore will consider them as pure sources of historical information.

The best and most circumstantial disclosures relative to the personal character of this extraordinary man, are furnished in, *Mémoires de* BOURIENNE. à Paris, 1828, 8 vols. 8vo. The author was the friend of Napoleon's youth, and his private secretary, till he ascended the throne. The biographies compiled even by celebrated writers supply us with no additional information.

SECOND SECTION.

History of Colonial Affairs, from 1804—1830.

1. The great convulsions and revolutions in Europe during this period must have exercised an influence so much the more direct on the colonies, as it was less practicable to enforce on them the project of a universal

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monarchy. This could lead to nothing else than to their independence, as far as it was compatible with their nature and the maritime dominion of the British. A new order of things began in America; the flames of revolution communicated from the old world to the new, and kindled there a conflagration no less violent. From their nature and political relations, the East Indies were proof against them; but here, too, equally important alterations of another kind were prepared, as well as in Africa. Even the fifth portion of the world, its continent and its islands, received a continually increasing share of European civilization.

2. The United States of America underwent in this period no changes in their constitution. But their territory, (by the purchase of Louisiana, see p. 353, and the acquisition of Florida,) its population and revenues, were doubled; and their boundary, both on the British and the Spanish side, was the Pacific. Colonization in the western territory, as well as in Louisiana, advanced with a rapidity beyond all expectation, and increased the number of allied states from seventeen to twenty-four, several of the territories being admitted into the union.

The two Floridas were acquired in consideration of the surrender of pecuniary demands, from Spain, Oct. 24, 1820, ratified by the president, March 22, 1821. At the same time the boundaries on the side of Mexico were determined by the rivers Sabine and Arkansas, and by the parallel of 42° N. Lat., from the sources of those rivers to the Pacific. And with respect to England, conformably to the treaty of Ghent, (see below,) the boundary line extended from the Lake of the Woods, along the parallel of 49° N. Lat., to the Pacific.

Besides the district of Columbia, the territory of the capital, Washington, the twenty-four United States at present are: 1. Pennsylvania. 2. New York. 3. Maryland. 4. Delaware. 5. Rhode Island. 6. Connecticut. 7. Massachusetts. 8. New Jersey. 9. Vermont. 10. New Hampshire. 11. Maine. 12. Virginia. 13. North Carolina. 14. South Carolina. 15. Georgia. 16. Tennessee. 17. Kentucky. 18. Ohio. 19. Indiana. 20. Illinois. 21. Louisiana. 22. Mississippi (to the east of Louisiana). 23. Alabama. 24. Missouri. Florida was declared a territory as well as Michigan. West Florida from the Mississippi to the river Perdido was previously claimed as a part of Louisiana, and occupied, Oct. 20, 1810.—The population was augmented from six to about ten millions, the public revenue from twelve to twenty-four millions of dollars, without increase of taxes.

3. Though the constitution remained unaltered, party spirit was nevertheless excited, and there were moments

when it threatened to become dangerous. The parties of the democrats and federalists, (the former being strongest in the southern and interior states, and originally the favourers of the agricultural system, while the latter, prevailing in the north, were the advocates of the commercial system,) found encouragement and support in the disputes between France and England, and almost became, the former a French, the latter an English party. But the love of their common country and the attack of the British on the capital united both; and after the restoration of peace in Europe, these parties became to all appearance mere names.

4. A commercial state like that of America could not possibly avoid being involved in those contentions which made the war between France and England a commercial war. The collisions were necessarily most violent with the state that had the mastery of the sea, and eventually led to a war, as France artfully took advantage of them to increase her own influence.

The pre-existing causes of contention (see p. 352) still continued, and were aggravated by the increasing oppression of navigation and commerce. On that account the *Non-importation Act* was passed, against the importation of British manufactures. Negotiations continued; but the differences were augmented, partly by single occurrences at sea, but principally by the British orders in council and the French decrees of 1806 and 1807, (see p. 404,) by which the trade of neutrals was in fact annihilated. In consequence, a prohibition was laid on their own navigation by the *Embargo Act*, Dec. 22, 1807, and by the *Non-intercourse Act*, March 1, 1809. All trade with England, and with France and its colonies, was interdicted, together with the importation of the products of either, till those orders should be revoked. It was repeated with greater restrictions, May 1, 1810. This was followed, on the side of Napoleon, by a partial annulment of his decrees, with respect to America, April 28, 1811. From that time America became more friendly to France, and more estranged from England, till the declaration of war against it, June 18, 1812, after a previous general embargo on all the vessels then in the harbours of the United States, whether domestic or foreign, April 4. The declaration of England, that it would recall its orders in council, June 24, came too late.

5. It could not be a war like that which was raging in Europe. It was carried on with moderate bodies of soldiers on the boundaries, especially of Canada, and with single ships. Though the new American navy gained a glorious distinction in this contest, the army was not so fortunate; the capital itself became the spoil of the English, but New

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Orleans was defended with courage and success. The negotiations at Ghent led, in a happy hour, to the conclusion of a peace, which again left England free and unembarrassed in the war that broke out soon after in Europe.

The petty war on the frontiers and lakes of Canada, into which the natives were unfortunately drawn, had an unsuccessful termination for America on the mainland, but the English were, nevertheless, unable to penetrate far into the interior. The city of Washington was attacked and all the public buildings reduced to ashes, by General Ross, Aug. 24, 1814, a proceeding which was condemned in England itself. But a fruitless attack on New Orleans was made by General Packenham, who fell in the action; the city was gallantly defended by General Jackson, Jan. 8, 1815, the peace of Ghent having been signed a short time before, Dec. 24, 1814. Conditions: *a.* A settlement of boundaries on the side of Canada to the remote Lake of the Woods, and of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, to be afterwards adjusted by commissioners. *b.* Restoration of all conquests. *c.* Both parties bound themselves to do their utmost to abolish the slave trade.

The plenipotentiaries at Ghent were: on the part of England, Admiral Gambier, etc.; on the part of America, Alb. Gallatin, J. Q. Adams, H. Clay, etc.

The Diplomacy of the United States, being an account of the foreign relations of the country, from the first treaty with France in 1778 *to the present times.* Second edition, with additions by THEODORE LYMAN. Boston, 1828, 2 vols. 8vo. The work contains an historical discussion of the various contracts entered into with European states during the above period, including the original documents.

6. The greatest immediate advantage which America, now become known both in her strength and in her weakness, derived, notwithstanding the increase of the public debt, from the war, was a greater consolidation of the union, especially since the burning of Washington, which put an end to all ideas of separating the southern and northern provinces. The more indirect advantages arose from the impulse given by the previous prohibitions to her manufacturing industry, and the necessity it caused to be felt of a navy, to which the leading energies of the nation were afterwards directed, with the restriction, however, to what her actual security demanded. England itself had raised up a new rival! But was not such another rival almost indispensable for the maintenance of its own power?

7. With the return of peace the navigation and trade of the republic was diffused over every sea. Her flags were displayed in the two Indies, in China, and in Europe; and

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in the Mediterranean the piratical states had to tremble before her. Her territory now extends to the mouth of the Columbia on the Pacific; the whole immense regions of the Mississippi, with its tributary rivers, belong to her; the purchase of Louisiana, where a rich commercial city already rises in New Orleans, holds a place among the events in which the world is interested; and the possession of the Floridas, which completes her territory, seems to promise her at some time the dominion of the West Indies. Meanwhile internal improvement advances with rapid strides. Such works as the Erie canal and others now in progress, in connexion with the inestimably important invention of steam carriage, will open a line of inland communication, from the sources of the Missouri and its tributary rivers, to the mouths of the Mississippi, as well as the Hudson, where New York already flourishes as the first commercial city of the new world; and the times are coming when a man may travel with the mail from one ocean to the other.

The practical maritime right of the United States, in their treaties of commerce and regulations, is based on the strictest reciprocity. So in their Act of Navigation, March 1, 1817, the prohibition "of the introduction of goods from a foreign harbour, except in ships of the United States, or such as belong to the subjects or citizens of the country where the articles were produced or manufactured," does not bind the vessels of any foreign nation which has not adopted, or will not adopt, any similar regulation. There is an especial act of the same date, "that all British ships coming from ports to which American ships are not admitted, (West Indies,) shall not be admitted in an American port." The treaty of commerce with England, July 3, 1815, contained the following articles: *a.* Reciprocity in respect to freedom of trade and duties. *b.* The Americans were to enjoy the privileges of free trade in all the British East India ports; they were not to pursue any coasting trade or unload their East India cargoes in any other ports than those belonging to the United States. The differences relative to the American trade with the British West Indies are not as yet adjusted, and the victory gained by the mercantile interest over the partisans of free trade, in the congress of 1826, in consequence of raising the duties on all articles of foreign manufacture, may easily occasion still further disputes.

A statistical view of the commerce of the United States of America; its connexion with agriculture and manufactures, and an account of the public debt, revenues, and expenditures of the United States; accompanied with tables illustrative of the principles and objects of the work, by TIMOTHY PITKIN, a member of the house of representatives. Hartford, 1816.—The best and latest statistics of the United States.

Statistical annals of the United States of America, founded on of-

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ficial documents, by ADAM SEBERT. 1818, 4to. Statistical materials for the period extending from 1789 to 1818, but rather a crude performance.

8. The fidelity of the British colonies of Canada and Nova Scotia was tried in the last war with America. Why should those colonies strive after independence, which are already possessed of a free constitution, which suffer no religious constraint, pay no taxes, and see their colonization and trade becoming every year more and more flourishing? If their importance was doubled in the eyes of England, which in the times of embargoes drew from them the necessary supplies of timber and corn, etc., for itself and the West Indies, it has requited this by milder treatment than any other colony can boast of. The warnings of history have not been given in vain! And yet the spirit of discontent has already manifested itself in the opposition raised against the house of assembly and the governor, with his dependent council.

By the constitutions of Lower and Upper Canada, as established by the act of parliament, 1791, the former has a governor-general, the latter a governor, subordinate to the governor-general only in military affairs. At the side of the governor is a council, (Upper House,) consisting of fifteen members in Lower Canada, and seven members in Upper Canada, appointed by the governor for life, and an assembly, (Lower House,) consisting of fifteen and sixteen members, chosen every four years by the proprietors. The bills that have passed the council and assembly only require the signature of the governor, and become laws, unless the king expresses his disapprobation in two years. In 1788 the parliament resigned the right of taxation, with the exception of the power of making commercial regulations; and the Test Act was here superseded by the Quebec Act, 1774 (see p. 286).

Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, *and* 1808; *showing the present state of Canada, etc.*, by HUGH GRAY. London, 1809. Containing a good deal of valuable information, but not free from British prejudices.

A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks on Upper Canada, by JOSEPH BOUCHETTE. London, 1815. The leading work for the modern statistics of Canada, with an excellent atlas.

9. In a different mode from North America, a new state arose in the southern continent. The empire of Brazil—expressly declared such by its ruler—about equal in extent to European Russia, but far more richly endowed by nature, was a consequence of the fate of the Dec., 1815.

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1807. mother country (see p. 407). From this time it was impossible again to make it a colony, even March, 1808. when the king returned to Europe; the natural result was the opening of the ports of Brazil to all neutral and friendly states, which soon began to ameliorate the social condition. From this time the complete separation of Brazil from the mother country might very reasonably have been expected, though it could only take place gradually, and indeed was impracticable till the king, John VI., returned to Europe; he, however, left behind him his eldest son, Don Pedro, and family, to administer the affairs of the empire in quality of regent.

Marriage of the crown prince with an archduchess of Austria, Oct., 1817, who brought him an heir to the throne. Her death, Dec. 11, 1826. Second marriage, with a Bavarian princess, Oct. 17, 1829.

10. But notwithstanding the elevation of the colony into an empire, nothing was said of forming a constitution, which the circumstances as well as the voice of the people seemed so loudly to demand. Thus the valuable moment was let slip, when it was still possible to give freely, instead of being obliged to accept what would never have been given. The forced adoption of the new Portuguese constitution left the king, there, as in the mother country, nothing but the shadow of authority; and the natural consequence was his return to Europe.

An insurrection broke out among the soldiery in Para, and afterwards in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio Janeiro, Feb.—April, 1821, and the—as yet imperfect—Portuguese constitution was adopted; after which the king, with his court, sailed for Portugal, April 26.

11. After this time, and as soon as the Portuguese military had been put down by main force, there followed a gradual declaration of independence on the part of Brazil, and its elevation to the rank of an empire, which was even recognised by Portugal, shortly before the death of the king.

The prince regent announced his determination to remain in Brazil, Jan. 15, 1822; assumed the title of "perpetual defender of the kingdom," May 13. Upon the expulsion of the Portuguese troops he proclaimed the independence of Brazil, Aug.; and soon after appointed himself "constitutional and hereditary emperor," Oct. 12. The differences arising therefrom, between this country and Portugal, lasted until the king, John VI., was induced, by British mediation, to recognise its

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independence, May 15, 1825; this was followed by a treaty, concluded Sept. 29, and ratified at Lisbon, Nov. 15; agreeably to which John VI. reserved to himself the imperial title only during his life (died March 10, 1826); and on the other hand the emperor Pedro I. engaged not to unite any other Portuguese colony with Brazil.

12. The declaration of independence rendered it necessary to adopt some form of constitution, which, in a monarchical state, surrounded as it was by pure republics, was a matter of peculiar difficulty. The imperial authority, it was thought, could never be restrained within too strict limits, and the congress summoned to debate on this question, were willing enough to give, but not to accept, a constitution. And though, after dissolving the congress, the emperor himself did, in point of fact, give the constitution, yet it was not without a compromise of the monarchical principle.

The first national congress assembled, Aug., 1822, and drew up a plan of a constitution, which was rejected by the emperor. The congress forcibly dissolved, because it had declared itself permanent, Nov. 12. A second convened in May, 1823, which accepted the constitution laid before it by the emperor, Dec. 17. According to this, the government was to be monarchical and hereditary; the general assembly to consist of two chambers; that of the senators, who were to be nominated for life by the emperor, from a certain list submitted to him, and that of the deputies, who were to be elective. The monarchical principle, however, was herein compromised, viz. that a legislative measure was to have the force of law, even without the imperial sanction, provided the latter had been twice refused.

13. The new empire, however, was soon involved in a war with the neighbouring republic of Buenos Ayres, for the express purpose of uniting the Banda Oriental with Brazil, after taking possession of Monte-Video with Brazilian troops. This war, after being carried on with various success by sea and land, terminated at last to the advantage of neither party, the country in question being declared a free state through the mediation of the British.

War declared by Brazil against Buenos Ayres, Dec. 10, 1825. Independence of the Banda Oriental proclaimed, Dec. 11, 1828, under the title of the Cisplatine Republic. Notification of peace at the opening of the chambers in Rio Janeiro, May 3, 1829.

14. Thus has there arisen in South America, a mighty empire indeed, in point of extent, and containing within itself the germs of further development; though we must

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not expect it to make such a rapid progress as the free United States of North America. This can only proceed from the enjoyment of religious and political freedom, both of which are here very much restricted, notwithstanding some liberal regulations. Brazil possesses much more of the character of a plantation than an agricultural colony, both as regards its productions and the cultivation of the soil, which is performed almost wholly by negro slaves, the trade in whom still continues without interruption. It is true, their number, as compared to that of the free inhabitants, is much less here than in the West Indies; they are all Christians, are pretty well treated, enjoy the numerous festivals of the Romish church to themselves, and besides have the privilege of purchasing their own freedom; but still they are slaves, and contribute to support the indolence of their masters. The abolition of the slave trade, and the gradual augmentation of free labourers, must alone constitute the foundation of the prosperity of this state. Experience will show whether the promised discontinuance of importing slaves, to have taken place in 1830, is fulfilled or not.

For want of Portuguese sources of information we can only refer to the works of recent travellers, such as that of Coster, for the northern, and that of Mawe, for the southern provinces, together with the travels of Prince Maximilian von Neuwied. Respecting the interior of the country, which is still in great measure unexplored, additional information may be obtained from the travels of the Bavarian naturalists Spix and Martius, besides what is promised in the forthcoming works of the Austrian and Russian travellers in Brazil.

15. For Spanish America, also, the political convulsions of the mother country introduced a new period, the period of the struggle for liberty and independence. It did not, however, by any means originate in the intention of an entire separation from the Spanish throne, but only from resistance to the usurpation of Napoleon and his brother Joseph. The American insurgents were therefore no more rebels than the Spaniards themselves. But they were as unwilling to be ruled by Spanish Juntas, as by their viceroys and captains-general, in whom they did not, and, for the most part, could not confide. Like the Spanish they established Juntas (governments) of their own, during the imprisonment of their legitimate king. Meanwhile after the erection of the regency in the mother country, and its re-

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fusal to comply with their just demands, they in turn refused to recognise its authority, or the authority of the Cortes assembled by it; upon this they were declared rebels. Aug. 31, 1810. They were thus forced upon a line of conduct which they had not previously determined to adopt; and after the accession of Ferdinand VII. they had gone too far to retreat, even had more moderation and sincerity been evinced on the part of the throne and its officers than was done. But they were immediately ordered to lay aside their arms, Aug. 4, 1814. and a hostile treatment was exercised towards them by sending out Morillo. The contest continued with varying success in Caraccas, New Granada, Mexico, La Plata, Chili, and Peru. But the year 1821, after the loss of Mexico and Lima, and the victory of the insurgents in Venezuela, if it did not put a complete end to it, seems, nevertheless, to have brought it near a termination; since hardly two or three small corps of Spanish troops were able to maintain themselves in single places.

Previous to the dethronement of the royal family, no traces of insurrection had appeared in the Spanish colonies (the attempts of Miranda in Caraccas, 1806, who was able to collect but a small number of followers, having been immediately suppressed); the account of this transaction, in July, 1808, gave the first impulse to ulterior proceedings. The demands submitted to the regency, Dec. 31, 1810, were: *a.* Equality of rights with the inhabitants of the mother country. *b.* Freedom of cultivating all productions and manufactures. *c.* Freedom of importation and exportation from and to all Spanish and friendly harbours. *d.* Free trade between Spanish America and the possessions in America. *e.* Likewise from the Philippines to the Spanish colonies. *f.* The abolition of all commercial monopolies, in consideration of an indemnification by duties. *g.* Freedom of working the quicksilver mines. *h.* The eligibility of all Spanish Americans to all offices and dignities. *i.* That half the offices should be filled by them. *j.* That a Junta should watch over the observation of these points in each capital. *k.* The restoration of the Jesuits for the instruction and conversion of the Indians.

1. Caraccas or Venezuela, six provinces. The inhabitants petitioned for the establishment of a Junta; but the governor Las Casas caused the petitioners to be arrested. A supreme Junta was erected for maintaining the rights of Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish magistrates were imprisoned, April 19, 1810. But after the declaration of rebellion by the regency, the congress of the United States of Venezuela was convened, and the republic proclaimed independent, July 5, 1811; comprising the provinces Caraccas, Cumana, Maracaibo, Guiana, Barinos, and the island Margarita. Affairs seemed in a prosperous state, when every thing was destroyed by the terrible earthquake

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of March 26, 1812. The contest, however, was continued, at first under Miranda, and, after 1813, under Simon Bolivar. Upon the arrival of Morillo, June, 1815, and the conquest of Cartagena, Dec. 5, the insurgents seemed to lose ground. They maintained themselves, however, in the interior, especially in Guiana, whither the congress transferred its sessions, to Angostura, while the Spanish made themselves masters of the maritime cities. Never before was war waged with such atrocities, till it was apparently terminated by the truce between Bolivar and Morillo, Nov. 25, 1820. But after the resignation of Morillo, hostilities commenced afresh. Bolivar gained a decisive victory at Carabobo in the neighbourhood of Valencia, June 24, 1821, in consequence of which the Spaniards retained nothing but Porto Cabello; and upon the evacuation of this latter place, Nov. 10, 1823, there were no more Spaniards here to overcome.

2. NEW GRANADA, with twenty-two provinces, among which were Cartagena and Quito. A Junta was established in the capital, Santa Fé di Bogota, July 20, 1810, which caused the viceroy to be arrested. But a part only of the provinces joined. The scenes of barbarity perpetrated in Quito, Aug. 2, 1810, excited the greatest indignation, where the leaders of the patriots, having been arrested by the troops of the viceroy of Peru, were murdered in prison and the city sacked. The provinces of Nueva Granada could never attain mutual harmony; even a civil war broke out, and the fall of Carthagena opened to Morillo an avenue to the capital, June, 1816. But the Spanish were unable to maintain themselves there; the victorious campaign of the insurgents in 1819, deprived them again of the capital, which was entered by Bolivar on the 10th of August. After that time, preparations were made to unite with Venezuela and form a common republic, under the name of Columbia. See below.

3. MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN, the principal country. A stronger military force, and the firmness of the viceroy Venega, delayed the rupture for a long time. The rebellion was begun by an ecclesiastic, Hidalgo, in Guanaxuata, Sept., 1810. He was soon at the head of a numerous army, but he was excommunicated, defeated, taken prisoner, and executed, March 21, 1811. After him Morelos became the principal leader; the insurrection spread to New Mexico and Acapulco, promoted by the cruelty of the new viceroy Apodaca, till Oct., 1815, when the same fate befell Morelos, and soon afterwards his successor Mina, Dec. 11, 1815. The insurgents were unable to gain possession of the capital, on which every thing depended; the Junta, that was formed, had no fixed seat, and the character of the coasts rendered foreign aid and importation of arms almost impossible. The royal power appeared here to have the preponderance; without, however, the insurrection being entirely quelled. There was only need of a common leader, to unite the dispersed forces. Such a one the insurgents acquired in Don Iturbide, 1820. The insurrection now became more general than ever; even the newly-arrived viceroy, O'Donojou, was forced to make a treaty, Aug. 24, 1821, in which he acknowledged the independence of the empire of Mexico; and Iturbide made his entrance into the capital, Sept. 27, without bloodshed. In the disputes, however, which soon followed, with the assembled Cortes, Iturbide was unable to maintain himself

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against the republican party; he therefore resigned, March 16, 1823, and was obliged to leave America; and upon his venturing to return thither from Europe, was apprehended and shot, July 19, 1824. After the surrender of Vera Cruz, Oct. 26, 1821, the fort of San Juan D'Ulloa was the sole remaining possession in the hands of the Spaniards, and this too was given up after a tedious blockade, Dec. 18, 1825. In the mean time, a sovereign congress was assembled, which proclaimed the federative republic of Mexico, Dec. 16, 1823, and published a formal attestation of the constitutional government, Jan. 31, 1824 (see below). From this time a period of internal tranquillity succeeded, until the ecclesiastical relations of the country, and the intermeddling of the Pope, gave rise to a series of quarrels with the clergy, which were soon afterwards followed by similar disputes between the Creoles and the Spanish inhabitants. Thus were formed the two parties of the Escossesos (Scots) and Jorkinos, (Yorkites,) so called after their respective Masonic lodges, the former comprehending the aristocrats, that is, the clergy and Spaniards, the latter the popular faction, or Creoles, 1827. The congress passed a decree for suspending the Spaniards from office, May 14, and expelling the clergy and unmarried Spaniards from the country, Oct. 16. These disputes had a reflex influence on the election of the president. The vice-president, Bravo, raised himself in opposition to the president, Guadelupe Vittoria; but was soon overcome by General Guerrero, Jan., 1828, and the latter, through the influence of the Jorkinos under General Santa Anna, was elevated to the presidency, Jan. 1, 1829; upon this immediately followed the edict for the total expulsion of the Spaniards, who had concerted a plan for making a descent from the Havanna, and had actually commenced putting it into execution under General Barradas; the attempt, however, was foiled by Santa Anna, who forced the Spaniards, upon their landing, to capitulate near Tampico, Sept. 11, 1829, and in this manner established the independence of Mexico.

Memoirs of the Mexican revolution; including a narrative of the expedition of General Minas. Philadelphia, 1820. By an American who was present. Hitherto the most credible narrative, but it goes no further than 1819.

Further information respecting Mexico as well as the other new states will be found in,

L'Art de vérifier les dates dépuis l'année 1770, *jusqu' à* 1826, vols. ix. x.; a work which supplies the most correct chronological data on this subject.—Consult also,

Jahrbücher der Geschichte von America, 1492—1829, von G. W. Hugo.

4. Rio de la Plata or Buenos Ayres, in fourteen provinces. The strength of the capital had been tried in the repeated attacks of the British, 1806 and 1807 (see p. 395). A Junta was first established, after the execution of the ex-viceroy Liniers, May 21, 1810; but its authority was not recognised by all the provinces. A constituent assembly was finally established, consisting of deputies from the towns of all the provinces of the viceroyalty, Jan. 31, 1813. A government was organized consisting at first of three members; but soon afterwards of one director and a council of seven members, Dec. 31. Its entire in-

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dependence was proclaimed, July 9, 1816. The new republic had to contend with the Spanish troops from Peru in the upper provinces, with the partisans of Artigas, who appeared as an independent chief in Paraguay, and with the Portuguese, who occupied Monte-Video; it sustained the conflict with varied success. The republic, however, has been sorely curtailed in its extent, owing to the separation of Upper Peru, (Bolivia,) as well as the Banda Oriental. Moreover between the principal province of Buenos Ayres, and those of the interior, jealousies and disputes arose which led to a separation, as the interior provinces did not choose to recognise the authority of Buenos Ayres. To this may be referred the war with Brazil for the possession of Monte-Video, already noticed (see p. 457). In fine, Sept. 21, 1827, an agreement, to which the other provinces acceded, was entered into between Buenos Ayres and Cordova, (as the most important province,) for adopting a federative government, though at the same time a preponderating influence was given to Buenos Ayres, by the nomination of Dorrego as president, after the departure of Rivadavia. This, however, did not put an end to the disputes of the interior, where the chiefs were always making war upon one another.

5. BOLIVIA. This republic was founded after the victory at Ayacucho by Bolivar, out of Upper Peru, April 11, 1825; and assumed of its own accord the name of Bolivia, Aug. 12, the same year.

6. CHILI. The insurrection began as early as 1810. A congress assembled at Santiago, and the captain-general was obliged to resign his office. But internal discord prevailed. An opposition to the congress was formed by the brothers Carrera, and a Junta erected, which dissolved the congress, Dec., 1811. The despotism of the Carreras occasioned serious disturbances, and even a civil war, which facilitated the attempts of the Spanish to subjugate the country, Oct., 1814. But in Jan., 1817, Gen. San Martin advanced from La Plata across the Andes with a body of troops; he gained a victory at Chacabuco, Feb. 12, and convened a congress. The Spanish, pressing forward again under Osorio, were routed at Maipo, April 5, 1818, and the Spanish dominion was at an end. On Jan. 1, 1818, Chili was proclaimed independent. The establishment of a navy, under the British admiral Cochrane, who had entered its service, gave this state a peculiar degree of importance. From this time there was no further opposition to overcome, and internal tranquillity prevailed here under the director O'Higgins, until May 9, 1823, when he was dispossessed by General Friere, who himself gave way to Don Pinto, May 29, 1826, who was re-elected in 1828.

MARIA GRAHAM, *Journal of a residence in Chili during the year* 1822. London, 1824, 8vo. Contains the best account of the occurrences which had taken place in that country up to the year 1822.

7. PERU. The Spanish dominion was maintained the longest in the capital, Lima, and the greater part of Peru, (with the exception perhaps of the southern provinces,) though a powerful opposition was organized against it. But the attack on Lima by San Martin, from the land, while Cochrane blockaded the harbour of Callao, forced the Spanish to leave Lima, which was entered by San Martin, July 16, 1821. Callao capitulated, Sept. 19. In the southern provinces, however, a Spanish

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corps still maintained itself, which being reinforced by General Canterac, succeeded in recapturing Lima, June 18, 1823. At this juncture Bolivar, the liberator of Columbia, undertook the liberation of Peru; and as early as Sept. 1, of the same year, made his entry into Lima, was placed at the head of the republic, and, Feb. 10, 1824, nominated dictator of Peru. Victory over General Canterac, near Junin on the Lake of Tifficaca, Aug. 4, 1824, and a decisive one gained by Gen. Sucre at Ayacucho, Dec. 9; after which the Spanish army was obliged to capitulate. In consequence of this victory, which was followed by the surrender of Callao under Gen. Rodil, though not indeed till Jan. 19, 1826, Peru was completely freed from Spanish dominion.

Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America, or an account of the origin, progress, and actual state of the war carried on between Spain and Spanish America, by a South American. London, 1817. Hitherto the most credible narrative of the events, so disguised as they are by the spirit of party.

Memoirs of General Miller, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by JOHN MILLER, London, 1828, 8vo. The leading work for the history of the war. The author himself also served under Bolivar and Sucre.

8. The CAPITANIA of GUATIMALA likewise proclaimed itself independent, Sept. 24, 1821, (without however having any Spanish troops to contend against,) and assumed the title of Central America. Its tranquillity was afterwards disturbed by intestine party broils, which, in 1827, led to a civil war, without producing any decisive consequences.

16. Thus the power of Spain on the continent of America is in reality annihilated. The deep decay of the Spanish finances and navy; and the total paralysing of its commerce by the audacious privateering of the insurgents, must have aggravated to an extreme degree the difficulty of every undertaking. That the ancient relations, on which it formerly insisted, especially the commercial constraints, could no longer be enforced, Spain itself confessed in its negotiations with the allied powers; and the idea of a simple confederation has been already, if not adopted, yet at least publicly agitated even in the mother country. Whatever forms its political relations may assume, we may consider the freedom of America as actually established, though not yet formally acknowledged by the parent state, unless this is sufficiently done by the existence of two powerful leading states in the north and south of this quarter of the globe. But notwithstanding the adoption of the political forms of North America, we must not look for that rapid progress of colonization and population here, where the same obstacles are presented by religion, modes of life, and

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climate, as in Brazil. The Spanish American insurgents have their most dangerous enemy in themselves. Who will insure solidity and permanence to these newly-arisen or newly-arising states? And though we see republican constitutions springing up almost every where in this continent, can republican constitutions subsist, even in the most favourable event, among nations, where colour determines the caste, (see p. 56,) and military commanders prescribe laws? And how can the universally proclaimed freedom of the press be compatible with the hierarchy? An independence under monarchical forms of government, were perhaps equally desirable for America as it is for Europe.

Towards the end of the year 1829, the following states of Spanish America had either already adopted republican constitutions, or were on the point of doing so:

1. Mexico. This republic, agreeably to its constitution, comprehends the following states. 1. Mexico. 2. Chiapa. 3. Texas. 4. Durango. 5. Guanaxuata. 6. Michoacan. 7. New Leon. 8. Oaxaca. 9. Pueblos de los Angelos. 10. Quevetaro. 11. San Luis de Potosi. 12. Sonora and Cimaloa. 13. Tabasco. 14. Tamaulipes. 15. Vera Cruz. 16. Chalisco. 17. Yucatan. 18. Zacotecas. 19. Tlascala. California and Santa Fé are territories belonging to New Mexico. The government, for the most part modelled after that of the United States, is federative, and administered by a congress of two chambers, viz. that of the senate, half of which is elected every two years, each state sending two members, and that of the deputies, who are elected once in two years, according to the rate of population, that is, one deputy for every forty thousand souls. The president and vice-president are chosen once in four years, by the legislature of each state. The former can only be re-elected after an interval of four years.—Slavery was abolished by a decree of the republic, Sept. 15, 1829.

2. Guatimala or Central America. This republic comprises the states of, 1. Guatimala. 2. San Salvador. 3. Nicaragua. 4. Costarica. 5. Honduras. The form of government is similar to that of Mexico; but the prevalence of intestine troubles make it extremely uncertain whether it will last.

3. Columbia. Upon the union of New Granada with Venezuela or Caraccas, which was effected after great exertions by Bolivar, Dec. 17, 1819, and the seat of congress removed to Santa Fé de Bogota; both countries, together with Quito, were comprised under the republic of Columbia, in eighteen provinces, seven of which belong to Venezuela, viz. 1. Cumana. 2. New Barcelona. 3. Varinas. 4. Caraccas. 5. Merida. 6. Truxillo. 7. The island of Margarita. Eight to New Granada, viz. 8. Cundinamarca (Santa Fé de Bogota). 9. Neyva. 10. Pamplona. 11. Tunja. 12. Cartagena. 13. Antioquia. 14. Santa Martha. 15. Popajan. And three to Quito, viz. 16. Guayaquil. 17.

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Quito, and, 18. Pasto. The government is under a president, invested, at least at present, with dictatorial power, and a congress consisting of two chambers, the particular organization of which is not yet determined. The provinces are departments, and not states, with a central government.

4. Peru. This republic contains seven provinces. 1. Lima. 2. Truxillo. 3. Tarma. 4. Arequipa. 5. Ayacucho. 6. Janja, and, 7. Cuzco. In addition to these its territory includes also the Pampas Del Sagramento and Montana Real, on the eastern side of the Andes, where there are only missions. The form of government, which is under a president and congress, is similar to that of Columbia.

5. Chili. Contains the provinces of, 1. Santiago. 2. Coquimbo. 3. Acoacagua. 4. Maule. 5. Concepcion. 6. Valdivia. 7. Colchagua, and, 8. The island of Chiloe. The mode of government, under a director and congress, was established by the constitution, Aug. 6, 1828.

6. Bolivia. Founded by Bolivar, under General Sucre, comprises the provinces formerly belonging to Upper Peru. 1. Potosi. 2. Charcas. 3. La Paz. 4. Cochabamba. 5. Santa Cruz de la Sierra. 6. Oruro. Los Moxos contains only missions. The republic is at present under the orders of the grand marshal Sucre, and after him is to have a representative constitution.

7. Paraguay. This state is under the dominion of a single person, the lawyer Dr. Francia, without any title, though invested with dictatorial power, the government having been conferred upon him by the people.

Essai historique de Paraguay et le gouvernement dictatorial du Docteur Francia, par MM. Reugger et Longchamp. à Paris, 1829, 8vo. Both these gentlemen have visited the country.

8. Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres. Notwithstanding the separation of Upper Peru, and the Banda Oriental, this free state is still said to contain thirteen provinces, viz. 1. Buenos Ayres. 2. Santa Fé. 3. Entre Rios. 4. Corrientes. 5. Tucuman. 6. Cordova. 7. Santiago del Estero. 8. Salta. 9. Mendoza. 10. San Juan de la Frontera. 11. Rioja. 12. Catamarca, and, 13. San Luis. These are reported to form a federal state under a director and a congress; it is however uncertain whether the constitution is permanently fixed.

9. Cis-platina; comprising the Banda Oriental and Monte-Video. The constitution is not yet definitively settled.

17. In the mean time, nevertheless, the more permanent consolidation of the American republics, depended in a high degree on their being recognised by the European powers. Of the mother states, France and Portugal are the only ones who have recognised the independence of their old colonies, the former that of Domingo, the latter that of Brazil. On the other hand, Spain obstinately refuses any sort of compromise, and is absolutely making preparations in the Havanna for the purpose of recovering Mexico, the first

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opportunity that offers. The first and most important step however was taken by England, towards gradually recognising the independence of the Spanish colonies, by treating them as separate and self-existing states, an example which was soon afterwards followed by most of the other European powers.

Note of the English ministry at the suggestion of Mr. Canning, in which the approaching conclusion of commercial treaties with Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres, preparatory to recognising their independence, was signified to the diplomatic corps, Jan. 1, 1825. The recognition itself took place, with a reservation of neutrality towards Spain, provided the other European powers remained equally neutral.—A commercial treaty was concluded with Buenos Ayres, Feb. 2, with Mexico, April 6, and with Columbia, April 18, 1825.

18. The colonies of the Europeans in the West Indies underwent no other great changes, than that, having been most of them conquered by the British, they were restored at the peace with the exceptions mentioned page 443. The insurrection of Spanish America did not reach Cuba and Porto Rico; the important possession of the Havannas remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the Spanish, and the British were powerful enough to preserve tranquillity on their own and the conquered islands, towards which much was certainly contributed by the milder treatment of the slaves, after the prohibition of the slave trade.

By the compact with the Netherlands, Aug. 13, 1814, England remained in possession of the colonies of Berbice, Essequebo, and Demerara, which were in a very prosperous condition. By this arrangement, therefore, England acquired possessions on the continent of South America. French Guiana, occupied by the Portuguese, (see p. 444,) was by the acts of the congress of Vienna, Art. 107, restored to France, according to its ancient boundaries, the river Oyapoc instead of the Arvari, to which Napoleon had extended it in the peace of 1801.

19. A much more remarkable spectacle is exhibited to us in St. Domingo, or Hayti. After the utterly unsuccessful attempts of the French to reconquer the island, its independence was decided; and no fresh attempts will ever be undertaken. The new empire was soon divided into two states; the smaller of which, with the capital of Port au Prince, had a republican constitution under a president: the larger, with the capital, Henri, (Cape François,) had a monarchical constitution under a king, till the overthrow of the royal throne, followed by the subjection of the Spanish

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part of the island, united both states into one republic, that of Hayti. The adoption of European culture and regulations, in the civil and military departments of this state of blacks, is a most striking phenomenon. It was natural that almost every thing should be shaped after French models, notwithstanding the hatred towards France; and colonization, and with it foreign trade, seemed to make important advances by means of free labourers, who remained, however, attached to their plantations in consideration of one-fourth of the raw produce. Nothing has been heard of the piracy, which was so much dreaded.

After the retreat and capitulation of the French under the savage Rochambeau, who succeeded Lacroix, (see p. 355,) Dec., 1803, and the declaration of independence, Jan. 1, 1804, the negro general John James Dessalines was appointed governor, May, 1804; and soon after declared himself emperor of Hayti, Oct. 5. (James I.) The constitution was purely military, under a blood-thirsty tyrant, who was overthrown and murdered, Oct. 17, 1806. The general Henri Christophe was appointed by the army provisory chief of the government of Hayti. But a quarrel and war soon arose between the mulatto general Petion and the negro chief Christophe. The latter was raised to the dignity of king of Hayti, and the constitution promulgated by the council of state, April 4, 1811. *a.* The president was declared hereditary king of Hayti. *b.* Regulations respecting the *grand Conseil*, *Conseil privé*, the higher officer of state and the four ministers. *c.* Respecting the oaths, and promulgation of the laws, etc. Nothing was said of popular representation or of different chambers.—The president Petion maintained himself in his part of the island, and appointed a senate and chamber of representatives, modelled after the forms of the United States. Petion was succeeded, after his death, March 17, 1818, by Boyer. Christophe proffered a union in vain; peace however continued to exist. The territory of Christophe consisted of the northern part of the island; the territory of Petion of the south-western part. But Christophe's cruelty armed his own soldiers against him; upon which he shot himself in despair, Oct. 8, 1820. The president Boyer afterwards succeeded in effecting a union, since which all the former French part of the island has constituted a republic under the name of Hayti.—The Spanish part also of St. Domingo declared itself independent, Nov. 30, 1821, and seemed at first desirous of uniting with Columbia; the president Boyer however came against it with a body of troops, took possession of the capital, St. Domingo, and thus succeeded in incorporating it with Hayti, Feb., 1822, since which time the whole island has been formed into one free state under the same title.—The proposals of Louis XVIII. for a union with France were useless; and therefore, at length, under his successor, the independence of Hayti was formally recognised in the act of April 17, 1825, upon condition of a reimbursement of one hundred and fifty millions of francs to the former planters, and the award of commercial privileges to France. By the constitution of Hayti the

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president is invested with the executive power during his lifetime, and proposes his successor to the senate, in a sealed note to be opened after his death, when they either confirm the nomination, or appoint another, within twenty-four hours. He proposes all laws to the chambers, except those which relate to the taxes. The members of the senate are elected by the chamber of representatives, and from a threefold list submitted to them by the president; their term of office is nine years. Proposals of law are first debated in the chamber of representatives, from whence they pass to the senate, which confirms them.

The *Almanach Royal d'Hayti*, on the plan of the *Almanach Imperial*, gives the clearest insight into the organization of the former kingdom of Hayti.

Haytian Papers; a collection of the very interesting proclamations and other official documents of the kingdom of Hayti, with a preface by PRINCE SAUNDERS, Esq., agent for the Haytian government. London, 1816. Besides several proclamations, and the constitution in thirty-five articles, we find in this collection, the Law respecting the Culture, from the Code Henri, fixing the legal relations between the proprietors and farmers of the plantations, and the labourers; these relations cannot have been much altered by the union with the republic. These are very much to the advantage of the labourers; who have their legal condition, and a share in the produce, but belong to the plantations on which they dwell; and the master is obliged to provide for them in old age.—These regulations naturally proceeded from the circumstances of the place and times.

20. In Africa the colony on the Cape remained in the hands of the English, to whom it had belonged, with a slight interruption, for twenty years (see p. 344). Colonization made, indeed, great progress; in the remote regions only is there land still destitute of masters; and the zeal of British and German missionaries has introduced Christianity among the wild Hottentots, and—which may be of far greater importance—among the Caffres; but the want of navigable rivers and passable roads throws insuperable obstacles in the way; and Cape-town itself, visited almost exclusively by British vessels, resembles an inn, the custom of which is diminishing. Who, besides the English and the Americans, still trade to the East Indies? And not all of them touch at the Cape.

21. The fate of the other colonies on the coasts of Africa, whether belonging to the French or the Portuguese, was for the most part connected with the slave trade. It is reserved for experience to show, whether they can flourish, when changed from plantations into colonies, as has already been done with respect to Senegal after its re-
Jan., 1819. storation to France, by order of the king. The

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colony of Sierra Leone founded for this purpose (see p. 287) seems to grow slowly. But the efforts of the Europeans, to penetrate into the heart of Africa, have not ceased; and for the first time a British resident has been stationed at the court of a negro, the king of the Ashantees on the Gold-coast. 1817. This however has not led to very important consequences, owing to the unfortunate war with that nation. In the mean time, however, there has been no lack of adventurous travellers to explore the interior; and through the exertions of Denham and Clapperton, the opulent kingdoms of Bornou and Haussa have begun to emerge from their obscurity, as well as the countries of the Upper Nile through those of Caillaud, Burckhardt, and Küpel. The parallel of 10° N. Lat. may now be considered as forming the extreme limit of the discoveries hitherto made in North Africa.

Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822—1824, by MAJOR DENHAM, CAPT. CLAPPERTON, and the late DR. OUDNEY. London, 1826, 4to.

Journal of a second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, by the late CAPT. CLAPPERTON. London, 1829, 4to.

Voyage à Meroe, au fleuve blanc, etc., fait dans les années 1819—1822, par FREDERIC CAILLAUD. à Paris, 1826, 3 vols. 8vo.

Reise nach Nubien und Gardofan, von ED. KÜPPEL. Frankf. 1829.

22. The abolition of the slave trade is unquestionably one of the most remarkable phenomena for colonial affairs. The earnestness with which the British government has pursued this object since the acts of parliament of 1807, (see p. 353,) not only by declaring it a capital crime to participate in the traffic, but by making it a standing article in all treaties, would seem almost astonishing, did we not know how much it is the interest of the ministers to give no handle of calumniation to the opposition, particularly as the nation likewise appears to regard it as an affair of honour. It must be difficult to succeed in a contest, where avarice and prejudice are both to be subdued.

The powers most interested in the abolition of the slave trade are Portugal, Spain, and France. At the congress of Vienna, the principle was generally acknowledged, that the slave trade should be abolished as soon as possible; but the determination of the limit of time was reserved for separate negotiations between the eight powers, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. In the treaties of Great Britain with the single powers, the following stipula-

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tions were agreed upon. First, in a treaty with France, May 30, 1814: *a.* No foreigner was in future to introduce slaves into the French colonies. *b.* The slave trade should be absolutely interdicted to the French themselves after June 1, 1819.—By an edict, Oct. 8, 1814, the French slave trade to the coasts of Africa was limited to the parts south of Cape Formosa (4° N. Lat.). Finally, in conformity to the second peace of Paris, Nov. 20, 1815, a total prohibition was laid on the traffic. Secondly, in a treaty with Portugal, Jan. 21 and 22, 1815: *a.* An absolute prohibition of Portuguese subjects from prosecuting the slave trade north of the equator. *b.* South of the equator it should remain free till further measures.—By a declaration, Feb. 6, this term was fixed at the expiration of eight years, (Jan. 21, 1823,) though it has been since extended to Feb., 1830. *c.* England paid three hundred thousand pounds as a remuneration to Portuguese subjects. Thirdly, in a treaty with Spain, Sept. 23, 1817: *a.* The slave trade to cease in all the Spanish possessions, May 30, 1820. *b.* No Spanish vessel was to prosecute it in future north of the equator, nor even south of it, after the fixed term. *c.* England paid, Feb. 9, 1818, four hundred thousand pounds to Spain as an indemnification for accidental previous losses sustained by Spanish subjects (rare magnanimity!). Fourthly, In a treaty with the Netherlands, Aug. 13, 1815; containing an entire prohibition of the Dutch from participating in the slave trade. Fifthly, In a treaty with Sweden, March 3, 1813: the same conditions. Sixthly, Denmark had preceded England in the abolition, (see p. 354), confirmed at the peace of Kiel, Jan. 14, 1814 (see p. 437). In England itself, after the abolition in 1807, (see p. 354,) the act of parliament of May 4, 1811, declared participation in the traffic a capital crime. In the United States of America slavery exists indeed in the southern states, inclusive of Virginia; but the importation of new slaves is prohibited. By the peace of Ghent, (see p. 453,) England and the United States mutually bound themselves to do every thing that lay in their power to abolish the slave trade. In the new republic of La Plata, it was immediately prohibited, and in the state of Columbia, July 16, 1821; the children born of slaves after that date were to be free as soon as they had attained their eighteenth year.—The slave trade still exists therefore south of the equator in the Portuguese provinces, Angola, Congo, etc., and Mozambique; and the future will teach, how far it is possible to extirpate it entirely. It has been alleged as the object of British policy to encourage the East Indies, where cotton and sugar are raised by free labourers, by causing the West Indies to decline for want of them. But, *a.* England possesses the most important of these colonies, and would therefore but inflict a wound on herself. *b.* The assumption, that these colonies will want labourers, is in all probability wholly gratuitous.

23. In close connexion with this subject stand the Missionary and Bible Societies, which have spread themselves from England over all the parts of the world. Is not the introduction of Christianity the condition, without which European civilization in the other portions of the globe will

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ever be imperfect? In this, too, the first steps are the most difficult; for they cannot become great and rapid, till teachers shall have been formed among the native inhabitants themselves. If this victory of Christianity, by which it is to become the prevailing religion of the world, lies in the plan of Providence,—who can calculate its consequences?

24. The history of the East Indies during this period is almost exclusively the history of the British empire there. All the possessions of the other European powers, of the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, fell with but little resistance into the hands of the English; and Goa itself, after an amicable convention with Madeira, was taken under their protection. Dec., 1807. Of greater importance were the wars with the native princes. They eventually enlarged the territory of the company to the Indus on the one side, and the inaccessible mountains of Thibet on the other. The power of the Mahrattas was subverted indeed, but the English became in Panjab the neighbours of the Afghan or East Persian empire, as well as of Thibet, and thereby of China. That further aggrandizement is a misfortune, England is well aware; but the conqueror cannot always set his own bounds. Peace, however, still continues, and a much improved system of administration promises to afford British India some recompence for its past miseries.

Notwithstanding the peace, concluded Dec. 30, 1803, (see p. 360,) war was begun again with Holkar, the prince of the Mahrattas, in April, 1804. Rampur was conquered by Gen. Wellesley, May 16, and Holkar's capital Indore, Aug. 26. On the other hand, a great loss was suffered before Bhurtpur, Jan. 11, 1805. In the peace, Dec. 24, Holkar renounced all his claims, and agreed to hold no European in his service. Scindiah had also engaged in the war. In the peace, Nov. 22, he relinquished to the company his possessions north of the river Chumbul, which was made the boundary. From this time tranquillity prevailed in this part of the country,—but in Nov., 1814, the war began with the rajah of Nepaul, (the border country between Oude and Thibet,) originating in disputes respecting the boundaries. The progress of this war during the year 1815 was rather unfavourable; but by the victorious advance of General Ochterlony, peace was obtained, May 4, 1816, with the cession of the contested districts, and of the mountainous passes. But a new war with the Mahrattas was to decide the fate of this nation, 1817. The invasions of the Pindarrees, (nomadic hordes of cavalry from the north of the peninsula,) who increased into an army, soon showed that they were in understanding with the chiefs of the Mahrattas, the Peishwa Bajee Row in Poonah, Scindiah, the rajah of Nagpur, (the Bunsla,) as well as Holkar and Amer Khan in

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Malpa. By the combined operations of the governor-general Hastings (Lord Moira) the single nations were overpowered before they could form a junction, and the Pindarrees were annihilated. The regions between the Sinde and Chumbul (branches of the Jumna) were the principal theatre of the war. Consequences: *a*. The Peishwa, defeated Nov. 5, 17, 1817, was deposed and made captive. *b*. The rajah of Nagpur was compelled to surrender at discretion, Nov. 26, and having been convicted of a new conspiracy, met with the same fate. *c*. Having been defeated on Dec. 21, Holkar was compelled to cede two-thirds of his territory, which was divided between some small allied rajahs and the company. *d*. Scindiah was entirely isolated, and too weak to support himself. *e*. Amer Khan was rendered defenceless by the dissolution of his army and the loss of all his artillery, Nov. 5. "Thus the Indus became in truth the boundary of the British dominion. Between that river and Calcutta there are nothing but small states, either attached to the English, or too weak to raise a single standard against them. The power of the Mahrattas is broken for ever."—*Answer of the governor-general*, MARQUIS HASTINGS, to the address of the inhabitants of Calcutta, on his return; a very valuable document.

An account of the kingdom of Nepaul, by COL. KIRKPATRICK, with a map. London, 1811. The author himself had already been sent thither as ambassador, in 1793, and his work contains the best description we have of that country.

25. The wars in Europe also enlarged the territory of the British in the East Indies. They acquired the important Isle of France, (p. 443,) by which their Indian navigation would be protected in future maritime wars. From the Dutch they obtained Cochin on the Malabar coast, in consideration of the island of Banca, abounding in tin, and acquired by them during the possession of Batavia. The Dutch possessions on Ceylon, already ceded, led to the conquest of the island and overthrow of the king of Candy; but it was easier to make than to retain the conquest.

After the cession of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, at the peace of Amiens, 1802, a fruitless attempt was made in 1803 to conquer Candy. It was accomplished by a connexion with the native governor, 1815. After the seizure of the capital, the rajah was made prisoner, dethroned, and transported to Madras, Jan. 24, 1816. Is there in the East Indies a different international law to be observed towards rightful monarchs from what exists in England? The insurrection, which soon broke out, took ample revenge for this deed of violence; but it was the cause of great suffering to the island.

Account of the interior of Ceylon, by J. DAVY. London, 1821. The author was on the island from 1816 to 1820, and his work supplies some very important information relative to the antiquities and religious state of the island, where the worship of Buddha still prevails.

26. Notwithstanding the enlargement of the territory of

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the company, no alterations took place in its political constitution; the regulations introduced by Pitt (p. 294) still continued in force. But of so much the greater importance were the changes made in its commercial privileges, when the charter of the company was renewed in 1814. The clamours, so often raised against the monopoly of the company, were at last successful, and obtained a partial restriction of it. The company preserved their exclusive trade to China, but not to the East Indies proper. The latter might be carried on by private individuals, with all the harbours of the company, not only from the port of London, but from others at the discretion of the government, and in their own vessels. The future must show, whether these regulations will be followed by all the advantages that were anticipated. Hitherto, the trade of the company does not seem to have suffered.

The charter was renewed, April 10, 1814, for twenty years. 1. The monopoly of the company was limited to China. 2. The other trade was made free to all English subjects, in ships not under three hundred and fifty tons, subjected however to certain formalities. 3. In doubtful cases, the decision was to rest with the board of control (see p. 294). 4. Certain regulations respecting the application of the territorial revenues for defraying the expenses: *a.* of the administration and the army; *b.* of the civil and commercial establishments; *c.* the surplus to be expended on objects assigned by the court of directors with the approbation of the board of control. 5. Regulations respecting the application of the profit accruing from trade: *a.* to the payment of accepted bills of exchange; *b.* to the interest of the debt, and costs of commerce; *c.* to a yearly dividend of ten per cent.; *d.* to the reduction of the capital debt in India and England, till the former should be diminished to ten, the latter to three million pounds sterling. The overplus was to be at the disposal of parliament. 6. The governor-general, governors, and commanders-in-chief were to be chosen by the court of directors, subject, however, to the approval of his Majesty. 7. A bishop and three deacons were to be chosen to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs in India.

The History of the European Commerce with India, to which is subjoined a review of the arguments for and against the trade with India, and the management of it by a chartered company. By DAVID MACPHERSON. London, 1812. This very instructive history is written to prove, that the entire monopoly of the company must continue. We here find the arguments on both sides most copiously detailed.

27. The British dominion, however, in the East Indies, was to receive a still further increase, by being brought into contact with the opposite peninsula beyond the

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Ganges. In the Birmese war, the English found a powerful opponent, with whom, as long as any feeling of jealousy existed, it was impossible to reckon upon the continuance of amicable relations. The cessions of territory and other advantages, which they obtained at the peace, can hardly cover the expenses of the war, to say nothing of the cost of maintaining their additional conquests. What advantages indeed will accrue to their commerce from particular establishments on the coast of Siam, remains to be shown.

The Birmese war was occasioned by disputes relative to the island of Cheduba on the coast of Arracan. Declaration of war by the English, March 5, 1824. Conquest of Arracan, April, 1825. Capture of Rangoon, and afterwards of Prome, April 25. Further advance of the British along the Irawaddi, and conclusion of peace at Yandabu, Feb. 24, 1826. Conditions: *a.* Cession of the four provinces of Arracan, Mergui, Tavoy, and Tenasserim on the coast of Siam. *b.* A British resident in Assam. *c.* Payment of one crore of rupees, (upwards of £1,500,000 sterling,) and mutual exemption from commercial duties.

The increased security of Bengal and Calcutta, owing to the possession of Arracan, would seem at first sight to be almost the only advantages obtained by this war.

28. Though at the peace of Paris, the East India possessions of the French, as well as of the Danes and Dutch, were restored, with the exceptions mentioned above, (p. 443,) the Dutch alone deserve to be noticed. After the dissolution of the East India company, they became the property of the state, which, after its transmutation into a kingdom, sent over to Batavia a marshal as governor-general, with dictatorial power over all Dutch India, who introduced an almost military rule, and an organization entirely new. But soon after, the British made themselves, for the first time, masters of Batavia, having conquered it from Bengal. During their five years' possession, so wise and mild an administration was exercised, that after the restoration, it seems to have been difficult for the natives and Europeans to accustom themselves again to Dutch dominion. During the short time it was in possession of Britain, a clearer light was shed over this remarkable island, than was done during the two whole centuries of the dominion of Holland.

The administration of Marshal Daendels lasted from Jan. 14, 1808, to May 16, 1811. His principal exertions, with respect to the produce,

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were to encourage the cultivation of coffee (upwards of forty-seven million trees having been planted, according to his own account); but this was attended with the greatest oppression of the natives. The English were in possession from Sept. 11, 1811, to Aug. 19, 1816.

DAENDEL'S *Staat der Nederlandschen Oostindischen Bezittingen in den Jaaren* 1808—1811. S'Gravenhaage, 1814. With a collection of documents as an appendix, in 4 vols. The sketch of the condition of the country at the beginning of his administration, shows that Hoogendorp had not exaggerated. The causes of decline are those we have mentioned above.

The History of Java, by THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, Esq. late lieut.-governor of that island and its dependencies; in 2 vols. London, 1817, 4to. In every respect the leading work respecting Java, and abounding in new disclosures relative to Indian antiquities.

Nederlandsche Bezittingen in Azia, Africa, en America, in derzelven Toestand en Aangelendheit voor dit Ryk, wysgeerig, staatshuishondkundig en geographisch beschreven, door J. VAN DEN BOSCH, general-major, etc. Amsterdam, 1818, 4to. A justification of the early Dutch administration.

29. For the continent of Australia, also, new and pleasing projects were unfolded. The British settlements in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land prospered, because the number of free labourers increased; in a few years the population had doubled; and important returning cargoes, especially of wool, compensated for the expenditures of the mother country. A lively trade was carried on with India and the remotest regions of the world. The chain of mountains in the rear of the colony, before deemed inaccessible, were surmounted, and a road constructed over them. Spacious and fertile, but thinly inhabited plains, intersected by rivers, invited the agriculturalist; and the lately-founded town of Bathurst is to be the starting point for explorers of the interior of this surprising country. On the Society Islands (see p. 363) Christianity is victorious; the Sandwich Islands resemble a British settlement; and the New Zealanders, carrying on an increasing traffic with New South Wales, have begun to eat potatoes instead of human flesh. All these are the elements of a new order of things; the elements of one grand, universal, political system, growing out of the narrow colonial system of Europe.

The History of New South Wales, by O'HARA. London, 1817. Comes down to 1816.

A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales, and its dependent settlements in Van Dieman's Land,

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by W. C. WENTWORTH, a native of the colony. London, 1820. The leading work in respect of statistics.

The Sydney Gazette. The number of inhabitants in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, has increased within six years from 12,000 to 25,000: half of whom are free agriculturalists. The population already exceeds 40,000, and is continually on the increase.

THIRD SECTION.

Restoration of the political system of Europe.

J. L. KLÜBER, *Acten des Wiener Congresses.* 1815, 8vo. Bisher sieben Bände. A highly meritorious collection.

J. L. KLÜBER, *Uebersicht der diplomatischen Verhandlungen des Wiener Congresses überhaupt, und insonderheit über wichtige Angelegenheiten des Deutschen Bundes.* 1816, in zwei Abtheilungen.

SCHOELL, *Histoire abregée*, (see p. 390,) vol. x.—xii.—The eleventh volume principally, according to Klüber, contains the history of the congress of Vienna.

The following section naturally contains the results, not only of the congress of Vienna, so far as they relate to the political system of Europe, but also of the previous and subsequent negotiations of Paris; arranged not according to time but matter.

1. The restoration of the dismembered political system of Europe was the greatest, and—if successful—would prove the most glorious office that statesmen were ever called upon to discharge. But the policy of statesmen was of itself unable to solve this problem; how could they have conciliated the many clashing interests? Nothing but the pure will of the monarchs was able to effect it; and whence should this will proceed, but from their personal sentiments, and the great experience they had just acquired? Their work itself must constitute their eulogium; but it is impossible to delineate it, except from this point of view. No less, indeed, depended, at the same time, on the views and sentiments of the ministers to whom the execution was intrusted. Different as their characters were, they were at least practical statesmen; and this afforded a security against the danger, that a structure would be reared which could have existed only in theory.

With regard to the leading characters who attended the congress of Vienna, and were particularly active both before and after the negotiations at Paris, see p. 445.

2. But that the powerful, and even the most powerful on

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earth, are always subject to the influence of the prevailing ideas of the age, has seldom been more strongly illustrated than in the present case. That princes and nations do not exist to make war on each other, unless forced by necessity; that states, in forming a free political system, must mutually respect each other's independence; that the constitutions must be regulated by fixed laws; that a certain portion in the legislation, especially in taxation, must be conceded to the people through their representatives; that slavery and bondage are evils, which must be abolished; that a legitimate share of freedom should be allowed to the communication of ideas by means of the pen and press; finally, and above all, that there is a connexion between religion, policy, and morality, which is to be strengthened to the utmost degree — these were maxims either explicitly declared or tacitly acknowledged. And the influence which the forms of social life have on political transactions, was manifested in the most beneficial way. Nothing was heard of that altercation respecting rank, which a century before had so clogged the proceedings at Utrecht; and the most powerful monarchs were daily seen moving among the citizens in the dress of private men.

3. Favourable, however, as these circumstances were, every intelligent person could plainly foresee that there would be no want of obstacles; and that the edifice to be reared would bear little resemblance to the ideal structures that so many had formed. The criterion, by which every proposition had to be measured, was not what was abstractly possible, but what was possible under the given circumstances and relations; and though this criterion itself involved certain imperfections and deficiencies, can this surprise the experienced?

4. The restoration of the political system of Europe was in general founded on the principle of legitimacy;[1] the

[1] Legitimacy is necessarily founded on the right of succession, regulated by primogeniture, which alone confers a lawful claim. Thus our European princes are legitimate rulers, not because they happen to be in possession of power, for this would apply with equal force to a usurper, but because they are so in point of law, owing to their right of succession. A primogenital right, however, it is obvious, can only exist in connexion with monogamy, as in such case there cannot possibly be more than one lawful competitor to the throne, the very reverse of which must of course obtain under a system of polygamy. It is for this reason, that in speaking of oriental governments we

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legitimate dynasties, that had been more or less dispossessed, were to be reinstated. The restoration necessarily embraced the single parts as well as the whole. With regard to the single parts, their territorial extent as well as their constitution would naturally be taken into consideration; this last, however, was left to the discretion of the particular state itself. But the popular opinion, confirmed not only by theorists, but principally by the example of Great Britain, had declared itself so loudly in favour of constitutional monarchy, that this form of government became prevalent, if not universal, throughout Europe. After the disappearance of all the larger republics, Switzerland alone excepted, the European political system acquired more than ever a monarchical character, without, however, sustaining any infraction of political liberty; and as elective kingdoms had happily disappeared from it at the same time, it also obtained, together with legitimacy, a greater share of general stability. The conflict of parties, that universal symptom of freedom, reaches not the rulers, but only the responsible ministers. It were well had there been a unanimity of opinion respecting the nature of that form of government; but painful experience was soon to prove how much was wanting to it.

The superiority of a constitutional monarchy (with a representative assembly, the proceedings of which are public) over an autocratic monarchy (where both are wanting) is not founded on the fact, that the former is always better governed; (for even autocracies are not unfrequently very well governed;) but on the greater or less value which is placed in the political improvement of the nation and its consequences. This improvement can proceed from nothing but an actual participation in their own concerns: and it is therefore to be hoped that the diffusion of constitutional forms of government will have a beneficial influence on Europe, provided the restrictions which the nature of monarchy demands are properly observed. Experience must show how far each people is ripe for this liberty; the character is, in this case, more decisive than the spirit. It takes time to learn—how to become accustomed to liberty. And let him who expects immediately to find in a new chamber a Pitt or a Fox, only turn over the annals of Great Britain itself, as far back as the times of the Long Parliament.

See HEEREN's essay, *Ueber den Einfluss der politischen Theorieen,*

can never apply the term 'legitimate' in the European sense of the word. The princes of the East possess their thrones either by mere chance, or the capricious will of their predecessors, and not at all because they have any personal right to them; a fact of which the history of the world has furnished abundant proofs at all times.

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und die Erhaltung des Monarchischen Princips in dem neueren Europa. Historische Werke, B. i. p. 365 sq. The second lately-annexed part of the essay describes the necessary conditions of a constitutional monarchy, (provided the states of Europe do not degenerate into mock-monarchies and mock-republics,) and that not in wavering positions and half-assertions, but according to the particular views of the author, in a clear and explicit manner. It is in fact his political confession of faith.

5. There was scarcely a state of Europe, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state. Nothing but the limitation of France to its ancient boundaries by the treaties of Paris, in consequence of which so many important countries on that side of the Rhine and the Alps were placed at the disposal of the allies, could render adjustment or restoration possible. But a complete restoration could not be effected without greater injustice than before. The number of souls and square miles, besides the amount of revenues, was generally taken as the criterion of adjustment; and not wholly without reason; but was it not too frequently taken as the sole criterion? It was also impossible to establish a general epoch. This difficulty was avoided by adopting a different one for each of the three leading powers; with France it preceded 1792; with Austria it was the year 1805, though with some variations; and with Prussia the statistical measure of 1806 was adopted. All further questions, with these as well as the smaller states, were to be settled by cessions.

6. From Germany, the central state of Europe, must begin our survey of each of the states. That with its fate is closely united the fate of Europe itself, modern history has too forcibly inculcated, to need any further demonstration. But what an aspect did Germany exhibit at the moment of its emancipation! For ten years it had ceased to be a state. On all sides, its boundaries were circumscribed. The left bank of the Rhine, Holstein, and the Illyrian provinces had been detached from it. In the interior, the rights of possession were almost every where altered and uncertain. The Prussian monarchy had been dismembered; Austria deprived of a great portion of its oldest hereditary provinces; Saxony, with several smaller countries, placed under administration; and the ephemeral kingdom of Westphalia dissolved. How much was requisite to restore order to this chaos!

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7. If they were to exist at all, the necessity of forming the German states into a political union, as far as this was possible, was evident to the unprejudiced observer. It was loudly demanded by the public voice, and never was the national spirit of Germany so much excited. But how far was it possible? Not a thought could be entertained of a transformation into one state—which would have been the grave of German improvement and European freedom—nothing more could be designed, than a union of the existing states of Germany. This idea was already proposed in the first peace of Paris, and at the congress of Vienna, the question of its feasibility was discussed. All hopes of its ultimate execution were just on the point of being given up, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, stepped in to its assistance; and owing to a pressure of other favourable circumstances, the act of the German confederation was at length brought to a conclusion. By it the sovereign princes of Germany and the free cities formed themselves into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. A permanent bond was to encircle the German states; and though it was drawn less tightly than was expected by the nation, and less so than was desired by some of the most powerful parties concerned in framing it, it was, nevertheless, a bond; and the hope at least remained, that time would render it more compact, when the necessity should be felt.

The first preliminary declaration of a Germanic confederation was contained in the peace of Paris, 1814, Art. 6. "The states of Germany shall be independent, and united by a federative league." (Therefore no longer a German empire, under an imperial sovereign.) A German commission was established at the congress of Vienna, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Wirtemberg. But thirteen sessions, Oct. 14 to Nov. 16, furnished the melancholy result, that no agreement could be hoped for, while Bavaria and Wirtemberg presented so many objections. And besides, the other German states and free cities entered into a counter-alliance, in order to oppose the right of the commission to settle any thing without their assent. A general deliberation was first held in May and June, (yet Wirtemberg and Baden acceded at a later period,) and the act of confederation was signed, June 8, 1815. The parties to this act were:—1. Austria. 2. Prussia (both for the countries which formerly belonged to the German empire, with the inclusion of Silesia). 3. Bavaria. 4. Saxony. 5. Hanover. 6. Wirtemberg. 7. Baden. 8. Electorate of

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Hesse. 9. Grand duchy of Hesse. 10. Denmark, on account of Holstein. 11. The Netherlands, on account of Luxemburg. 12. Brunswick. 13. Mecklenburg Schwerin. 14. Nassau. 15. Saxe Weimar. 16. Saxe Gotha. 17. Saxe Cobourg. 18. Saxe Meiningen. 19. Saxe Hildburghausen. 20. Mecklenburg-Strelitz. 21. Holstein-Oldenburg. 22. Anhalt-Dessau. 23. Anhalt-Bernburg. 24. Anhalt-Kothen. 25. Schwartzburg-Sondershausen. 26. Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt. 27. Hohenzollern-Hechingen. 28. Lichtenstein. 29. Hohengollen-Siegmaringen. 30. Waldeck. 31. Reuss, elder line. 32. Reuss, younger line. 33. Schaumburg-Lippe. 34. Lippe-Detmold. To these were afterwards added, 35. Hesse-Homburg. And the four free cities. 36. Lubeck. 37. Frankfort. 38. Bremen. And, 39. Hamburg. Principal points. I. General: 1. All the parties, convinced of the advantages of their connexion for the maintenance of the tranquillity and the balance of Europe, unite themselves in one league, to be called the German Confederation. 2. Its object is, the maintenance of the internal and external security of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of each of the German states. 3. All the members of the confederation have, as members, equal rights; and all bind themselves equally to keep the act of confederation inviolable. 4. The concerns of the confederation are to be managed by a federative diet, to have, in all, seventeen voices. 5. Austria shall preside in the sessions of the diet. Every member is authorized to make propositions, which the president will submit for deliberation. 6. In bringing forward or altering any of the fundamental laws, or organic regulations of the confederation, the assembly will form itself into a *plenum* of sixty-nine votes, according to future distribution. 7. In the *plenum* as well as in the smaller diet, the majority of votes is to decide; in the latter the absolute majority alone is requisite; in the former two-thirds. But when there is a question, that concerns the adoption or alteration of the fundamental laws, the organic regulations of the confederation, the *jura singulorum* or affairs of religion, no resolution can be made, by a majority of votes. 8. Regulations respecting the order of voting. 9. The confederative diet is to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. 10. Sketching of the fundamental laws. 11. All the members promise to defend the whole of Germany, as well as each particular state of the confederation, against every attack, and mutually guarantee all the possessions of each other included in the confederation. In a war of the confederation, there are to be no partial negotiations, or truce, or peace. The members of the confederation, however, reserve to themselves the right of making alliances of every kind, but at the same time engage not to enter into any connexion, which should militate against the safety of the confederation or that of the single states. They engage neither to make war upon each other, on any pretence whatever, or to enforce their claims with violence, but to bring them before the federative diet, and submit to the decision of a commission, or of an impartial court of reference. II. Particular points: 12. The erection of supreme courts of judicature. 13. A representative constitution to be adopted in all the federate states. 14. Regulations respecting the relations of princes who had been formerly independent, but are so no longer. 15. Respecting the

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pensions of the former members of the foundations, and of the Teutonic Order. 16. Respecting debts and pensions. 17. Equality of civil and political rights for all denominations of Christians. 18. Regulations respecting the post in favour of the house of Thurn and Taxis. 19. General rights of the subjects of the states of the Germanic confederation. *a.* The power of possessing landed property in other states, without any extra taxes. *b.* The right of free removal, of entering into service, exemption from all subsequent taxes; and the future adoption of similar arrangements respecting the liberty of the press and the rights of authors and publishers.

The constitution of the Germanic confederation first acquired its perfection by the ministerial conferences holden at Vienna, Dec., 1819—May, 1820, a supplementary act of sixty-five articles having been added, May 15, 1820. The principal points fixed by it respected, *a.* the efficiency and competency of the diet. *b.* The cases, where the inferior diet is sufficient, or a *plenum* is necessary. *c.* Adjustment of the differences between the members of the confederation. *d.* The execution of the resolutions of the confederation. *e.* The relations with foreign states, and resolution respecting war and peace, etc.

8. What under the existing circumstances and relations it was possible to effect, must here also have determined the particular line of conduct. A union of states, with a federal government, like that of North America, could have been expected by those only, who assumed, that the princes of Germany would relinquish their thrones. How much is gained, and how much is wanting, is evident. The maintenance of the internal tranquillity and peace of Germany, as well as its independence with respect to other countries, the formation of free constitutions, the equality of the weakest and the most powerful members, (an event unparalleled in history,) was explicitly proposed; and has hitherto been pursued by no one more conscientiously than by the most powerful. What is still wanting may be supplied, if the Germans are willing to supply it, not by forms, but by the love of their common country. The princes, on the one hand, should recollect, that as being partners in the confederation, they should not refuse to submit to the consideration of the diet such affairs as actually fall within its cognizance; and, on the other, the mass of the people, who are always depreciating the present good, and therefore speak only of the deficiencies of the confederation, should know, that they themselves are its most dangerous enemies. The voice of the nation must support and exalt it. The cabinets alone are unable to do so, even if they wished it, unless they

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are seconded by the public voice and the popular sympathy. To be the pacific state of Europe is its high destination; can there be a more glorious one, provided it fulfils it? The diet was opened at Frankfort, Nov. 5, 1816.

Der Deutsche Bund in seinen Verhältnissen zu dem Europäischen Staatensystem; bey Eroffnung des Bundestags dargestellt, von A. H. L. HEEREN. 1816. With a postscript in *Vermischte historische Schriften*, B. ii. p. 452 sqq.

9. The territorial arrangements in Germany were most closely connected with the restoration of the two greater German monarchies. But the restoration of these monarchies was the affair, not of Germany only, but of all Europe, and as such, indeed, it was treated. The five leading powers, which had concluded the peace of Paris, viz., Austria, Prussia, England, Russia, and France, formed at the congress a closer union, for the affairs of Europe, under the presidency of Prince Metternich: into this union, the three other powers were drawn in single cases, viz., Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. These eight powers, therefore, were those who signed the acts of the congress of Vienna.

For the names of the ambassadors, see p. 445.

10. The restoration of the Austrian monarchy was effected for the most part by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces, but in part by the return of the cessions to Bavaria. In consequence of this, the Austrian monarchy became a geographical whole,—with twenty-eight million inhabitants, of which nine and a half belonged to the German confederation; the rest were Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians, and Poles. This monarchy thus resumed its ancient character, that of a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution. To respect these therefore will be the true wisdom of the rulers.

By the congress of Vienna, Austria acquired, 1. In Italy, all the countries situated between the Tessino, Po, and Adriatic Sea, with the Veltelin and Chiavenna, the part of Mantua south of the Po, and the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara. They were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. (And moreover, the family acquired the three *secundogenitures*, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma and Piacenza.) 2. The Illyrian provinces, ceded at the peace of Vienna, (p. 413,) and immediately after elevated into the kingdom of Illyria. 3. What was formerly Venetian Dalmatia, with the republic Ragusa and the islands,

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as far as the Gulf of Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, June 3, 1814, and April 14, 1816, (in consideration of some other indemnification,) Tyrol and Vorarlberg, (with the exception of the district Weiler,) Salzburg as far as the Salza; the portions of the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, which were ceded by Austria in 1809. 5. From Russia, the district ceded in East Gallicia (p. 413).

11. The restoration of the Prussian monarchy according to the statistical relations of 1805 was recognised by all, and especially by Austria, as essentially necessary. Who could doubt it? Who, after such sacrifices, would refuse it to Prussia? But the restoration was necessarily exposed to greater difficulties, because this country had been much more dismembered; and every thing could not be restored to the footing of 1805. Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, by reason of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria; Cleves and Berg, however, were substituted in their stead. But the greatest difficulties were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw.—The curse of the Polish partitions still lay heavily on Europe. Prussia, attaching itself to Russia, demanded for its sacrifices in Poland, all Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. Austria, England, and particularly France, advocated the cause of the Saxon house. Scarcely any mention was made of the Saxon people. There were moments indeed, when, from less pacific princes, extremities might have been apprehended. An intermediate course was at length discovered by policy; the country which had suffered for Germany was divided; and a part also of the duchy of Warsaw was allotted to Prussia. The most perplexing knot was therefore untied, or at least cut; and nothing further could create difficulties of importance. Thus with about ten million inhabitants, and a territory divided into two great portions, Prussia came again into the number of the first powers, the territory and population of each of which generally amounted to thrice as much. If it wishes to hold its station, its spirit must supply what is wanting in mass. That it can do so, it has already proved; for with ten millions Prussia fell, and with five it recovered itself. It is well for Europe, that it has such a state in its centre.

By the peace of Tilsit, Prussia lost about half of its territory and population. It recovered what it then resigned, but renounced its claims to the greater part of South Prussia and New East Prussia,

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which were assigned to Russia; Anspach and Baireuth, which were retained by Bavaria; Hildesheim and East Friesland, and a portion of Lingen and Eichsfeld, which were allotted to Hanover. For its lost provinces, it claimed an indemnification, which it acquired in a part of South Prussia, (duchy of Posen,) almost half the kingdom of Saxony (ceded by the act of May 18, 1815); Swedish Pomerania, Cleves, Berg, Ahremberg and other portions of Westphalia, and the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine to the Saar, by which Germany obtained, at the same time, a bulwark in that quarter. Of the ten provinces of the monarchy, seven, Brandenberg, Pomerania, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, Cleves and Berg, and the Lower Rhine, with almost eight million inhabitants, belonged to the Germanic confederation; the three others, East and West Prussia with Posen, did not. A constitutional form of government was to take the place of an autocracy; but the organization of the administration was suffered to precede the organization of the constitution, which could not be unattended with great difficulties in so divided a state.

For the history of the negotiations respecting Saxony, besides the works quoted page 476, we refer the reader to the essay in the first volume of the *Minerva*, 1817, with the documents. And the work entitled, *Wie wurden wir was wir sind? Von einem Sachsen*, 1815.

12. In the territorial adjustment of the other great states of Germany, 1. Bavaria acquired, in remuneration for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine, Wurzburg, Aschaffenburg, and some portions of Fulda. Its further claims on Baden for the circle of the Maine and Tauber, and the escheatage of the circle of the Neckar, remained unsatisfied. 2. Wirtemberg, and 3. Baden, remained unaltered. 4. Hanover was elevated to the rank of a kingdom; and received from Prussia, Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, and a part of Eichsfeld, together with some districts from the elector of Hesse; but in return it ceded to Prussia, Lauenburg beyond the Elbe, (exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania and Rugen, formerly obtained from Sweden, p. 437,) together with some other districts. The territorial adjustment of the smaller states will be found in the acts of the congress of Vienna. The introduction of representative constitutions (promised by Art. 13) has already been accomplished in Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hanover, Baden, the grand duchy of Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, Mecklenburg, Saxe Weimar, etc.; in Saxony, however, as well as the electorate of Hesse, the old forms still exist; in the others the representative system is expected to take place.

The constitutions of the German states, notwithstanding many modi-

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fications in respect both of the organization, and the greater or less publicity of their transactions, have hitherto coincided in the following points: *a.* The monarchical principle has every where been upheld, in the mode of conferring constitutions by the rulers, and by a just determination of their rights in relation to the states. *b.* The assembly of the states consists of two chambers. *c.* To these is allotted their proper part in the legislation, especially with regard to taxation.

Exposé du droit public de l'Allemagne, par E. H. DE S. (Schwartzkopf.) Paris et Geneve, 1821. Written chiefly for foreigners.

13. The restoration of the state of the Netherlands was one of the principal points in the restoration of the political system of Europe. History has shown how intimately the fate of the latter was connected with that of the Belgic, no less than the Batavian, provinces, since Belgium in the hands of France first opened the avenue to universal dominion. It was considered necessary to found there a powerful state, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should be strong enough to defend itself; and the union of all the Netherlands into one kingdom was resolved on at Vienna. The sovereign prince adopted in consequence the royal title, and the house of Orange, governing the same provinces which had belonged to the house of Hapsburg, gave them a free constitution instead of the tyrannical despotism of Philip. The necessity of a fixed boundary was likewise perceived and provided for. Though two nations, differing in origin, language, (as they had done for two thousand years before,) and religion, could not be immediately amalgamated; and though it was not possible to open at the same time to the commerce and manufactures of both, the market they desired, the foundation was, nevertheless, laid of a permanent union; and the wisdom of the house of Orange must accomplish the rest.

According to the treaty of Vienna, May 31, 1815, the constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were: all the Batavian and Belgic provinces with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces, besides the separate grand duchy of Luxemberg, belonging to the Germanic Confederation. Constitution: inheritance of the throne secured to the house of Orange. The king invested with full executive powers and the right of first proposing laws; but the chambers may make propositions. At the side of the king, a council of state, of his own appointment. A legislative body, the states-general, in two chambers. The first consisting of from forty to sixty members appointed for life by the king. The second of one hundred and ten members elected by the states of the provinces. These in each province are composed of

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the knighthood, cities, and deputies from the county. Freedom of worship, and political equality of religious denominations.—The boundaries to be strengthened by a chain of fortifications, built at the cost of England in return for the cession of the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. (Convention, Aug. 13, 1814.)—The restored colonies, dependent on the king, are: Surinam, Curaçao, and St. Eustache with St. Martin; Batavia with Banca, Malacca and the Moluccas with its dependencies, (see p. 466,) subsequently extended by the overthrow of the sultan of Palembang on Sumatra, in 1820, after previous fruitless attempts.

14. The state of Great Britain, emerging uninjured from the storms of the times, needed no restoration either of its territory or its constitution. The maxims of Pitt were maintained and had been triumphant; the erection of the regency had produced no alteration; Jan. 10, 1811. and the accession of the king as little. Its influence on the civilization of the world, contributed still more than the splendour of its victories and its political influence to the glory of Great Britain. It was the source of the spirit of free constitutions. The constitution was the model—not for the blind imitation, but for the instruction of others. Its influence and earnest purpose prohibited the slave trade; and by its institutions, the light of Christianity, the vehicle of European civilization, was diffused throughout every part of the world. A new method of popular instruction, (useful so long as it keeps within these limits,) already no less diffused, had its origin there, almost contemporarily with the discovery of vaccination, which seems to do 1799. more than compensate for the carnage of war. And will not the great progress of manufactures, which was previously able to repress, in part, the manufacturing industry of other countries, like every advancement of the human mind, ultimately have, on the whole, a beneficial operation? When the art of printing began to prosper, the trade of copyists and the art of calligraphy declined. But should a prohibition therefore have been laid on the press?

The aggrandizements of the British state were confined in Europe to Malta and Heligoland. In the colonies, they embraced Tobago, St. Lucia, and Surinam, in the West Indies; in Africa, the Cape; in the East Indies, the Isle of France, Cochin, and the conquests obtained from the Mahrattas (see pages 443, 471).

After the dissolution of the ministry of Grenville and Fox, March 26, 1807, the British ministry had been composed, with the change of sin-

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gle offices, of friends and disciples of Pitt. Lord Liverpool, Hawkesbury, Canning, Percival, Castlereagh, Vansittart, etc. all belong to this class. After the murder of the first lord of the treasury, Spencer Percival, May 11, 1812, Lord Liverpool succeeded to his place, which he retained in conjunction with Lord Castlereagh as secretary of state for foreign affairs, till the melancholy death of the latter, Aug. 12, 1822, when Mr. Canning came into office, Sept. 16, and, upon Lord Liverpool's retiring, was made premier, April 12.

15. Upon the introduction of Mr. Canning to the British cabinet, and particularly after his elevation to the rank of prime minister, several regulations took place, which were considered as so many proofs of the liberal spirit of domestic, as well as foreign policy. In consequence of an alteration made in the department of customs, the strictness of the importation laws, which had been hitherto conformable to the principles of the mercantile system, was considerably softened. The recognition of the new American free states, (see p. 466,) the active interest taken in the affairs of the east, in order to please the Greeks, was all the work of Canning. His projected reform of the corn laws, however, brought him into a conflict with the great landed proprietors in parliament, and occasioned the hatred and persecution of the opposite party; though his genius and eloquence did not the less powerfully operate upon the character of the times. It had now become evident enough, that all things could not remain for ever as they had done.

Convention with Russia and France for the purpose of settling the affairs of Greece, by the Protocol of July 6, 1827. A corn bill brought into the lower house, June 18; but defeated in the upper, through the influence of the Duke of Wellington. Death of Canning, Aug. 8, 1827.

16. The most important change in the domestic policy of England was occasioned by the so-called Emancipation of the Catholics, and consequent tranquillization[2] of Ireland, by which the Duke of Wellington, as premier, in conjunction with Sir Robert Peel, has immortalized his ministry. In consequence of this measure, the Romanists were admitted into parliament; and, with some few exceptions, to the offices of state, from both of which they had previously been

[2] [Had the author made use of the term "distraction," it would, at least, as correctly represent the immediate consequences of this questionable measure.—TRANS.]

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excluded. The future will show how far they are satisfied with these concessions.

The Duke of Wellington appointed prime minister, Jan. 25, 1828. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, occasioned by O'Connell's being elected in Ireland as a member of parliament, passed the lower house, March 31, and was accepted by the Lords, April 13, 1829.

17. The restoration of the French state was the condition of the restoration of Europe. That it was necessary for France herself, as a member of this political system, to be great and powerful, the allies themselves had loudly proclaimed in the midst of their victories. Ever since her restriction to her former boundaries, her situation, her extent, her population, and the spirit of her inhabitants, render her the most powerful state of Europe. Her boundaries were determined by the treaties; her constitution was left to herself. A difficult task! But Providence gave France, at this moment, the greatest blessing it could confer, a prudent man for a king, and at his side, a counsellor like Richelieu. From England he brought his people the most valuable of gifts, that of a free constitution. It is now for the nation to show, that they can bear freedom. Their history may excite apprehension; but if the French can bear it, what a future is opened to France! She no longer has an enemy in Europe, unless she is resolved to have one. The culture of her fertile soil is her chief source of acquisition; yet her manufacturing industry is not palsied. Her free colonies no longer excite jealousy, and yet secure to her a share in the commerce of the world. But with a free constitution, she has still an autocratic administration. Can these exist together; and will not the change of the latter be more difficult than that of the former?

The constitution framed by the conservative senate before the arrival of the king, in which the senate had taken the best care of its own interests, was rejected by the king; but on the other hand, a constitution was proffered by him, and accepted by the senate (which was abolished) and the chamber of deputies.

The present constitution, given by the *Charte*, has much in common with the British, but not every thing. A constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, and the source of legislation; responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies. But the king has the exclusive power of proposing laws; the inheritance of the peerages is connected with primogeniture; and the ministers have, as such, a seat, and the power of

speaking in the chambers. The law of election and the law of age (thirty years being requisite for a peer, and forty for a deputy) must be the main supports of this constitution. But after so many scenes in the chambers, the latter law seems to be hardly adequate to the attainment of its object. And in the former, it has been found necessary to make repeated alterations, which are still insufficient, to secure a preponderance to the ministers. But that no ministry can exist in this country, while the press is perfectly free, the advocates of the freedom of the press themselves are well aware. In repeated cases, nevertheless, only a temporary censorship was accorded, which, finally, had to make way for a stricter regulation.—Of its colonies, France has recovered, in the West Indies, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes, together with its part of St. Martin and Cayenne; in Africa, Senegal and Gorée; in the East Indies, the Isle of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore. (See p. 443.)

18. The restoration of the Swiss confederacy was zealously pursued at the congress of Vienna, in a special committee, appointed by the five leading powers. The result was, the territorial aggrandizement of the confederacy by three cantons, and the acknowledgment of its perpetual neutrality. What an advantage for France, covering, as it does, its unprotected part! The restoration of its constitution, after the abrogation of the act of mediation, was relinquished to the cantons themselves.

By the declaration of the powers, March 20, 1815, the acquiescence of the confederacy being declared, March 29, the separated cantons Valais and Neufchatel, and the territory of Geneva, somewhat enlarged at the expense of France and Savoy, were added as three new cantons to the existing nineteen, which were acknowledged in their integrity; the bishopric of Basle was annexed principally to the canton of Berne, but partly also to the canton of Basle. The confederacy has subsequently consisted of twenty-two cantons. 1. Zurich. 2. Berne. 3. Lucerne. 4. Uri. 5. Schweitz. 6. Underwalden. 7. Glaris. 8. Zug. 9. Friburg. 10. Soleure. 11. Basle. 12. Schaffhausen. 13. Appenzell. 14. St. Gall. 15. Grisons. 16. Aargau. 17. Thurgau. 18. Tesin. 19. Vaud. 20. Valais. 21. Neufchatel. 22. Geneva. By the new act of confederacy, signed and sworn to by the twenty-two cantons, Aug. 7, 1815; *a.* All the cantons guaranteed each other's territory and constitutions. There are no longer any subject countries, and the enjoyment of political rights cannot be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens. *b.* The common affairs of the confederacy shall be discussed in a diet, to be held, every two years, alternately at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne. (In the intervening time, the presiding place manages them.) It consists of the ambassadors of the twenty-two cantons, who vote according to their instructions. Each has one vote; the majority decides; in foreign alliances two-thirds are necessary. The burgo-master or mayor in office of the city, in which the diet is convened, presides. *c.* The diet manages the affairs of the confederacy,

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declares war and peace, and forms alliances with foreign states. *d.* Settlement of the contingents of troops and pecuniary contributions, etc.

(P. Usteri) *Handbuch des Schweizerischen Staatsrechts.* Aarau, 1816, 2 Thle.

19. Though the restoration of the Spanish monarchy in Europe was a consequence of the fall of Napoleon, matters took a different turn from their course in other states. The territory of the state within Europe had undergone no changes; but the Cortes, which had assembled during the war and imprisonment of the king, had framed a constitution, which, founded on the sovereignty of the people, made the king the mere servant of the Cortes. 1812. But at the return of the king he not only refused to accept it, but proceeded with the utmost rigour against its authors. 1814. Instead, however, of employing the moment for the introduction of a better constitution, which the nation was justified in expecting, after such a conflict and such sacrifices, the opposite extreme was adopted; and the absolute power of the king was again introduced, supported by the inquisition, restraint on the press, and the Jesuits. Many symptoms of secret ferment were afterwards exhibited, with the deepest decline of the finances, and a total want of credit. Notwithstanding, an army was collected at Cadiz, against the insurgent America; an army, which Spain could neither pay nor embark.

20. The consequence of this political error was an insurrection among the army, kindled by Riego and others of its leaders, with the proclamation of the constitution of the Cortes, which the king was forced to accept. Europe saw, therefore, for the first time, the doubly pernicious example (which was not unfortunately to be without imitation) of an army, commanding instead of obeying, and of a constitution which, instead of a true monarchy, was neither a monarchy nor a republic.

The insurrection, having broken out in the army at Cadiz, Jan. 1, 1820, soon spread to Ferrol and Corunna (Feb.). The king issued a proclamation that he accepted the constitution of the Cortes, and the oath was administered, March 8.

Conformably with the constitution, March 18, 1812: 1. The Cortes were entirely independent of the king as far as respects their continuance, form, and assembling. 2. They consisted of only one chamber. 3. They had the right of moving and enacting laws. 4. The king possessed the right only of proposing them, and a temporary *veto.* 5.

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They fixed annually the amount of forces, both on land and sea. 6. They possessed the right of confirming treaties of alliance and commerce. 7. They nominated to the king the members of his council of state. 8. They fixed the salaries of his council as well as of the seven ministers (secretaries of state). 9. All ecclesiastical benefices, and all the offices of judge, could be bestowed or filled by the king only, on the nomination of the council of state. 10. The king was not to marry or go out of the kingdom, without the consent of the Cortes, on penalty of the loss of his throne.—What powers and rights still remained to the king, every one may easily judge.

21. The consequences of such a defective state of administration were inevitable. An opposite party was soon formed at Urgel, under the protection of a French cordon on the frontiers; and, as the foreign powers considered it impossible to submit to the deposition of the king, his forcible restoration to sovereign authority was, at the congress of Laybach, confided to the armed mediation of France. But instead of a constitutional monarchy, the old system of absolute and uncontrolled power was introduced, and put into execution with the most rigorous severity. Excessive irritation in the interior and numerous emigrations naturally followed. The clergy and their followers, calling themselves the apostolical party, were predominant; because, at the low ebb of the public finances, they only were in possession of money. Time alone will show, whether a more happy state of affairs will result from the present condition of turbulence and discord.

Erection of a hostile regency at Seo d'Urgel, Aug. 15, 1822, with a proclamation of the absolute king. March of the French army into Spain, under the command of the Dauphin, April, 1823, upon which the king was conveyed by the Cortes to Seville, and subsequently, owing to the rapid advance of the French, to Cadiz, June. Siege of Cadiz, which capitulated after the storming of Trocadero, Aug. 31. Upon the liberation of the king, however, the decree of Oct. 1 was issued, by which all the acts of the constitutional regency, from March 7, 1820, to Oct. 1, 1823, were declared to be null and void, and absolute power again restored. Thus then the total absence of political illumination, was justly punished by a transition from one extreme to the other.

22. That the great change in the Portuguese monarchy, by which a colony became the principal country and the seat of government, has been already noticed. Though Portugal still preceded Brazil in the royal title of the united monarchies, this was not enough to compensate for the loss

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of the court, so severely felt by the capital; and the military spirit, so powerfully awakened in the nation by the war, made the consequences of the discontent doubly formidable, as soon as the example was given by Spain. In Portugal, also, the insurrection first broke out among the troops; an intermediate government had to convene the Cortes, who were still employed in framing a constitution, which was, however, sufficiently far advanced to leave the king, on his return from Brazil, only the shadow of authority.

The insurrection broke out among the troops at Oporto, Aug. 24, 1820; it soon formed a combination with the insurrection at Lisbon, for the erection of a provisory government, and the convocation of the Cortes. The Cortes were opened, May, 1821, and the king returned in July. In the essential points, the constitution framed by the Cortes coincided with the Spanish; and in some particulars circumscribed the royal power still more.

23. How could it therefore be otherwise than that similar consequences should follow such a state of things, as had previously developed themselves in Spain. In Portugal, however, they were further aggravated by personal connexions, and the distracted family circumstances of the house of Braganza. The constitutional government had scarcely been introduced when it was abolished. Don Miguel, the younger son of the king, actually made an attempt, though in vain, to dethrone his own father; and upon the death of the latter, there ensued a quarrel between the two brothers, relative to the succession, which is not yet determined, and has subjected Portugal to a system of tyranny which seems to have no bounds.

The constitution abolished, by an insurrection of the troops under Don Miguel, June 5, 1823. His abortive attempt to dethrone his father, May 9, 1824, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave Portugal. Upon the death of John VI., March 10, 1826, Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, nominated his daughter, Maria da Gloria, to be queen, under the regency of the Infanta Isabella, till Feb. 26, 1828, and afterwards under that of Don Miguel, who, however, caused himself to be proclaimed king by the Cortes, June 30, but without being ever recognised as such by the foreign courts.

24. The new Spanish doctrines were not, however, to be confined to the peninsula of the Pyrenees; they soon found their adherents in Italy. The restoration of the prior order of things would have found its principal obstructions in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, had not the conduct of

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Murat come to the aid of the allies. After his downfal (see p. 449) there was no obstacle to the restoration of Naples to king Ferdinand of Sicily, when both countries were again united into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, according to its ancient boundaries. But to preserve internal tranquillity was difficult among a disquiet people, accustomed to so many revolutions, and in whom the seed of innovation had probably been long cherished in a society, called that of the Carbonari, who soon grew into an extensive sect, but first became dangerous to the state by their success with the army. Here, too, an armed power prescribed to and extorted from the king the acceptance of a constitution, and that indeed a foreign constitution, the Spanish. The further diffusion of the insurrection could be no longer doubtful, since it was speedily seen in the north of the peninsula; and left it to the option of the allied powers, and especially of Austria, (which was most interested in the case,) either to be the quiet spectators of a general Italian revolution, or to anticipate it by force of arms. The latter was preferred; and the facility of success put an end to the apprehensions which had been entertained.

The insurrection began in the army, July 2, 1820. The Spanish constitution was accepted by the king, and the crown prince appointed regent, July 7. A parliament was convoked and opened, Oct. 1. But the monarchs and their ministers assembled at Troppau, and afterwards at Laybach, Oct. 18, whither the king of the Two Sicilies was invited in person, and proceeded, December 13. The allied monarchs promulgated a declaration against the new order in Naples, Feb. 9, 1821; and an Austrian army advanced, by which the ancient order was restored without bloodshed; but the kingdom remained occupied by the Austrians.

CARRASCOSA, *Mémoires sur la révolution de Naples.* London, 1823.

25. The restoration of the kingdom of Sardinia constituted a material part of the restoration of Italy. Its territorial extent—less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience—was increased by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with the grant of some liberties and of a free harbour to the capital. The succession was at the same time secured to the line of Carignan, by the act of the congress of Vienna. Here also the public quiet was interrupted by the insurrection of a part of the army; it was soon, however, quelled, with the assistance of Austria, but induced the

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king Victor Emanuel to resign the crown in favour of his brother Charles Felix.

The garrisons Alessandria and Turin became insurgent, March 10 and 12, 1821. The Austrian troops formed a junction, April 8, with those which remained faithful to the king, and after some skirmishes the insurrection was put down.

26. The state of the church was restored to the same extent it possessed before the revolution, including even Bologna and Ferrara, Austria reserving the right of holding a garrison in Ferrara, with the small district on this side the Po; while France retained Avignon. But the Roman court protested even against this, though in vain. June 14, 1815.

27. The restoration of the secundogenitures of Austria, in Italy, in the grand duchy of Tuscany, (aggrandized by the possession of the island of Elba and the Stato degli presidi,) and in the duchy of Modena according to its ancient boundaries, was increased by a third, in Parma and Piacenza, in favour of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the wife of Napoleon. But not without the resistance of Spain, which refused for that reason to sign the act of the congress of Vienna, claiming Parma and Piacenza for Don Carlos the son of the Infanta Maria Louisa, formerly queen of Etruria. The justice of the demand was acknowledged; and the matter was adjusted by a subsequent compromise.

By the compact between Austria and Spain at Paris, June 10, 1817, *a*. The Archduchess Maria Louisa remained in possession, for life, of Parma and Piacenza. *b*. After her death it was to revert to the Infanta Maria Louisa, and her son Don Carlos. After the extinction of his male posterity, Parma reverts to Austria, and Piacenza to Sardinia. *c*. The Infanta acquired, in the mean while, the duchy of Lucca; which in case of succession in Parma, or of extinction, falls to Tuscany.

28. The republic of the Seven Islands, formed during the storms of war, the possession of which had already changed several times in the course of fifteen years, (see p. 383, 414,) was placed under the protection of Great Britain, by a compact of the four leading powers, with the right of garrison, the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgment of her commercial flag. She is thus secured; but time must determine, whether Grecian culture will revive under British guardianship.

A treaty respecting the seven Ionian islands was signed at Paris, Nov. 5, 1815, by Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The

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republic consists of the islands Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, St. Mauro, Ithaca, Paxo, and Cerigo, with their dependencies. Constitution of Dec. 29, 1817. A lord commissioner occupies the place of the king of England as protector. He appoints the president of the senate, consisting of five members, taken from the legislative assembly, which is chosen by the noble electors. The senate has the executive and the initiatory power; but every law and resolution must first have the approbation of the lord commissioner. Each island has its separate government and courts. For them all, there is a court of appeal. The Greek church and language are predominant.

29. The north of Europe, as the preceding history has shown, was not spared by the convulsions of the times; and all the states, pertaining to it, underwent great changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway; and received in compensation, nothing but Swedish Pomerania, which it exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenberg as far as the Elbe (see p. 485). Reckoned by its superficial contents, this was but a poor indemnification; but by its situation and internal value, by no means unimportant. Whether the loss of Norway was in reality a loss to Denmark may be doubted. Norway indeed had need of Denmark, but, taking the navy out of the question, Denmark was not equally indebted to Norway. And a navy of its former strength Denmark would hardly wish to restore. The constitution of Denmark remained unaltered. The introduction of a constitution of states in Holstein, which, separated again from Denmark, (see p. 481,) belonged to the Germanic Confederation, has not yet grown to maturity.

30. The Scandinavian peninsula now stood under one sovereign in consequence of the union of Norway and Sweden (see p. 449). Sweden sought in this union a recompence for the loss of Finland, and found it in a political, if not in a statistical respect. Under a king who has already won renown in war, the two kingdoms are probably destined to enjoy a long period of peace. It will heal the wounds inflicted by unnecessary participation in former wars, if Norway, treated so ungraciously by nature, can but find a remuneration for what nature has denied. In possession of a free constitution, both kingdoms have, in this respect, nothing to desire. They both enjoy their tranquillity.

The Swedish and Norwegian constitutions differ in the circumstance, that in Sweden there exists a powerful hereditary nobility as the first estate of the kingdom; in Norway there neither exists any nobility,

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nor can any be erected. The Swedish constitution underwent no alteration from the change of dynasty. The fundamental law of Norway in one hundred and twelve articles, May 17, and Nov. 4, 1814, establishes an hereditary, constitutional monarchy, as in a self-existent, independent, and indivisible kingdom, united under one king with Sweden. The king has the whole executive power, and the ratification of the laws (with limitations); appoints his council of state; declares war (with the observance of some formalities); concludes alliances, treaties of commerce and peace. The assembly of the estates (Storthing) consists of elected members, and is divided, by choice, into two divisions, the Lagthing, containing a fourth of the members, and the Odelsthing, containing three-fourths. The Storthing has the legislative power; the king shares the right of proposing laws with the Odelsthing, by which the propositions are laid before the Lagthing. The members are chosen for three years, and the Storthing is held triennially in the capital, and opened by the king; he can, however, convoke it on extraordinary occasions.

The fundamental law may be found complete in *Polit. Journal*, 1818, numbers i.—v.

31. No state issued from these storms more enlarged and strengthened—for strength grows by struggling—than Russia. In the north it was aggrandized by the possession of all Finland, in the south by Bessarabia and part of Moldavia, and in the east by several provinces in consequence of the treaty of peace with Persia, while Poland was allotted to it at the peace of Vienna. Of greater influence was the national spirit, heightened by the happy event of the conflict, and most of all, a ruler, whose spirit and activity was acquainted with, and embraced all his vast sphere of action. Russia, pertaining to two quarters of the world, and founding its dominion in a third, is thus placed in a situation, where—aggrandizement is no longer fortunate. Its constitution is, on the whole, unaltered; but single reforms seem to be only the preludes of a revolution which the future must unveil.

1814.

By the Ukase of Sept. 16, 1821, Russia appropriated to itself the north-west coast of America, from Bhering's Straits to 51° N. lat., and the Kurile isles as far as Urup, 45° N. lat., and prohibited foreign navigation in the vicinity of the coasts, as well as on the coasts.

32. The restoration of the kingdom of Poland was the final result of the changeful destiny and sufferings of this state. Its territory comprises the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the duchy of Posen, assigned to Prussia, and the city of Cracow with its territory,

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which was declared a free city. Though Poland was united for ever with the Russian empire, it acquired its own representative government, and constitutes, therefore, a state distinct from Russia, but united under the same monarch.

The fate of the kingdom of Poland was decided at Vienna by the compacts of May 3, 1815. The constitution given it, May 25, left the principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged. *a*. The king possesses the plenitude of executive power. He confides the discharge of it to a governor or viceroy, appointed by him, a council of state, and ministers. *b*. The diet consists of the senate, and the chamber of deputies. The senate consists of thirty members (among them ten bishops) appointed by the king for life. The chamber of deputies consists of sixty members, chosen by the assemblies of the provinces, at least forty years of age. They continue in office nine years, and a third is renewed triennially. The members of the council of state have a seat and vote in the chamber. *c*. The diet is convened every two years at the time fixed by the king, and deliberates concerning the laws proposed by him ; its session, however, continues no longer than fourteen days.

For further information see the *Polit. Journal*, 1816, p. 11.

The free city of Cracow, with its territory, to which the act of the congress of Vienna, App. iii., (a document worded with the most careful precision,) secured independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality, (as too important in a military point of view to be overlooked,) together with the republic of San Marino, which still exists and has hitherto existed, as far as is known, unchanged, in the state of the church, belong to the political curiosities of Europe.

33. The Porte had kept itself aloof from these storms, with the exception of the war with Russia, (see p. 422,) which had cost it Bessarabia and a part of Moldavia. Assisted by the powerful and almost independent pacha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, who seems by the introduction of European civilization to be desirous of restoring the throne of the Pharaohs, the Porte was more active in Arabia, against the Wahhabites, than in Europe. But in its own territory a storm gathered, of which it is still uncertain whether it will be confined to its boundaries. The Greeks recalled to remembrance their ancient freedom and their ancient renown ; an insurrection broke out simultaneously in almost every part of the country, and was pursued on both sides, on the main land and on the sea, with a degree of rancorous hostility which scarcely seems to admit of reconciliation.

The insurrection broke out in Moldavia, under Ypsilanti, and almost simultaneously in the Morea, April, 1821, as well as on most of the islands of the Archipelago, whose squadrons were generally superior to

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the Turkish. At the end of the year 1821, the Turks were driven from the Morea and the islands, with the exception of the garrisons of several strong fortresses, but a great Russian army was already assembled—surely for some purpose—on the banks of the Pruth. (For the objects of this movement see below.)

34. In order to complete the work of the allied sovereigns, as far as that was possible to be done by outward forms, there was still wanting a full and perfect reconciliation with France, by withdrawing the army of observation. (See above, p. 448.) Accordingly, after the full discharge of the pecuniary engagements entered into by France, that measure was finally resolved upon, and put in execution at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, principally through the mediation of the Duke of Wellington. The admission of France into the confederation of the great powers followed of course. Oct. 9, 1818.

35. The political system of Europe was thus restored in its single parts; no important territorial question remained unsettled. That it was to be a free political system, a restoration of the balance of power—was loudly and repeatedly declared by the restorers themselves. It has been asked, whether such a balance can exist with the inequality even of the leading members? It has been apprehended, that by the union of Poland with Russia, the preponderance of the latter power on the continent would become too great, while Great Britain, as a naval power, had no counterpoise. But naval wars, like the former, are no longer to to be feared in Europe; since England has now no rival either in Europe or in the colonies; and as for the first question, we now know that the mass itself does not decide, but the spirit by which the mass is animated. The taste for political freedom, so generally excited in the nations of the west of Europe, is a stronger bulwark than a chain of fortresses, however desirable this also might be.

36. But nevertheless, an aristocracy of the leading powers has been practically and diplomatically formed in the restored political system of Europe, such as did not exist, at least openly, in the former system of that quarter of the world. Practically, it originated in the manner itself of the restoration; for how was it possible that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of the monarchs to whose strenuous exertions the weaker were

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indebted for their restoration? In a diplomatical point of view, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of the relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia (see p. 441); it was confirmed by the form of the negotiations at Vienna, and the league of Vienna (see p. 445); and finally, it was perfected by the accession of France at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. Nov., 1818. A gradation, however, in the aristocracy, was immediately formed at Vienna; for while the general concerns of Europe were discussed by those five leading powers, the acts of the congress were, moreover, signed by Portugal and Sweden, which Spain afterwards joined. June 15, 1817.

37. But what cause is there to find fault with such an aristocracy, so long as, confining itself to affairs of general interest, it prescribes to itself the limits which these demand? It is then necessary and useful, because it springs from the nature of things; unsuspicious, because it is public; while it constitutes, in a certain measure, a European senate, which wants only a fixed form. The personal meeting of the monarchs cannot always supply this deficiency; that it will be felt, some incidents have already evinced. But here also it is reserved for time to bring to maturity what time only can develop. How beneficial might such a union be for settling the differences that may arise between the powers themselves, or as mediating authorities between the others! But on the other hand, how dangerous if, even though from excessive anxiety, they should transgress the proper limits!

The political principles of this union were clearly expressed in the Protocol and Declaration made at Aix-la-Chapelle. (See Appendix.) The congress of the sovereigns and their ministers at Laybach, Jan.—May, 1821, and at Vienna, Oct., 1822, was a consequence of this arrangement, having for its object the preservation of peace in connexion with legitimacy, both of which had been violated by the military revolutions that had just occurred in Naples and Sardinia, in Spain and in Portugal (see above). That their apprehensions, in this case, were not exaggerated, has been shown by experience, however causeless they might have been elsewhere. We have already noticed above, (see p. 478,) that the idea of legitimacy, in the European sense of the term, does not apply to the case of the Porte.

38. But a higher sanction than mere diplomacy could

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lend, policy was to acquire by invoking religion to her aid. To Alexander may be attributed the origin of the Holy Alliance, personally concluded with the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, who were gradually joined by all the Christian states of Europe, England not acceding formally, but acknowledging its principles. The three monarchs bound themselves "agreeably to the words of Holy Scripture, which commands all men to love as brethren, to remain united in the bonds of true and indissoluble brotherly love; always to assist one another; to govern their subjects as parents; to maintain religion, peace, and justice. They consider themselves but as members of one and the same Christian family; commissioned by Providence, to govern the branches of one family. They call on all powers who acknowledge similar principles to join this Holy Alliance."

The Holy Alliance was concluded at Paris, Sept. 26, 1815, between the emperors of Austria and Russia, and the king of Prussia.—Politicians, accustomed only to the language and forms of modern diplo macy, were startled at this strange phenomenon. Had they forgotten that the diplomacy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was wont to say much respecting Christianity and its welfare? The conclusion of an alliance by a declaration similar to the one above given, namely, "That the right of the people should be the foundation of policy," was not merely suitable to the times, it was, in fact, absolutely necessary in an age, which had so lately seen the liberties of the people trodden under foot. That no sinister motives or ambitious views lay concealed in the background, has been sufficiently shown by the result. The difficulties that have stood in the way of its beneficial operation are owing to the defective nature of popular right on the continent, which leaves several of the most important questions undetermined, such, for instance, as that touching the propriety of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign states.

Notice sur Alexandre, empereur de Russie, par H. L. Empeta, ministre du St. Evangile. à Génève, 1828, 8vo. The influence here said to have been exercised by a certain Baroness von Krüdener upon the emperor, and the Holy Alliance, is contradicted by General La Harpe, formerly the emperor's preceptor, in the *Globe*, tom. vii. No. 65, Aug. 15, 1829.

39. While the most powerful monarchs of the principal Christian creeds were thus binding the ties of brotherly love in behalf of themselves and their subjects; while the two evangelical churches, so long separated, were forming a voluntary union in several countries; the papal court pursued an opposite line of policy. In truth, the Roman church, as well as the Roman state, had need of a restora-

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tion; and Pius VII., as its head, only discharged his duty as far as he deemed it to the advantage of the church. But it was soon perceived, that much less was thought of the restoration of the Roman church than of the restoration of the authority of the Vatican, and the enforcement of its pretensions. One of the first measures was the re-establishment of the society of the Jesuits, as a principal support of the Roman chair. Time must show how far it can be so; and whether, as in Italy, and part of Germany and Switzerland, it will find access also into France and the rest of Germany, and, as formerly, rekindle the flames of hatred and discord. This, indeed, it may always effect, without, however, recovering its political influence; and that its members want neither a hearty good-will nor means for the work, has been already experienced to the cost of France, Spain, and the Netherlands. From Russia they were already expelled. One state alone, Portugal, declared itself immediately against their admission; will not others, will not Germany follow? Can the fearful lessons of the past, exhibited in these very courts, which saw their only chance of safety in the expulsion of the Jesuits, be so soon forgotten?—A bull was sent forth against "the pestilence of Bible Societies;" as if the days of Gregory VII. were returned. But the most important step was undoubtedly the conclusion of treaties respecting the ecclesiastical relations with the temporal princes. But only two concordats, with Naples and with Bavaria, have been hitherto completed; and the last not without opposition. The one negotiated with France seems to have been tacitly revoked by the government, and the ready advances made by Protestant princes towards their Catholic subjects, as for instance in Prussia, Hanover, and the Netherlands, have only been attended with partial results.

The Jesuits were restored by the bull, *Solicitudo omnium*, 1814, Aug. 7. A remarkable papal brief (its authenticity has not been denied) was issued against Bible Societies, describing them as, *vaferrimum inventum, pestem, quoad fieri potest delendam*, and addressed to the archbishop of Gnesen, primate of Poland. Jesuit maxims and Jesuit Latin are equally incorrigible!

It may be found in the *Polit. Journal* for June, 1817.

40. Next to their solicitude for the preservation of peace thus restored, the principal business which occupied the at-

tention of the several governments, was the preservation, or at least the restoration, of public credit in money matters. The desire of providing for the excessively increased burden of debt, under which almost all the states laboured, together with the necessary demands for the payment of interest, or, where it was possible, the discharge of the capital itself, by a fresh system of equitable loans, gave rise to a speculating trade in government securities, which engrossed the mercantile interest and activity, to the exclusion of almost every thing else, and was even the means of procuring for some of the great banking houses, a degree of political influence never before known. This was, alas! an unproductive speculation, ruinous alike to public industry and good manners.

Der öffentliche Credit dargestellt in der Geschichte und in den Finanzoperationen der grossen Europäischen Staaten seit Herstellung des allgemeinen Friedens, ihrer Massregeln zur Begründung oder Befestigung öffentlicher Creditanstalten, und der Begebenheiten in der Handelswelt, deren Wirkung damit zusammengetroffen, von FR. NEBENIUS, Karlsruhe, 1802, 8vo. The most instructive work on the subject: the second edition, still in progress, will bring it down to the present time.

41. While the affairs of the West were thus being composed, those of the East, on the other hand, continually attracted the eyes of politicians. The insurrection of the Greeks still proceeded, with various success indeed, but with an interest on the part of the European nations, scarcely if at all inferior to what they would have exhibited in their own behalf. It was excited under the noblest of feelings, and with the most favourable hopes for the result. The several cabinets naturally regarded it in a political point of view, and the negotiations entered into could hardly fail, in the long run, to produce at least a unanimity of opinion, that Greece ought to be a free state, notwithstanding the Porte obstinately withheld its consent.

Proclamation of independence issued by the Greek national congress at Epidaurus, Jan. 27, 1822. Among the particular events of the war, the daring achievements of the Greeks by sea, especially by means of fire-ships, and on land the victory at Thermopylæ (Zeitun) are distinguished; and not less so the barbarous capture of Scio, April 12, 1822, and of Ipsara, July 3, 1824, by the Turks. It was not however till the landing of an Egyptian and Turkish flotilla and army under Ibrahim Pacha, in the Morea, Nov. 5, 1825, that the war on the mainland became of a truly murderous character, owing to the ravages committed in the pe-

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ninsula, and the siege of fortified places, in particular of the heroically defended Missolonghi, Nov., 1825, to April 23, 1826.—Nevertheless Ibrahim could not maintain his possession of Argos or Napoli di Romagna.—In the mean time a treaty was concluded at London, July 6, 1827, between Russia, England, and France, having for its object the restoration of peace and the establishment of Greek independence; whereupon, in consequence of Ibrahim's refusal to evacuate the Morea, followed the battle of Navarino, Oct. 20, 1827, which ended in the total destruction of the Turkish navy by the allies, without, however, immediately producing a general war, though it led, after a tedious delay, to the ultimate evacuation of the Morea by Ibrahim, Aug., 1828; upon which a body of the French troops were introduced, Sept., and at the same time Count Capo d'Istria, having been nominated to the presidency of Greece, upon the erection of the Panhellenion, Jan., 1828, occupied himself with the organization of the rising state; while the Morea and the Cyclades were placed under the protection of the allied powers, Nov. 16, and the agreement made by Protocol at London, March 22, 1829, was to fix the yet undetermined boundaries of the future state.

42. Although the allies had reason on their own part to apprehend a general war with the Porte, yet the injurious behaviour of the Porte itself towards Russia, and its delay in fulfilling the conditions of the treaty of Ackerman, was the occasion of a war between these two powers, which did not end before the victorious arms of Russia, already in possession of Adrianople, menaced the Turkish capital itself, and Sultan Mahmud saw himself reduced to the necessity of accepting such conditions as the emperor Nicholas I. thought fit to prescribe.

By the treaty of Ackerman, Oct. 26, 1826, the still disputed articles of the peace of Bucharest, (see above, p. 423,) were to be adjusted. Offensive firman issued by the Porte against Russia, Dec. 20, 1827. Declaration of war by Russia, April 26, 1828. The fortress of Braila was taken June 19, and Varna Oct. 11, but the Russians were not able to advance in this campaign beyond the Balkan. But in the summer of 1829, under the command of general Count Diebitsch, after the siege of Schumla, June 11, they crossed the Balkan, captured Adrianople, and concluded a peace there, Sept. 14, 1829.—Conditions: *a.* The Pruth was to constitute the European boundary as heretofore. All that had been taken was to be restored; Silistria, however, to be dismantled. *b.* An alteration of the Asiatic boundaries; so that the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea from the Kuban to the harbour of St. Nicholas, together with the fortresses of Anapa and Poti, remained in the possession of Russia. *c.* The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to be confirmed in their rights; but the Hospodars to be nominated only for life. No Turks were to dwell there. *d.* Free trade on the Black Sea and navigation through the straits, for vessels belonging to Russia, and all other countries at peace with the Porte. *e.* The Porte to defray the

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expenses of the war, hereafter to be determined; and, *f.* To accede to the treaties concluded at London, with reference to the Greeks.

Negotiators; Counts Orloff, Pahlen, and Diebitsch, and Sadik Effendi.

43. By this treaty, therefore, the admission of Greece into the list of European states, was at the same time secured in the outset. What consequences the project may lead to, and how far the Porte may choose to recognise its separate existence under a monarchical constitution, and the dominion of a German prince, still remains to be seen. Whatever it may become, a new prospect at all events unfolds itself for the East. The great drama, however, of universal history knows no last act; and the political edifice was never yet possessed of entire perfection and immutability; for nothing is faultless that is the work of man.

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APPENDIX.

PROTOCOL SIGNED AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, NOV. 15, 1818, BY THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE COURTS OF AUSTRIA, FRANCE, PRUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND RUSSIA.

THE ministers of these courts, after a mature consideration of the principle on which the restored order of things in Europe depends, do hereby declare:—1. That the above courts are firmly resolved, neither in their own mutual connexions, nor in those which they may contract with other states, to depart from the fundamental principles of that close alliance which has hitherto subsisted in all their common affairs, and which, in consequence of the bond of Christian brotherhood established between the sovereigns, has become still more intimate. 2. That this alliance, being so much the more essential and permanent, as it will not be determined by any particular detached interest, nor by any predominating combination, can have no other object in view than the preservation of peace, founded on a conscientious discharge of the several engagements prescribed in the treaties, and a recognition of all the duties arising therefrom. 3. That France, in consequence of the restoration of legitimate and constitutional kingly power, associates herself with the other allies, and undertakes from henceforth to co-operate incessantly towards maintaining and strengthening a system which has given peace to Europe, and which can alone secure its continuance. 4. That, in case the powers who accede to the present resolution, in order to the attainment of the objects here proposed, should judge it necessary to hold an especial meeting, either between the high sovereigns in person, or their ministers and plenipotentiaries, for the purpose of deliberating in common on their own proper affairs, in so far as these are connected with the subjects of their present negotiations, the time and place of such meeting shall always be previously determined by a diplomatic consultation; in case, however, the affairs to be deliberated on affect the interests of other European states, the meeting aforesaid shall only take place in consequence of a formal invitation on the part of the state thereby affected, and with a reservation of the right of the latter to attend thereat, either in person or by its plenipotentiaries. 5. That

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the resolutions herein specified shall be submitted to the knowledge of all the European courts, through the medium of the subjoined declaration.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818. METTERNICH, RICHELIEU, CASTLEREAGH, WELLINGTON, HARDENBERG, BERNSTORF, NESSELRODE, CAPO D'ISTRIA.

DECLARATION.

AT the moment when the last seal is in the act of being put to the determination of withdrawing the foreign troops from the French territories, upon the restoration of peace in Europe; and when the prudential measures, enjoined by painful necessity, are no longer required, the ministers and plenipotentiaries of their imperial Majesties, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of France, Great Britain, and Prussia, are commissioned by their respective sovereigns to submit the results of their conference at Aix-la-Chapelle, to the knowledge of all the European courts, and for this purpose to make the following declaration :—

The agreement of Oct. 9, by which the execution of the articles contained in the treaty of peace of Nov. 20, 1815, (see above, p. 448,) received its final direction, will be considered by the sovereign powers who assisted thereat, as the key-stone of their work of peace; and as the completion of the political system which is to secure to this work its durability.

The close alliance of the monarchs who became parties to that system, induced thereto by a regard for its principles as well as the interest of their own people, affords Europe the most sacred pledge of its future tranquillity.

The object of this alliance is as simple as it is beneficent and great. It is neither directed towards any new political undertakings, nor does it intend any disturbance of the relations at present subsisting between the powers, and consecrated by the various treaties now in force. In its steady and peaceful course it aims at nothing so much as the preservation of peace, and the security of all those negotiations by which it has been established and confirmed.

The sovereigns recognise as a fundamental principle of the high compact now existing between them, the unalterable resolution, neither in their own reciprocal concerns, nor in their relations with other powers, to depart from the strictest obedience to the maxims of popular right; because the constant application of these maxims to a permanent state of peace, affords the only effectual guarantee for the independence of each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation.

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Faithful to these principles, the sovereigns engage to be no less observant of them in the various conferences which may from time to time be held, either between themselves or their respective ministers; whether the conferences in question be devoted to a common deliberation upon their own particular affairs, or whether they concern matters in which other governments shall have formally requested their mediation; the same disposition which is to guide their own deliberations and govern their own diplomatic transactions, shall also preside at these conferences, and have for its constant object the general peace and tranquillity of the world.

Under the impression of such sentiments have the sovereigns concluded the work for which they were called together. In the mean time they will never cease to labour in strengthening and perfecting it. They solemnly acknowledge that their duty towards God and towards the people over whom they rule, imposes upon them the obligation of exhibiting to the world, as far as lies in their power, an example of justice, unanimity, and moderation. They consider themselves fortunate in being allowed from henceforth to direct all their endeavours to promote the arts of peace, to advance the internal welfare of their respective states, and re-animate those religious and moral feelings, the authority of which has been but too much weakened by the calamities of the times.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Nov. 15, 1818, signed as before. *Ad mandatum* GENZ.

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TABLE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE,

FROM 1500 TO 1828.

I. POPES.

	Death or abdication.
ALEXANDER VI. (Borgia) from 1492	1503, 18th Aug.
Pius III. (Piccolomini)	1503, 18th Oct.
Julius II. (delle Rovere)	1513, 21st Feb.
Leo X. (Medici)	1521, 1st Dec.
Hadrian VI.	1523, 14th Sept.
Clement VII. (Medici)	1534, 25th Sept.
Paul III. (Farnese)	1549, 10th Nov.
Julius III. (Giocchi)	1555, 22nd March.
Marcellus II. (Cervini)	1555, 30th April.
Paul IV. (Caraffa)	1559, 17th Aug.
Pius IV. (Medighi)	1565, 9th Dec.
Pius V. (Ghisleri)	1572, 1st May.
Gregory XIII. (Buoncompagni)	1585, 10th April.
Sixtus V. (Montalto)	1590, 26th Aug.
Urban VII. (Castagni)	1590, 28th Sept.
Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati)	1591, 15th Oct.
Innocent IX. (Fachinetti)	1591, 29th Dec.
Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini)	1605, 5th March.
Leo XI. (Medici)	1605, 27th April.
Paul V. (Borghese)	1621, 27th Jan.
Gregory XV. (Ludovisi)	1623, 18th July.
Urban VIII. (Barberini)	1644, 29th July.
Innocent X. (Pamphili)	1655, 7th Jan.
Alexander VII. (Chigi)	1667, 21st May.
Clement IX. (Rospigliosi)	1669, 9th Dec.
Clement X. (Altieri)	1676, 21st July.
Innocent XI. (Odescalchi)	1689, 12th Aug.
Alexander VIII. (Ottoboni)	1691, 1st Feb.
Innocent XII. (Pignatelli)	1700, 27th Sept.

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	Death or abdication.
Clement XI. (Albani)	1721, 18th March.
Innocent XIII. (Conti)	1724, 3rd March.
Benedict XIII. (Orsini)	1730, 20th Feb.
Clement XII. (Corsini)	1740, 5th Feb.
Benedict XIV. (Lambertini)	1758, 2nd May.
Clement XIII. (Rezzonico)	1769, 2nd Feb.
Clement XIV. (Ganganelli)	1774, 22nd Sept.
Pius VI. (Braschi)	1799, 29th Aug.
Pius VII. (Chiaramonte)	1823, 19th Aug.
Leo XII. (della Genga)	1829, 10th Feb.
Pius VIII. (Castiglioni)	

II. ROMAN EMPERORS.—HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

Maximilian I. from 1492	1519, 12th Jan.
Charles V. abdicated	1558, Feb.
Ferdinand I.	1564, 25th July.
Maximilian II.	1576, 12th Oct.
Rudolf II.	1612, 10th Jan.
Mathias	1619, 20th March.
Ferdinand II.	1637, 15th Feb.
Ferdinand III.	1657, 23rd March.
Leopold I.	1705, 5th May.
Joseph I.	1711, 17th April.
Charles VI.	1740, 20th Oct.
Charles VII. (of Bavaria)	1745, 20th Jan.

HOUSE OF LORRAINE.

Francis I. }	1765, 18th Aug.
Maria Theresa }	1780, 29th Nov.
Joseph II.	1790, 20th Feb.
Leopold II.	1792, 1st March.
Francis II., as Roman emperor till	1806, 6th Aug.

III. RUSSIA.

Ivan Vasilevitch the Great from 1462	1505, 27th Oct.
Vasilei	1533, 3rd Dec.
Ivan Vasilevitch II. first czar	1584, 28th March.
Feodor I.	1598, 7th Jan.
Boris	1605, 13th April.
Pseudo-Demetrius	1606, 18th May.
Shuskoi	1610, 27th July.

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HOUSE OF ROMANZOFF.

	Death or abdication.
Michael Feodorovitch, 1613	1645, 12th July.
Alexei	1676, 8th Feb.
Feodor II.	1682, 27th April.
Ivan (with Peter and Sophia)	1689, 11th Sept.
Peter I. alone (emperor, 1721)	1725, 8th Feb.
Catharine I.	1727, 17th May.
Peter II.	1730, 29th Jan.
Anne	1740, 28th Oct.
Ivan III.	1741, 6th Oct.
Elizabeth	1762, 5th Jan.
Peter III. (of Holstein-Gottorp)	1762, 9th July.
Catharine II.	1796, 17th Nov.
Paul I.	1801, 24th March.
Alexander I.	1826, 1st Dec.
Nicholas I.	

IV. SULTANS.

Bajazet II. from 1481, deposed	1512, August.
Selim I.	1520, 22nd Sept.
Soliman II.	1566, 4th Sept.
Selim II.	1574, 13th Dec.
Murad III.	1595, 18th Jan.
Muhammed III.	1603, 21st Dec.
Achmet I.	1617, 15th Nov.
Mustapha I. dethroned for the second time	1623, 16th Aug.
Murad IV.	1640, 8th Feb.
Ibrahim	1648, 17th Aug.
Muhammed IV. deposed	1687, 29th Oct.
Soliman III.	1691, 22nd June.
Achmet II.	1695, 6th Feb.
Mustapha II. deposed	1703, 30th Sept.
Achmet III. deposed	1730, 2nd Oct.
Mahmud I.	1754, 13th Sept.
Osman III.	1757, 28th Oct.
Mustapha III.	1774, 21st Jan.
Abdul Hamid	1789, 7th April.
Selim III. deposed	1807, 29th May.
Mustapha IV. deposed	1808, 28th July.
Mahmud II.	

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V. PORTUGAL.—HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

	Death or abdication.
Emanuel the Great, from 1495	1521, 13th Dec.
John III.	1557, 10th June.
Sebastian	1578, 4th Aug.
Henry	1580, 31st Jan.

Portugal Spanish till 1640.

HOUSE OF BRAGANZA.

John IV., Dec., 1640	1656, 28th Feb.
Alphonso VI. deposed	1667, 23rd Nov
Peter II.	1706, 9th Dec.
John V.	1750, 31st July.
Joseph Emanuel	1777, 25th Feb.
Maria I.	1816, 20th March.
John VI. (regent 1799)	1826, 10th March.
Maria da Gloria	

VI. SPAIN.—HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

Ferdinand the Catholic, from 1479 }	1516, 1st Jan.
Isabella, from 1474 }	1504, 26th Nov.
Philip I. of Austria, from 1504	1506, 25th Sept.
Charles I. from 1516, (abdicated 1556)	1558, 21st Sept.
Philip II.	1598, 13th Sept.
Philip III.	1621, 28th Feb.
Philip IV.	1665, 17th Sept.
Charles II.	1700, 1st Nov.

HOUSE OF ANJOU.

Philip V.	1746, 9th July.
(Louis) 15th Jan., 1724	1724, 1st Aug.
Ferdinand VI.	1759, 10th Aug.
Charles III.	1788, 13th Dec.
Charles IV. abdicated	1808, 19th March.
(Joseph Buonaparte, till May, 1814)	
Ferdinand VII.	

VII. FRANCE.—HOUSE OF VALOIS.

Charles VIII. from 1483	1498, 7th April.
Louis XII.	1515, 1st Jan.

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	Death or abdication.
Francis I.	1547, 31st March.
Henry II.	1559, 10th July.
Francis II.	1560, 5th Dec.
Charles IX.	1574, 30th May.
Henry III.	1589, 1st Aug.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

Henry IV.	1610, 14th May.
Louis XIII.	1643, 14th May.
Louis XIV.	1715, 1st Sept.
Louis XV.	1774, 10th May.
Louis XVI.	1793, 21st Jan.
(Louis XVII.)	1795, 8th June.
(Napoleon, emperor, 1804—1814)	
Louis XVIII.	1824, 16th Sept.
Charles X.	

VIII. ENGLAND.—HOUSE OF TUDOR.

Henry VII. from 1485	1509, 21st April.
Henry VIII.	1547, 28th Jan.
Edward VI.	1553, 6th July.
Mary	1558, 17th Nov.
Elizabeth	1603, 3rd April.

HOUSE OF STUART.

James I.	1625, 6th April.
Charles I.	1649, 30th Jan.
(Cromwell)	1658, 3rd Sept.
Charles II. from 1660	1685, 5th Feb.
James II. exiled	1688, 24th Dec.
William III. }	1702, 19th March
Mary }	1695, 6th Jan.
Anne	1714, 12th Aug.

HOUSE OF HANOVER.

George I.	1727, 22nd June.
George II.	1760, 25th Oct.
George III.	1820, 29th Jan.
George IV. (Prince Regent, 1811, 10th Jan.)	

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KINGS IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNION.

HOUSE OF STUART.

	Death or abdication.
James IV. from 1488	1513, 9th Sept.
James V.	1542, 8th Dec.
Mary	1587, 8th Feb.
James VI. king of England, 1603	

IX. NAPLES.—HOUSE OF ARRAGON.

Ferdinand I. from 1458	1494, 25th Jan.
Alphonso II. abdicated	1495, 22nd Jan.
Ferdinand II.	1496, 7th Oct.
Frederic, dethroned	1501.
Naples Spanish till 1713.	
Austrian till 1735.	

SPANISH HOUSE OF ANJOU.

Charles III. from 1735	1759, 5th Oct.
Ferdinand IV.	1825, 4th Jan.
(Joseph Buonaparte 1806, 30th March	1808, 15th July.)
(Joachim Murat	1815, 20th May.)
Francis I.	

X. SAVOY.

Philibert II. duke from 1497	1504, 10th Sept.
Charles III.	1553, 16th Sept.
Emanuel Philibert	1580, 15th Aug.
Charles Emanuel I. the Great	1630, 26th July.
Victor Amadeus I.	1637, 7th Oct.
Charles Emanuel II.	1675, 12th June.
Victor Amadeus II. king of Sardinia, 1720, abdicated	1730, 2nd Sept.
Charles Emanuel III.	1773, 20th Feb.
Victor Amadeus III.	1796, 16th Oct.
Charles Emanuel IV. abdicated	1802, 4th June.
Victor Emanuel, abdicated	1821, 13th March.
Charles Felix	

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XI. POLAND.

	Death or abdication.
Sigismund I. from 1506	1548, 1st April.
Sigismund II. Augustus	1572, 1st June.
Henry of Valois, fled	1574, 18th June.
Stephen Bathori	1586, 12th Dec.
Sigismund III.	1632, 30th April.
Vladislaus IV.	1648, 20th May.
John Casimir, abdicated	1668, 17th Sept.
Michael Visnovicky	1673, 10th Nov.
John Sobiesky	1696, 17th June.
Augustus II. of Saxony	1733, 1st Feb.
(Stanislaus-Lesczinsky, 1704—1709)	
Augustus III.	1763, 5th Oct.
Stanislaus Poniatowsky, deposed	1795.

XII. DENMARK.—HOUSE OF HOLSTEIN-OLDENBURG.

John, from 1481	1513, 20th Feb.
Christian II. deposed	1523, Jan.
Frederic I.	1533, 10th April
Christian III.	1559, 1st Jan.
Frederic II.	1588, 4th April.
Christian IV.	1648, 28th Feb.
Frederic III.	1670, 9th Feb.
Christian V.	1699, 25th Aug.
Frederic IV.	1730, 12th Oct.
Christian VI.	1746, 6th Aug.
Frederic V.	1766, 14th Jan.
Christian VII.	1808, 13th March.
Frederic VI. (associate sovereign 1784)	

XIII. SWEDEN.—HOUSE OF VASA.

Gustavus Vasa, from 1524	1560, 29th Sept.
Erich XIV. deposed	1568, 29th Sept.
John	1592, 21st May.
Sigmund, deposed	1600.
Charles IX.	1611, 30th Oct.
Gustavus Adolphus	1632, 6th Nov.
Christina, abdicated	1654, 16th June.

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HOUSE OF DEUX PONTS.

	Death or abdication.
Charles X. Gustavus	1660, 23rd Feb.
Charles XI.	1697, 15th April.
Charles XII.	1718, 11th Dec.
Ulrica Eleonora } Frederic of Hesse }	1751, 6th April.

HOUSE OF HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.

Adolphus Frederic	1771, 12th Feb.
Gustavus III.	1792, 29th March.
Gustavus IV. deposed	1809, 13th March.
Charles XIII.	1818, 5th Feb.
Charles XIV. John (Bernadotte)	

XIV. THE ELECTORAL-PALATINATE.

Philip Ingenuus, elector from 1476	1508, 28th Feb.
Ludovicus V.	1544, 16th March.
Frederic II.	1556, 26th Feb.
Otto Henry	1559, 12th Feb.

PALATINATE OF SIMMERN.

Frederic III.	1576, 26th Oct.
Ludovicus VI.	1583, 12th Oct.
Frederic IV.	1610, 9th Sept.
Frederic V. (deposed 1623)	1632, 19th Nov.
Charles Louis, reinstated 1650	1680, 28th Aug.
Charles	1685, 16th May.

PALATINATE OF NEUBURG.

Philip William	1690, 2nd Sept.
Charles Philip	1742, 31st Dec.

PALATINATE OF SULZBACH.

Charles Theodore (see Bavaria)	1799, 16th Feb.

XV. BAVARIA.

Albert IV. duke, from 1473	1508, 17th March.
William IV.	1550, 6th March.

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	Death or abdication.
Albert V.	1579, 24th Oct.
William V. abdicated	1597.
Maximilian I. elector 1623	1651, 17th Sept.
Ferdinand Maria	1679, 26th May.
Maximilian II. Emanuel	1726, 27th Feb.
Charles Albert (emperor Charles VII.)	1745, 20th Jan.
Maximilian III. Joseph	1777, 30th Dec.
Charles Theodore of the Palatinate	1799, 16th Feb.
Maximilian Joseph, king, 1806	1825, 13th Oct.
Louis I.	

XVI. ELECTORATE OF SAXONY.

ERNESTINE LINE.

Frederic III. the wise elector, 1500	1525, 5th May.
John Constance	1532, 16th Aug.
John Frederic, lost the electorate	1547, 4th June.

ALBERTINE LINE.

Maurice, elector, 1547	1553, 11th July.
Augustus	1586, 11th Feb.
Christian I.	1591, 25th Sept.
Christian II.	1611, 23rd June.
John George I.	1656, 8th Oct.
John George II.	1680, 22nd Aug.
John George III.	1691, 12th Sept.
John George IV.	1694, 27th April.
Frederic Augustus I.	1733, 1st Feb.
Frederic Augustus II.	1763, 5th Oct.
Frederic Christian	1763, 17th Dec.
Frederic Augustus III. king, 1806	1827, 6th May.
Frederic Augustus IV.	

XVII. BRANDENBURG.—HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

Joachim I. elector from 1493	1535, 11th July.
Joachim II.	1571, 3rd Jan.
John George	1598, 8th Jan.
Joachim Frederic	1608, 18th July.
Joachim Sigismund, duke of Prussia, 1618	1619, 23rd Dec.
George William	1640, 21st Nov.
Frederic William the Great	1688, 29th April.

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	Death or abdication.
Frederic III. (I.) king of Prussia, 1701	1713, 25th Feb.
Frederic William I.	1740, 31st May.
Frederic II.	1786, 17th Aug.
Frederic William II.	1797, 17th Nov.
Frederic William III.	

XVIII. HANOVER.

George Augustus, elector from 1692	1698, 28th Jan.
George I. (see England)	

XIX. STADTHOLDERS IN HOLLAND.

ELDER LINE OF ORANGE.

William I. from 1572	1584, 10th July.
Maurice	1625, 23rd April.
Henry Frederic	1647, 14th May.
William II.	1650, 6th Nov.
William III. hereditary stadtholder from 1674	1702, 18th March.

YOUNGER LINE OF ORANGE.

William IV. general hereditary stadtholder from 1747	1751, 22nd Oct.
William V.	1795, Jan.
William I. king of the Netherlands	

XX. TUSCANY.—MEDICI.

Alexander first duke, 1531	1537, 7th Jan.
Cosmo I. (grand duke, 1569)	1574, 21st April.
Francis	1587, 19th Oct.
Ferdinand I.	1608, 7th Feb.
Cosmo II.	1621, 28th Feb.
Ferdinand II.	1670, 24th March.
Cosmo III.	1723, 21st Oct.
John Gasto	1737, 9th July.

HOUSE OF LORRAINE.

Francis Stephen	1765, 18th Aug.
Leopold I.	1790, 2nd July.
Ferdinand	1824, 17th June.
Leopold II.	

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PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, SINCE THE CONSTITUTION OF 1789.

	Death or abdication.
George Washington from 1789	1797, 4th March.
John Adams	1801, —
Thomas Jefferson	1809, —
James Madison	1817, —
James Monroe	1825, —
John Q. Adams	1829, —
Andrew Jackson	

THE END.

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